

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024 with funding from
University of Toronto

<https://archive.org/details/39141409060032>

**To Know
and Be Known**

**The Report of The Task Force
on Government Information**

! & ?



Task Force
on Government Information

The Right Honourable
Pierre-Elliott Trudeau, PC, MP,
Prime Minister,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Mr. Prime Minister:

We are pleased to submit our final Report on
government information.

We wish to thank all those whose co-operation has made
this Report possible: indeed, our task would never
have been completed had it not been for the generosity
of hundreds of Canadians, within and without the
public service, who gave freely of their time and advice.

Respectfully submitted,

D. J. Kerwin Fortin

Chairman

Bernard Stuy

Member

Tom Ford.

Member

August 29, 1969

©

Crown Copyrights reserved

Available by mail from
the Queen's Printer, Ottawa,
and at the following
Canadian Government bookshops:

Halifax

1735 Barrington Street

Montreal

Æterna-Vie Building,
1182 St. Catherine Street West

Ottawa

Daly Building,
Corner Mackenzie and Rideau

Toronto

221 Yonge Street

Winnipeg

Mall Center Building,
499 Portage Avenue

Vancouver

657 Granville Street

or through your bookseller

Catalogue No. CP32-10/1969-2

Queen's Printer for Canada
Ottawa, 1969

Design: Georges Beaupré

Preface xvii

!&? Section One: The Conceptual Context

I Concepts and Methods of Information 3

Notes Toward a Definition of "Information" 3	The State and Information 9
Information and Freedom 4	Information and Technology 11
The Right to Information; the Need for Information 6	
The Characteristics, Channels and the Aims of Information 7	
Conclusions 13	

II Theory of the Rôle of Information in a Participatory Democracy 15

The Major Rôles of the State in Social Communications 15	Government and Society 18
The Concepts that Underly the Theory of Participatory Democracy 17	The Links : Interaction Mechanisms 19
Society : A Network of Communications 18	The Links : Mechanisms of the Future 21
Conclusions 23	

III The Right of Access and Government Information Systems 25

Part I : Access to Government Information 25

Canada 25	France 29	Sweden 29	Britain 31
The United States 27			

Part II : Information Systems 34

Canada 34	The United States 35	France 36	Britain 37
-----------	----------------------	-----------	------------

Part III : Information, Power and the People's Control 40

Conclusions 42

!&? Section Two: Let The Public Speak

IV National Public Opinion Survey 47

Introduction 47

Survey Highlights 49

Knowledge and Uncertainty about Government Involvement 49	4. Attitudes Toward the Federal Government 51
Government Information 50	5. Attitudes to Federal Officials 52
Public Orientation Toward Different Levels of Government 51	

Knowledge and Uncertainty About Government Involvement 52

- | | | | |
|--|----|--|----|
| 1. Levels of Knowledge about Government Involvement | 52 | 4. Knowledge of Government Involvement: Summary | 57 |
| 2. Which Groups in Canada Have Most and Least Knowledge about Government Involvement | 54 | 5. Uncertainty About Government Involvement and Sources of Information | 57 |
| 3. Knowledge of Government Involvement Related to Attitudes Toward Government and Experience with Government Information | 56 | | |

Government Information 58

- | | | | |
|---|----|--|----|
| 1. Exposure to Federal Advertising | 58 | 4. Future Methods of Dealing with the Federal Government | 63 |
| 2. Sources of Government Information | 60 | | |
| 3. Satisfaction with Government Information | 62 | | |

Public Orientation Toward Different Levels of Government 65

- | | | | |
|--|----|---|----|
| 1. Exaggeration of Involvement | 65 | 4. Choice of Levels of Government | 67 |
| 2. Which Election is the Most Important? | 66 | 5. Summary: Perception of the Relative Importance of the Federal and Provincial Governments | 68 |
| 3. Political Provincialism | 66 | | |

Attitudes Toward the Federal Government 68

- | | | | |
|--|----|--|----|
| 1. Beliefs About Federal Government Efficiency | 68 | 5. Belief that the Federal Government is Responsive to Suggestions | 72 |
| 2. Fair and Prompt Treatment From the Federal Government | 69 | 6. Interest in Government Affairs | 72 |
| 3. Faith in Government | 70 | 7. Desire for Expanded Government Services | 74 |
| 4. Feelings of Political Efficacy | 70 | | |

Attitudes to Federal Officials 75

- | | | | |
|---|----|--------------------|----|
| 1. Quality of Relationships with Government Officials | 75 | Social Differences | 78 |
| 2. Attitudes to the Federal Public Service | 76 | | |

Conclusions 80**Questionnaire 82****V The Leaders' Survey 89****Part I : The Official Community 89**

- | | | | |
|---------------------------|----|---------------------|----|
| The Information Officers | 89 | The Political Group | 92 |
| The Senior Public Service | 91 | | |

Part II : The Consumers of Federal Information 94

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----|---|-----|
| Information Policy | 95 | The French Language in the Information Services | 107 |
| Co-ordination or Chaos? | 98 | How Not to Reach Canadian Indians | 108 |
| Reaching the People | 100 | Consumer Information | 108 |
| Press, Radio and Television | 103 | Where the Queen's Printer Fails | 108 |

businessmen, and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics	109	Related Questions	112
Canadian Information Abroad	111		
Conclusions	113	Annex A	114
VI The Strategic Gatekeepers of Federal News 115			
Parliamentary Press Gallery	115	The Press Gallery and the Government	117
Conclusions and Recommendations	118		
Section Three: Federal Information Services: Departments and Agencies			
VII Notes on the Historical Development of Federal Information Services 123			
The Good Old Days	123	The Second World War	132
The First World War	126	Boom Times in Government Information	135
Between the Wars	127		
VIII Finances, Structures and Personnel 141			
Finances	141		
Notes of further explanation regarding Table 2	143	Summary and Recommendations	146
Summary of costs	144	Financial Tables and Appendices	146
Structures of Departmental and Agency Information Services 156			
Definitions	156	Summary and Recommendations	160
Findings	158		
Personnel 161			
The Information Services Officer	161	Recommendations	164
IX Specialized Information Activities 167			
Media Relations 167			
The Job – or Several Versions of It	167	Contact with the Media	170
The Uninformed Information Officer	168	Regional Operations	170
Problems of Approval	169	Conclusions and Recommendations	171
Audio-Visual Services and Equipment 171			
The Department of Agriculture	172	The National Film Board: Liaison Problems	175
Problems of Personnel	173	The National Film Board: Production Emphasis	176
The Need for Guidance	174		
The National Film Board	175	Conclusions and Recommendations	178

Still Photography 179

- The Canadian Government Photo Centre 179
- The Absence of a Central Index 180
- National Film Board, Still Photo Division 181
- a) The Photographic Library 181*
- b) The Canadian Picture Index 182*

- c) Photostories 182*
- d) Exhibitions 182*
- The State of Chaos 182
- Recommendations 182

Exhibits and Displays 182**The Canadian Government Exhibition Commission 182**

- Workload 183
- History 183
- The New Terms of Reference 184
- Absence of Co-ordination 185

- Commission – Client Relations 185
- Costs 186
- Recommendations 187

Design 187

- The Past 188
- The Present 189
- Industry, Trade and Commerce 190
- Indian Affairs and Northern Development 190
- Mines and Technical Surveys 190
- External Affairs 190

- Health and Welfare 190
- Others 191
- A Systems Approach to Design 191
- Client and Designer 192
- A Hopeful Sign 193
- Conclusions and Recommendations 193

Parliamentary Returns 193

- Recipients 194
- The Right to Know 194

- Recommendations 195

Referral Centre 195

- Indexing Unit 195
- Enquiry Service 195
- Unit for the proper direction of mail, and to answer queries in certain general fields 196

- Recommendations 196

Mailing Lists 196

- Structures 197
- Mailing Lists Research and Evaluation 197

- Mailing Lists Bank 197
- Recommendations 197

Press Clippings 197

- Solutions 198

- Recommendations 199

Press Digest 199

- Production 199
- Circulation 200

- Recommendations 200
-

Personnel Relations 200

Who is in charge? 201
 Examples of the problem 201
 Communication within departments 201

Some Management Myths 202
 Various means of communication 202
 Conclusions and Recommendations 202

Conclusions to Paper IX 203

X The Big Four 205

Introduction 205

The Department of Manpower and Immigration 205

The Information Service 206

Objectives 206

Cost 206

Structure 208

Planning 209

Personnel 209

Decentralization 211

Programmes and Activities 212

Media Relations 213

Audio-visual Services 214

Publications 214

Exhibits and Displays 214

Still Photography 214

Advertising 215

Some Observations about First Principles 215
Audiences 215

The Regional Offices 216

Internal Programme Evaluation 216

A Case Study —

The Information Service and the OTA Programme 216

Recommendations 218

The Department of Agriculture 219

Introduction 219

The Information Function 219

The Information Division Organization 219

Objectives 219

Cost 220

Structure 220

Planning 221

Personnel 221

Relations with Senior Management 222

Relations with other divisions of Agriculture involved in

formation 222

Relations with Provincial and other Federal Departments 223

Audiences 223

Media Relations 223

Audio-Visual Production 224

Publications 224

Exhibits and Displays 225

Still Photography 225

Advertising 226

Internal Programme Evaluation 226

The Farm Credit Corporation 226

The Recon Study 228

Knowledge of Arda 228

Knowledge of the FCC and its programmes 228

FCC Advertisement 228

Knowledge and Opinions of Farm Credit 228

Conclusions and Recommendations 229

The Queen's Printer 230

Introduction 230

Administration	232
Print Procurement	232
Publishing Production	232
Sales Promotion and Distribution	232
Personnel	235
Activities	235
Graphic Design	236
Media Relations	236
Advertising	236

The Reorganization of the Publishing Function	237
---	-----

<i>The Task Force on Government Reorganization</i>	237
<i>Documentation Canada</i>	238
<i>Abstracts from Parliamentary Publications</i>	240
<i>A New Periodical</i>	240
<i>Canadian Chronologies</i>	240
<i>Canadian Dossiers or Occasional Papers</i>	240
<i>Canadian Documentary Series</i>	240
<i>Special Documentary Series</i>	240
<i>Bibliographies, Catalogues and Relations with Libraries</i>	240
<i>Relations with Commercial Printers and Publishers</i>	241

Recommendations	242
-----------------	-----

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics 243

Introduction	243
Cost	245
Personnel	245
Media Relations	246
Audio-visual Services	246
Publications	246

Exhibits and Displays	247
Still Photographs	247
Advertising	247
Statistics and the Audience	247
The DBS Information Function as a Whole	248
Recommendations	250

Conclusions to Paper x	251
------------------------	-----

XI Case Studies in the Current Information Process 253

The Federal Budget, October 1968 253

Conclusions on Government Information and the Budget	256
--	-----

The Ministerial Mission to Latin America, October–November 1968 256

Conclusions on the Ministerial Mission to Latin America	261
---	-----

The Newfoundland Fisheries Resettlement Programme 261

Conclusions on the Newfoundland Fisheries Resettlement Programme	262
--	-----

General Conclusions	262
---------------------	-----

XII Canadian Information Abroad 265

The Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad	265
Departmental Information Structures	267
Finances	267
Information Activities	268
Fairs, Exhibitions and Displays Abroad	269
Films	269
Radio and tv	270
Media Relations and Timely Information	270

Visiting Journalists	271
Advertising	271
Speakers Programme	271
Cultural Affairs	271
Research	272
Weakness of Present System	272
<i>The Interdepartmental Committee</i>	272
<i>The Department of External Affairs</i>	273
<i>The Results: Failures and Omissions</i>	274

United States 276
 United Kingdom 276
 Australia 277

Belgium 277
 France 277
 Conclusions 277

Recommendations 279

!&? Section Four: Federal Information Services: Problem Areas

XIII The Unreached 283

“Outside Eleven” 284
 Poor 284
 Ethnic Population 285
 Native Peoples 285
 Young 285
 Large Groups 285

Government and the Unreached 286
Alternative Media 287
 Some Promising Developments 289

Recommendations 294

XIV The Official Languages and Information 297

Part I : The Quality of Language in Government Publications 297

English 297
 More Proposals 300

French 301
 More Proposals 305

Part II : Language: The Official View 306

Conclusions and Recommendations 310

XV The Arts and the Crowd 313

Canada Council 316
 Other Departments and Agencies 317
 Cultural Information Abroad 318

Structures 319
 Priorities 320

Conclusions and Recommendations 320

XVI Advertising 323

Introduction 323

Part I : The Broad Scene 323

Agencies: Their Selection – and Rejection 324
 Planning, Research, Budgeting 325

The Advertising Group and the Advertising Audit Unit 326
 Standardization 328

Part II : Conclusions 329

Guidelines 329
 Employment of Advertising Agencies 329
 Removal of Arbitrary Ceiling 330

4. Minimum Billing 330
 5. Payments of Accounts 330
 6. Quantity Discount 330

7. Cost Accounting	330
8. National and Regional Agencies	330
9. Foreign-owned Agencies	330
10. Crown Corporations	331

11. Research	331
12. Statistics	331
13. Control	331

Part III : Some Major Objectives 331

Four major problems	332
---------------------	-----

Recommendations	338
-----------------	-----

XVII Federal Information in Canadian Regional and Federal-provincial Relations 341

Part I : Regional Information 341

The Present System	341
<i>An Evaluation of the Present System</i>	343
<i>Improvement of the Present System</i>	345

Conclusions and Recommendations	348
---------------------------------	-----

Part II : Federal-Provincial Relations 348

Internal Communications	349
Federal-provincial Joint Programmes	349
<i>Regional Development</i>	349
<i>Departmental Relations: Agriculture</i>	350

Federal Departmental Structures	350
Who Should Inform on What?	351

Recommendations	352
-----------------	-----

Conclusions	351
-------------	-----

XVIII Social Surveys and Communications Research 353

Part I : Social Surveys 353

Some Problems of Research	353
Some Departmental Doubts, and the DBS	353
Surveys to Test the Effectiveness of Government Information Programmes	354
Surveys to Test Public Knowledge and Attitudes	355
Canadian Government Travel Bureau	355
Surveys to Test the Effectiveness of Government Programmes	355
Failures in Co-ordination	356

Use of Survey Research by the Government of the United Kingdom	358
Survey Research by the Governments of France, Sweden, India, and Japan	360
Canadian Government Backwardness in Social Survey Research	361
The Cost of Survey Research	362

Conclusions	362
-------------	-----

Part II : Communications Research 364

The Media Research Industry	365
Academic Research and Experimental Projects	366
Recommendations	368

Conclusions	368
-------------	-----

XIX Information Technology 369

Telecommunications: Future Possibilities	369
Government's Need for Careful Choice	371
Computerized Information Systems	372
Conclusions and Recommendations	381

Some Reservations about the New Technology	378
Government Priorities	380

Bibliography 383

! & ?

In the preface to Volume I, we referred to our organization of research and the details of our findings as they appear in Volume II. The 19 studies that follow are based on the results of six months of investigations: they are an edited version of all the data that time permitted us to analyse. We thought some readers would want to seek more information than is available in Volume I about the analyses that lay behind our conclusions, and we chose to publish these papers because, together, they indicate our sources and help to explain our reasoning. We considered it important to make public as much of our research material as possible.

It will be clear that not all the areas of interest that concerned us have received the same attention; this inequality was a natural result of the fact that some research papers proved to be more valuable to our work than others. Nor do the 19 papers make up an entirely homogeneous publication. Some are related to one another; others are virtually self-contained. At the same time, they are closely inter-related with our general and specific recommendations.

In terms of quality, this volume is not even, nor taken in its entirety, is it of equal interest to every reader. For these reasons as much as for the readers' convenience, it is divided into four sections.

Section One consists of the first three papers. It is primarily an attempt to discover and describe the serious thought that has been given in Canada to such matters as the definitions of information, the proper rôle of the government with regard to information, the public's right of access to official information, and current theories about the connection between information and participatory democracy. *Section One* may be regarded as an amalgam of various philosophic and practical approaches to the many fundamental but complex principles involved in the discussion of government, the governed, and the information they share.

Section Two – Papers IV, V and VI – is an attempt to collect and assess the opinions and attitudes of the Canadian public toward the Federal Government and, more particularly, toward the government's information services. The "public" is, in fact, several publics. Taking the three papers together, they consist of a national and representative sampling of the general public; and of several hundred men and women, (and their professional organizations), most of them outside government, who have a fairly direct and strong interest in the performance of the information services. As often as seemed practical, we have let these more articulate Canadians speak to the reader in their own words.

Section Three is our basic, detailed and specific examination of the finances, structures, personnel, history and performance of the information services of the federal govern-

ment in Canada and abroad. It consists of papers VII to XII inclusive. The passage of time, and the continuing departmental reorganization of information services may already have out-dated some of this research. Nevertheless, these papers are the most thorough analysis of the information services that has yet been undertaken and we believe that, by and large, they are an accurate assessment of the chief problems that afflict the information efforts of most federal departments and agencies.

Section Four – the last seven studies in this Volume – deals with new and continuing problems in communication between the government and the people. These Papers concern the official languages, cultural information, the problem of trying to reach hundreds of thousands of "outsiders" in the country, the challenges of the new technology in information, and other matters that are either so important or so general that they do not fit neatly into the earlier sections of Volume II.

In the Preface to Volume I, we thanked a number of individuals and groups for helping us in the general preparation of this Report. They included provincial and municipal leaders, academics, professional associations and others, inside and outside the Federal Government who took the trouble to offer us their advice about the information services. We are particularly grateful, as well, to several Members of Parliament who gave us their opinions and suggestions regarding the future of federal information. We are also indebted to several firms in private industry. They are mentioned in some of the Papers that follow but, here, we want to record our gratitude not only for their contributions but also for the care and courtesy with which they responded to our continual inquiries.

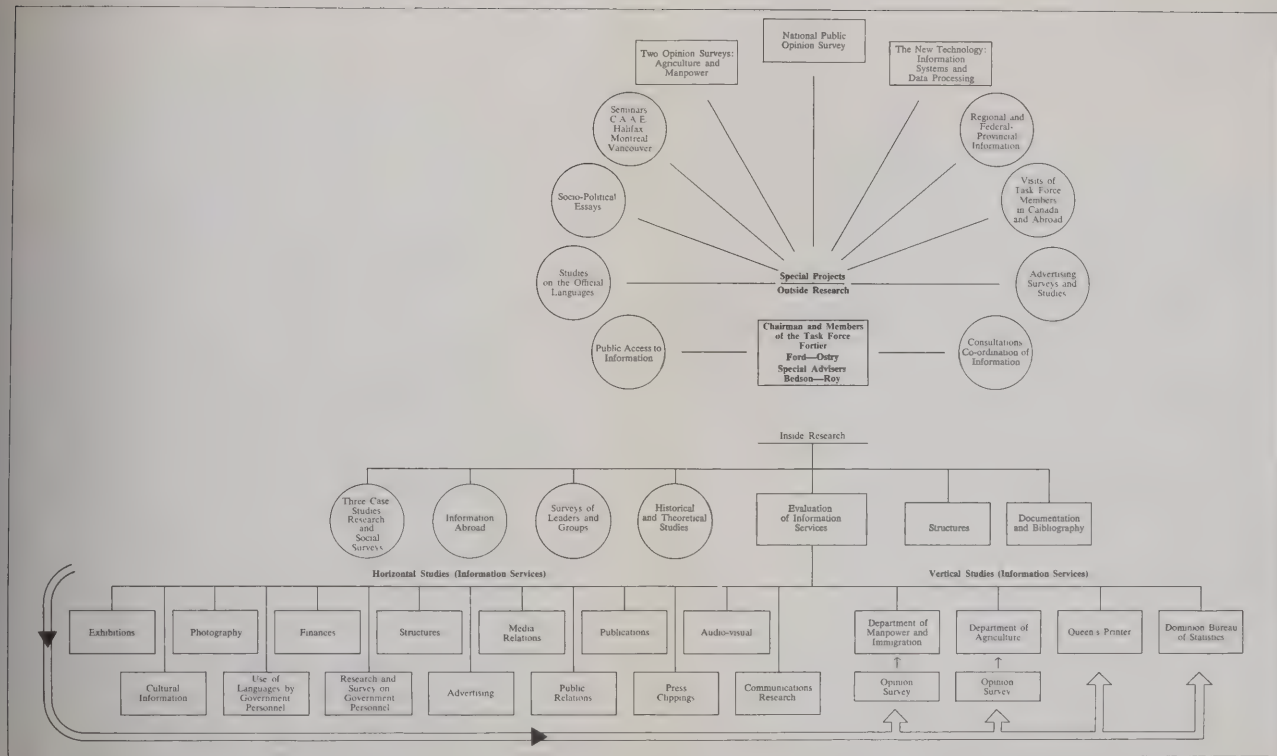
Regarding our debt to the public service, we would like to be more specific than we were in the Preface to Volume I, or at least as specific as the traditions of anonymity in the public service permit. Since our Report was internal to the government, we enjoyed the confidence, the candid advice, and the co-operation of a great many public servants, both in the national capital and throughout the country. From the time of our first enquiries, deputy heads and assistant deputy heads in all departments and agencies welcomed our interviews, gave frank answers to our questions, and assured the co-operation of their staffs. Several departments and agencies put expert teams of public servants at our disposal, and their work proved invaluable, particularly in the preparation of Papers VIII, IX, X and XII. In addition, some agencies and departments – particularly the Secretary of State, External Affairs, Industry, Trade and Commerce, and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation – loaned individual pub-

lic servants to us for special assignments. The Canadian Government Printing Bureau worked rapidly and efficiently to meet our often severe demands. We are grateful to these departments and agencies, and especially to the officers themselves.

Finally, there was our own staff of editors, writers, researchers, designers, translators and secretaries. They worked under circumstances that were often difficult and trying. Without their loyalty and dedication, these volumes could not have been produced.

Research of the Task Force
on Government Information

Research of the Task Force
on Government Information



The Conceptual Context

- I Concepts and Methods of Information
- II Theory of the Rôle of Information in a Participatory Democracy
- III The Right of Access and Government Information Systems

Notes Toward a Definition of "Information"

The concept of "information", like the related concept of "liberty", has become all-embracing and extraordinarily complex. Its definitions are now so multifarious that it is impossible to select one that expresses every shade of meaning and meets every expert's approval. Furthermore, the concept of information has evolved steadily from age to age: through the first spoken messages; through fire signals from hilltop to hilltop, through jungle drums and messengers on horseback and carrier pigeons; through the invention of printing and telegraphy; through radio and film and television, and communications satellites; and, now, through third-generation computers that receive information, process it, analyse it, store it, and disseminate it.

The concept is evolving today faster than ever before. It moves with the changes that are transforming society and producing still newer communications media. The refinements of these new media will, in turn, produce new mutations. Marshall McLuhan, the Canadian "prophet of the electronic age", regards the new communications technologies not as mere lifeless containers but as processes that have lives of their own. The concept of information and communication then is dynamic: a phenomenon of a contracting universe, shrinking space and accelerating time. Can one possibly encompass it entirely in brief verbal definitions?

The word "inform" has ancient meanings. Many dictionaries stress its philosophical sense. *Terme de philosophie: action d'informer, de donner une forme* (Littré). "To give form or character to; to be formative principle of" (Webster). *Donner une forme, façonner, constituer dans sa propre forme* (Larousse). "To put into form or shape; to arrange, to compose; to take shape; to form" (Oxford). "Information" has a basic meaning that involves a formative notion; and, indeed, information does take on the shape of a society, or give shape to that society. The idea of supplying facts flows naturally enough from this definition to the more popular meaning of "to inform" – the act of transmitting data, of making known, of educating, of instructing. Littré: *Avertir et instruire*. Oxford: "To impart knowledge of some particular fact or occurrence to . . ." Thus understood, "information" becomes the business of looking for news, and collecting and transmitting facts.

In current usage, "information" suggests "news"; and "news" suggests newspapers, journalism, reporters, news bulletins, news releases, in short, the press. The press in its printed form, however, is now only one medium among many and, although the vocabulary of written journalism

still applies to radio and television (head-lines, feature, editorial), there is also an increasing usage of expressions to cover not just the printed press but also the entire spectrum of important techniques for spreading information.

There was "media of mass communications" in the United States and, later, *communications de masse* in Europe, and the word "communications" continues to be popular to a perhaps excessive degree. Many specialists, both North American and European, freely use "communications" whenever they discuss various aspects of information. The word may cause misunderstanding. For, although information always implies communications, communications are not necessarily information. Communications also cover public transport and networks of highways; and a student who enrolls in a course in "communications" may well find himself studying anything from group therapy to social action.

The point to remember about "communications" and "mass communication" and "mass media" is that their first and chief meanings concern not content but methods, vehicles, transmitters and containers of information. We do not refer to "freedom of communication" but to "freedom of information".

We intend to pursue the definitions of information further but, first, it might be useful to eliminate one that seems narrow. This is the idea that information is nothing more than a recital of facts, or an account of current events that excludes explanations, opinions and interpretation. Many citizens complained to the Task Force about the mingling of facts, opinions, commentaries and outright judgments within a single newspaper article or news broadcast. These people argued that the recounting of facts must not be confused with the commentary that places facts in context; and that "information" is strictly the setting out of the facts and the blunt description of events. They deplored what they regarded as the excessive use of "information" in a sense so wide that it destroys the word's fundamental meaning.

To others, there is very little difference between information and interpretation. They grant that the journalist must try to distinguish between spreading facts and spreading opinions, but they also argue that the necessity to make the distinction arises within the concept of information. One may concede a difference between reporting and commentary, between an accurate account and the analysis that explains its significance, and still allow that these operations fall as a whole within the general notion of information. The idea of freedom of information, which we will discuss later in this paper, can in no way apply merely to

news. The dissemination of bare facts, no matter how full and impartial, can no longer succeed in truly informing the people. The growing complexity of social mechanisms and of political life requires explanations, and analysis, and is now an essential part of any "factual" account.

One cause of confusion in the pursuit of a definition of "information" is that writers tend to define information in relation to the considerations that led them to become interested in it as a phenomenon. The considerations may be social, historical, scientific, commercial, ideological or literary. Our point is not that the definitions are irrelevant, but only that information is a varying concept. From one country or civilization to another, it may differ according to men's interpretations of democracy, human relations and social evolution.

Information exists from the moment a source through whatever means gives out a message for the attention of one or more people. Information which is not emitted, information which is emitted but not transmitted, information which is emitted and transmitted but fails to reach a receiver – cannot be regarded as information in the sense employed here.

Each person is a receiver. He receives signals and messages, he reacts to the signs that constantly bombard his mind. It is in this context that some writers ascribe to information a biological function that lies in perceiving reality to satisfy the conditions of life and the progress of the species. For other writers, however, the term "information" simply signifies the whole gamut of conditions that are necessary to the regular spreading of bits of knowledge and bases for judgement. The public character of the information, and its regularity are both vital to the process. Information is a social phenomenon.

It follows that the most commonly accepted definitions of the information concept suggest that it involves the widest possible dissemination – from day to day and in a manner that reaches the greatest possible number of people – of a true, objective, and disinterested account of all socially significant facts.

It was not useful to adopt exclusively any single definition of "information" but we have reached a conclusion about definitions: in a society such as ours, an informing agent must define the kinds of information it is processing with a high degree of accuracy. Otherwise, when the time comes to act, it will be incapable of using the best methods to do its job. The proper techniques and the task itself may vary widely, and may depend on whether the intended audience is the

general public, a somewhat limited public, or particular groups.

Information and Freedom

Information implies freedom of expression. Indeed, the collection and distribution of information, the right to inform, and the right of access to information, all stem from the concept of freedom of expression. Similarly, freedom of the press assumes the freedom to gather facts and recount them publicly, freedom to seek out the sources of facts, and the freedom to express opinions on them.

The constitutions of many countries recognize freedom of the press, but the real application of this principle varies widely from regime to regime, from liberal or popular democracies to authoritarian states. In democracies, freedom of the press is solemnly proclaimed. It enjoys wide application and it is limited only by information or press law, the legal status of information (which, again, varies from country to country). Subject to legal limitations freedom of information is almost universally respected in many liberal democracies. Freedom, under the law, means freedom for citizens to exchange, transmit and distribute information through written, spoken, televised or filmed media. Freedom of information entails both the right, enjoyed by individuals, private and public groups, business concerns, etc., to supply information more or less freely to the public at large and the right to receive information, to be as thoroughly informed as possible.

The free-enterprise system too plays a vital rôle with regard to information. A newspaper operates much like any other commercial enterprise. Radio and television companies are regulated by special laws, since they utilize wave bands that are in the public domain but, except in countries where radio and television are owned by the State, these laws are not aimed at information and news broadcasting services. The authorities, mindful of the freedom that the commercial press enjoys, intervene in radio and television only when the law of the land leads them to limit restrictive commercial practices or to disband the coalitions of interests that inspire such practices. Even where such laws exist, however, the authorities may not invariably apply them.

In the world of press and broadcasting, economic power easily drifts towards monopoly. Many North Americans and Europeans have been warning their governments and international organizations about this problem. Technical progress involves press and broadcasting interests in constantly rising production costs and, in view of such practical and economic

considerations, the monopoly frequently appears unavoidable. It eliminates competition and the monopoly can become the major or sole informer of the public, the one institution that has the equipment that is essential to the collection and distribution of information.

Anyone has the right to found a newspaper; few have the resources. In an advanced industrial society, the amount of money that is required for such an initiative discourages even the most determined. Economic imperatives have forced medium-sized firms to amalgamate, and smaller ones to seek public support. Others simply go out of business.

Economic burdens can threaten to impose narrow limits upon the free circulation of news and opinions. A fundamental liberty, lacking the means to put it into effect, becomes an absurdity. A basic right, robbed of the conditions that ensure it is respected, becomes an illusion. And yet, journalists and publishers are generally inclined to believe that if the press is to remain free it must remain a private and commercial enterprise.

The dilemma remains, and it is an exceedingly difficult one. It has preoccupied democratic societies for a long time. How can we reconcile the necessary independence of a press undertaking, and freedom of information? The problem reminds us of the French writer Robert de Lamennais, and his statement in *Peuple constituant* on July 11, 1948. "Today we need gold, much gold, to enjoy the right to speak; we are not rich enough. Silence to the poor!" That was the last issue of *Peuple constituant*.

There are serious international as well as national problems concerning the free circulation of news and ideas. As long ago as 1927, the League of Nations convened a conference of 63 experts from 38 countries to study ways to guarantee freedom of information among nations, and to do away with its political, legal, economic and technical barriers. In 1948, the United Nations International Conference on Freedom of Information convened in Geneva and it provided a forum for the confrontation of the main theories concerning freedom of information, those of the United States, France, the Soviet Union and the uncommitted states. The discussion was permeated by the ideological differences of the time. The Conference finally opted for the United States standpoint: complete freedom, the "free flow of information." The vote was 33 in support (including Canada); six against (including the USSR); and 13 abstentions. The regard for the "free flow of information" is founded on the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution of 1791, and is supported by press tradition in the United States. In the name of freedom, the United States called for

the suppression of all the obstacles – legal, political, technical and material – that may impede, hinder or delay the circulation of news both nationally and internationally. The press had the consequent right to seek news, information, *communiqués* and opinions wherever it wished, and to distribute them everywhere.

Those who opposed the United States' stand questioned why the U.S. did not seem to fear licentiousness in the press, errors, lies, exorbitant propaganda, unfair abuses? In reply, the United States representatives explained the inconveniences and sometimes awkward consequences of freedom as the inevitable consequences of truly democratic societies. Implicitly at least, they recognized the right to make a mistake. They were prepared to trust the professionally trained journalists, and the conscience and sense of responsibility of the press.

The French did not favour "the free flow of information" in quite so uncompromising a fashion. The French introduced the doctrine of neo-liberalism into the debate, the notion that responsibility was inextricably linked to freedom. The French, like the Americans, called to witness their Declaration of Rights (1789). It recognized the broadest freedom of expression and communication except that one had to answer for abuses of this freedom in certain cases stipulated by law. Certain constraints, imposed by social and economic realities, must temper the freedom. The representatives of African, Asian, and Latin American states felt that the balance between liberty and responsibility was indispensable. They expressed partial adherence to the principle of press freedom but they did not oppose strongly all forms of government control.

The Canadian delegation expressed certain reservations, but basically it agreed with the U.S. position. Canada underlined the importance to each of the member states of ensuring freedom of information throughout its territory and eliminating such obstacles to this freedom as censorship.

The conference, despite the differences that divided many of the participants, adopted a few resolutions on general principles, and some of these subsequently found their place in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The conference set the seal upon the principle of freedom of information. It defined the right to expression without fear of prosecution, the right to collect and transmit news by all media and without regard to frontiers. It called for the greatest possible number of accessible sources of information; rejected monopolies in principle; and asked that measures be guaranteed both nationally and internationally, to facilitate the free flow of information. It accepted limitations on

freedom of information that derived from respect for personal rights, the legal protection of freedoms, and the security of the country at large. Finally, the conference stressed the moral obligation of members of the information professions to avoid errors, abuses, and licentiousness.

The Right to Information; the Need for Information

The Conference on Freedom of Information in 1948 brought a new concept to light and, ever since, the concept has held the attention of sociologists, information specialists, politicians, journalists and the United Nations itself. It is the concept of the right to information – the legal counterpart of the need for information.

The citizen, armed with the right to information, may demand that the press respect certain standards when it exercises its freedom to inform; because the freedom to inform does not always impose the obligation to inform, and the merchant of news, while profoundly attached to his own freedom, may sometimes neglect to respect a freedom that consumers demand for themselves – the freedom to receive information and opinions.

For these reasons, the right to information has been described as the citizen's guarantee of an honest and open relationship with the press. It is a corollary of the freedom to inform. It imposes a responsibility, indeed an obligation, upon those in the business of informing, upon precisely those press establishments who are so militant and energetic on their own behalf to promote the freedom to supply information. It is a compensation to balance the American thesis of the unrestricted 'free flow of information.' This responsibility and this obligation with respect to information rest with the State too.

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights does attempt to ensure to everyone the right to receive information and ideas. The phrasing, however, did not appear to be sufficiently explicit, and the third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations decided to reopen the question during the International Year for Human Rights.

In December 1968, the Committee voted 64 (including Canada's vote) to eight, with 11 abstentions, to adopt a freedom of information resolution to assert the principle that the chief function of information media, everywhere, is to gather and impart information freely, honestly and with precision. The resolution also recommended that member states take steps to guarantee their citizens access to

different sources of news and opinion both inside and outside their borders.

In the General Assembly the text underwent some modifications that reduced its force. The Third Committee, for instance, had "recommended" but the General Assembly, by 95 votes (including Canada's) to eight, with 12 abstentions, limited itself to emphasizing "that the objectives of freedom of information could be attained more readily if everyone had access to diverse sources of news and opinions." Finally, the resolution refers to the draft convention on Freedom of Information, which is under preparation.

From the foregoing, it is clear that measures that may be taken – directly or indirectly, deliberately or involuntarily – to hinder, limit or thwart the free circulation of information and opinions, whether inside or outside our borders, are contrary to the spirit and letter of the resolutions of 1948 and 1968. And, except in war, national emergency or other explicitly stated cases, it is also contrary to Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. To the extent the recent increase in Canadian postal rates is contrary to the UN texts to which this country's signature is appended and to the degree that these increases inhibit the free flow of ideas and the publications that make this possible, they are regrettable.

Information is a social and political necessity but it also satisfies a deep-seated need in man. A citizen needs information to make the proper choices in life, to conduct his affairs, to understand his environment, to buy things, build his house, educate his children, etc. He needs information to elect those who are to govern him, to participate usefully in the life of the community, to defend his interests and the interests of those who are near to him, to understand the significance of public events. His most important decisions, his hopes and his achievements are due either partially or entirely to the information he has been able to glean. It is in this sense that the sociologist Alfred Sauvy has written that "to be free is to be informed".

Information also has a value in logic, a dialectical significance. For today, situations are stronger than ideologies. The burden of an ideological argument may have a convincing ring; but the recounting of a concrete fact, or of a body of facts and events which together make up a situation, is more difficult to counter.

There is more to consider, however, than the deep-seated need to know. Through information, man finds his place in society, fits into the community, determines the relationships between people and things. Isolated in his work, lost in his

village, bewildered in a foreign environment, anonymous and lonely in the city, he seeks information and finds in it a way to satisfy his need to belong. In his newspaper, on his TV screen, at the cinema, on his radio, men like himself are living, moving, hoping, rebelling. Information satisfies a secret need for solidarity.

It meets still another human need. Information provides men with a way to turn their backs on the dullness and the vexations of daily life, and to find the things that amuse them, move them, and inspire them to feel joy. It opens the doors to poetry, imagination and fantasy.

Some experts also believe information offers social psychotherapy; that certain news items liberate people from fundamental instincts which, if suppressed, can lead to frustrations. Perhaps, within everyone there is a secret delight in scandal, spectacular events, and dramas of every kind. Perhaps the delight declares itself in an eagerness to consume news items which, very generally, may be lumped together in the category of column-fillers and gossip. There is a certain press which specializes in the systematic exploitation of this need, but no press that is directed at the general public can afford to ignore it completely.

Thus, revolving around the fundamental need to be informed, there are these other needs, the need to belong to a community, the need for amusement, the need to satisfy a taste for scandal and drama. Newspapers, radio, television, newsreels, books and records all reply in their own ways to these needs and set out differently to satisfy them. The refinements of opinion polls have improved the identification of various types of publics and, over the past 20 years, the new techniques with which progress has endowed the business of communicating information have enabled the media to offer these publics the sort of information they demand and avidly consume.

The Characteristics, Channels and the Aims of Information

Information meets certain needs and, as we have seen, the need to know and the need to understand are two of these. The *right* to information may be seen as the transposition of these needs to the legal level. The quality and the quantity of the information are matters of fundamental concern. The right to information implies the right to good information, complete, honest, unbiased, prompt, timely and attractive. If information fails in any of these respects, it also fails to satisfy the citizen's needs or fully to respect his rights.

Information, in the restrictive sense of reciting facts and events, should attempt to be true, objective and disinterested. If a factual account is false, subjective and biased, an aware recipient may regard it not as a piece of information but as a farce, bad publicity or propaganda. Information must also demonstrate completeness – the truth about a given situation – and accuracy, rapidity, brevity, clarity, originality and variety as well. Information that does not hold attention is scarcely information. The public will also demand that information have some social significance, some relevance to the life of the individual in society, and that it be intelligible, and up to the minute. News should be given out at the moment it is most meaningful. The consumer of information is rarely aware of the conditions that he lays down for his newspaper, or for a radio or television station.

There is yet another quality in information presentation that people seek. In a world that is often incoherent and disorderly, readers, listeners, and television viewers are watchful for a degree of coherence. Those whose job it is to inform them, can supply this – if only they attempt to explain, analyse, situate and enlighten through their summaries, commentaries, editorials and criticism.

It is useful to recall some of the conclusions of the American Commission on Freedom of the Press, set up in 1943. Completed in December 1946, this report was published by the University of Chicago Press. (The Commission also published several special monographs in separate volumes.)

The Commission outlined the five functions of press and radio (television was only just beginning to make its influence felt) as follows:

1. to provide a faithful, complete and intelligent account of the events of the day in a context which highlights their significance;
2. to be a forum for the exchange of commentaries and criticism;
3. to make known to the different groups that make up society the opinions and attitudes of each one of them;
4. to offer a way to present and explain the aims and values of society;
5. to be a means of reaching each member of society through the different streams of information, opinion and emotions supplied by the press.

Information, as we have seen, reaches the public first and foremost through the media of mass communications. These are: the printed word – newspapers, books, magazines, periodicals of all sorts, posters, and notices; radio – more

intrusive, mobile, and far-reaching today than ever before; films – not so much newsreels, which are gradually disappearing, as documentaries and features designed to inform, to provide facts, to enable man to understand what is happening around him or far from his local community; and television – in which information and reporting techniques, although rudimentary at first, have developed very rapidly in recent years.

We might add records, recording tape and slides to the four major media – if one accepts that these accessories to radio, television and cinema are acquiring their own autonomy as transmitters of information.

The media exploit a variety of methods to collect information, seek background, and gain access to facts and events. The traditional methods of collecting news are reporting, eye-witness accounts, inquiries, observations, and opinion polls of one sort or another. Progress in telecommunications, the flexibility of new techniques in radio and television, the specialization and the growing numbers of journalists, the expansion of the major international press agencies, the creation of national agencies in countries that shortly after the war were scarcely penetrated by information; and the development of information services by national and international organizations . . . all these developments have contributed to the continuing improvement of the traditional ways of collecting and distributing information.

The televised, written, spoken and filmed press may be the main pillars of mass information, but information has other channels for reaching both the public at large and more specific audiences. Documentation, for instance, is not only a source of information; those who compile it and distribute it use both the printed word and audio-visual means to do so. They also use the computer to store it, and to issue it to inquirers. Documentary information is therefore not merely static. When circulated for the attention of specialized audiences, it has a dynamic character.

In the same way, the great private, commercial industrial and non-profit-making societies regularly make progress reports to their members on the state of their operations, their development, and on the progress of the economy and its consequences. Political parties, trade unions and innumerable other groups issue information of interest to their members. It is not normally formulated and processed for the general public, nor is it always endowed with the ideal attributes and characteristics of information which we have outlined. It is nonetheless information, directed at large specialized publics. It reaches them though private transmitters: newsletters, teletypes, films, pamphlets, brochures,

and so on.

Advertising is yet another information channel of sorts. As soon as we accept that the concept of information implies imparting ideas to a particular public, we are bound to concede that advertising is a natural extension of information. Advertising, too, answers a need. For the consumer, advertising is an important source of information on the whole range of goods, services and products that the economy places at his disposal. It uses many methods to announce the existence and the characteristics of a product or service. It exploits all the media of communication – press, radio, television, posters, fliers and so forth – to make men aware of what is available to satisfy their needs.

The profession of public relations, which has grown remarkably over the last 20 years, provides another avenue for information. Public relations is not information alone; but public relations could not exist without information. It exploits several techniques, skills, arts and sciences. The Public Relations Society of America suggests the following definition: "The practice of public relations is the collective effort of any group to win the esteem of people, by its conduct to deserve that esteem and by its communications to maintain it."

It is interesting to compare this definition with the one put forward by the "*Association française des relations publiques*": "We call public relations those activities employed by a group with a view to creating and maintaining good relations between the members of a group and between that group and the various sectors of public opinion." The terminological glossary put out by the Public Service Commission defines public relations in the government service as follows: "The activities required to build and maintain sound and productive relations with the general public or with special segments of the public."

We have seen that the essential characteristics of information are truth and objectivity; that the person who informs must strive for completeness and accuracy and must handle accounts of facts and events as a whole; and that people naturally tend to demand honest, complete, rapid, accurate and coherent information. We have established, furthermore, that information flows mainly through the major public channels of transmission, which propagate and amplify it, but that it also reaches people through channels associated with documentation, advertising and public relations.

If we are to avoid confusing these various categories, it is essential to establish some vital distinctions. This will be easier if we study the goals that are peculiar to each field of information effort. We cannot speak of advertising,

propaganda and public relations without referring to choice of arguments, schemes, and motivations. These are the elements, carefully selected with a particular aim in view, which will stimulate in people reactions that are either conscious or unconscious, reasoned or instinctive. As far as advertising is concerned, they will lead to a desire to possess goods and to the satisfaction of this desire; with respect to propaganda, they will lead to the acceptance, for political or other ends, of theories and interpretations of facts; finally, with regard to public relations, they lead to changes in attitude, to new relationships between groups, and to new patterns of behaviour. These three approaches to information all aim to affect public opinion; their purpose is to attract people, to convince them, or to make them act. To be sure, they do use information, but they exploit it as a tool. They may certainly use it appropriately on occasion, but they also apply it in conjunction with other tools and other techniques. In each case, a certain amount of bias is added to the information, and this brings us back once more to one of the attributes of ideal information: impartiality.

In theory, those whose function is to inform the public ought not to be swayed by considerations other than those of supplying the reader, listener, or television viewer with elements of information and knowledge that will permit him to make up his own mind quite freely.

It is generally accepted that the advertising man and the public relations agent include in their messages only those items that they have selected and processed with a view to promoting consumption, the modification of attitudes or some other commercial, moral, ideological or political benefit.

We must distinguish then between *cognitive information*, which is activated solely to increase the knowledge of the recipient; and *motivating information*, which is processed for certain more specific purposes, or subordinated to other techniques, and works to persuade, to provoke action or to attract. In practice the two kinds of information often cross, but they retain their specific characteristics.

The State and Information

For the State, information, advertising, methods of persuasion, and public relations are all part of the general process of information. We must distinguish between these various systems of communication. Each has its own proper rules of conduct, each has its own technical limitations. The Task Force considers the State may legitimately employ all of them to enlighten people – to motivate, convince and per-

suaude the public for the purpose of encouraging the proper use of the services the State provides, and to promote a wide understanding of the State's responsibilities and obligations.

The Glassco Commission described this activity in the following terms "Information activities in the public service range from the reporting of policies, events and discoveries to the promotion of ideas and images In its broadest sense, the provision of information to the public is an integral part of the day-to-day working relations between all levels of the Federal Government and the Canadian public."

The Institute of Public Administration in the United Kingdom has defined "public information" – information put out by the State or in the name of the State – in the following way: "The deliberate, planned and sustained effort to establish and to maintain mutual understanding between the public and its government."

It is not difficult to appreciate that a modern state (and not, exclusively, a governmental or administrative part of it) that wants to inform its citizens and establish relations of trust with the people, should have recourse to the complete apparatus of modern techniques of communication. It is nevertheless essential to spell out clearly each of the roles that the State may take upon itself in this field. This is the only way to avoid confusion between information that is solely informative, and the State's aims when it uses other techniques and approaches in the spreading of information.

In Paper II, we try to define the principal roles of the State with respect to social communications. For the moment, limiting ourselves to the government and the administration, we may well question if they are in a position to carry out their obligation to inform. One could well imagine, for instance, that a government that did not want to be both the source of the information and the informer, both engine and vehicle, might entrust an entirely independent firm or a state agency with the exclusive task of informing the people about government activity.

In our opinion, however, the government information function is too closely linked to the thought and the action of the government for such a solution to be seriously considered; it is essential that the giver of information be as close to his source as possible. In view of the extreme complexity of the tasks entrusted to government, and its distinctive responsibilities, it is indeed the government's job to provide information about its own activities.

In the minds of the public, and particularly of journalists, the danger of propaganda (in its pejorative sense) is the cause of the strongest fears with respect to government information. People accept that the State may use methods of

persuasion on behalf of public programmes involving health and hygiene, recruitment into the armed forces, encouragement of building projects, retraining courses for the labour force, and so forth. It is propaganda of an ideological or partisan political character that inspires the greatest worries. This fear is wide-spread in the West and has several causes. They include:

- a) Historical experience which, in the eyes of the West, associates the notion of propaganda with totalitarian forms of government.
- b) The existence of the party system. Since the parties succeed one another in power according to the choice of the voters, they must not be permitted to use the state machinery for party purposes.
- c) The discrepancy between the resources available to the State and those available to citizens and groups, an imbalance which gives the State a great advantage in the presentation of its opinions.
- d) The struggle led by the free press against state control of information media.

In liberal democracies, propaganda exists in a competitive information situation: commercial and political, complementary and contradictory, clamorous and subtle – compete for the attention, the support, and the conscience of citizens and consumers. Such propaganda can be “good” or “bad”. Its pieces of information are not necessarily false but it manipulates them, and their presentation is almost always tendentious.

In our consumer societies, information, advertisements and propaganda produce what one author has called a “communicational din”. The din incites communicators, advertising men and propagandists to raise their voices to capture the attention of a public that is already over-solicited. This is the hammer technique, incessant repetition, the pressuring of public opinion. There is also a systematic use of alluring pictures of opulence, hollow pleasures, and artificial paradises. Certain forms of publicity, which sing the praises of a way of life or of an attitude to work, smack of propaganda. They may mislead to the point of destroying the public’s powers of judgement and, what is more, it is this very public at large that pays the costs of such activity.

Obviously, the State has no monopoly over propaganda. If it wanted to control it systematically, it is better equipped to do so than anyone else but, at the same time, the opposition parties and the press would not hesitate to denounce any such effort.

Does it follow from this that the State must rigorously deny itself any action that is organized with the intention

of spreading an opinion and stimulating support? Or should the government conclude that counter-propaganda in society impedes its action, entices citizens away from their social responsibilities, weakens the government’s authority and subordinates the normal relations which the government should maintain with the people? And if that is the case, rather than banning information that is harmful to its interests and thereby inhibiting the right of expression, should the government not establish its own information system which is subject to parliamentary scrutiny?

The answer to the last question, we believe, is yes. We hasten to add, however, that this establishment should occur within a general policy of information and social communication. The State must not retreat from its duty to provide information and social communication and, to accomplish this, it must equip itself with the necessary means. At the same time, any strengthening of the governmental information machine creates an increased risk that public opinion may be manipulated. This risk must be counter-balanced by a parallel strengthening of the means possessed by Parliament and the public to express their opinions on the State’s new information and communication policies.

The foregoing analysis suggests another conclusion. The State must recognize the right of citizens and social groups to receive government information that is complete, objective and timely, and it must recognize that it has an obligation to provide such information.

Since what we are now discussing is a right of the people and a consequent obligation of the State, it would be desirable to establish them in some permanent legal document – in, for instance, a Canadian Charter of Human Rights – or to proclaim them either through the legislative process or by a declaration of government policy. Finally, to avoid any risk of the more reprehensible kind of propaganda, the State, in drawing up its policy on information and social communications, must clearly distinguish between the various kinds of communication (cognitive information, methods of persuasion, advertising, public relations). Moreover, it must define the powers of the public servants entrusted with the administration of the policy. There must be minimal confusion between those who operate at the political level and those who work at the administrative level.

We may conclude that information that the State disseminates will be above suspicion only if those responsible for it are shielded from any arbitrary whim of political power. Any government information policy must offer serious guarantees in this respect.

Information and Technology

We asserted at the beginning of this Paper that the concept of information has evolved in step with the changes that have transformed and are still transforming our societies. Between confused clamour and computer, between the first shouts at the dawn of mankind and the torrential stream of information which invades our societies today, lies the whole history of the world. Printing was invented about 1440 but, long before that, stretching back for centuries, there was a period that we might call the prehistory of information. In this time, men perfected many ingenious techniques of communication. Apart from word of mouth and the birth of the alphabet, we might cite the use of paper by the Chinese as early as the First Century A.D. We might also note, in passing, the gazette of the Imperial Court of the T'ang Dynasty; it was published in Peking in the Sixth Century and engraved on wood in a single piece, in a manner that was unknown in Europe for many more centuries. In Twelfth Century England, hand-written sheets carried financial and commercial news. There are many other noteworthy events in the early technology of communication but, for the purposes of this study, it should be enough to recall the four major revolutions in information.

The first began with Johann Genfleisch (Gutenberg) who, after discovering typography, produced a letter of indulgence set up in moveable type for Pope Nicolas v. The second revolution included the birth of the large-scale press at the end of the Eighteenth Century. Until then, opinion had dominated newspapers. But by the early Nineteenth Century, readers had become news clients, rather than people who were hungry only for opinion. The great press agencies were born in the middle of the century and, at the same time, advertising made it possible to reduce the price of newspapers and greatly to increase circulation. The major information press developed rapidly in England, France and the United States. The third revolution is that of cinema and radio. In 1920, at Chelmsford, Great Britain, Marconi's wireless put out the first regular radio broadcasts. In the same year, KDKA, the Westinghouse Company's station in Pittsburgh, launched the daily news-bulletin by broadcasting the announcement of President Harding's election.

The fourth revolution opens with television. We are participating in it. We are both its creators and, at times, its bemused witnesses. It is therefore difficult to appraise the revolution's full significance and impossible for us to know all its consequences.

The fourth revolution cannot be defined by reference to

television alone. This is also the revolution of the computer, the transistor, of communication satellites, cybernetics and knowledge banks. Its characteristics include many material, social, scientific and psychological phenomena. They include the linking up of new regions with mass information; the tremendous speeding-up of communications of all sorts; instant news coverage; the perfecting of automatic and electronic methods to facilitate the tracking, storage, classification, analysis and distribution of information; the marked increase in information channels, and in techniques to provide accessibility to these channels; and the fresh determination of man to track down the sources of information, to challenge what is told to him, to pass from the rôle of spectator to that of performer.

The continuing improvement of telephone, radio and telecommunications; the fact that satellites grow more numerous and efficient every year and already point the way to "mondo vision", and, perhaps most important, the combination of all these factors . . . ; these developments have enabled the dissemination and the reception of information to become immediate, universal, influential, permanent and all-embracing.

It is against this background that we speak of the communications "explosion." Information may not be the only element involved in the more inspiring achievements of our time, but it has played an essential part in them. It makes possible and promotes scientific research, the expanding uses of automation, the exploration of space, and indeed any venture that depends on the spread of knowledge.

One of the more striking aspects of the fourth revolution is the wide-spread use of computers, a phenomenon known to scientists as the "cybernetisation of the world." It will deeply alter our ideas about information and about access to the scientific and cultural heritage of humanity. Computers – especially those of the third generation (with integrated circuits) – can multiply the capacity of the human brain almost incredibly, just as the steam engine enabled us to multiply muscle power. The computer is so powerful today it can solve numerous problems for institutions or organizations situated in widely scattered locations. It absorbs not merely the data from a single work but also the contents of several libraries. It takes the place of the human memory, which is swamped by the rising tide of knowledge. What is more, it supplies precisely and immediately the answers to questions concerning the knowledge it stores within itself.

"Information banks" have been springing up everywhere over the past few years. In the United States, a medical information bank is already in operation; it supplies doctors

with useful data about case histories, diagnosis and treatment. Other information and knowledge banks are being set up in many fields. Regional at first, they will soon become national and, eventually, international.

People are fascinated by the prospects that computers, knowledge banks and collective memories are opening up, but sometimes they suspect these machines will be reserved for the exclusive use of an elite versed in cybernetics. In certain specialized areas, knowledge banks will be designed essentially for the use of those who are able to interpret and utilize the information received. There will be information banks for engineers, chemists, barristers, insurance agents, financiers, architects – in brief, for every professional group that requires precise and technical data. But it will not be necessary to learn about electronics to use these banks, any more than it is now necessary to know how telephone switchboards operate to dial a number. The machines will be linked to one of the nerve centres, and they should be hardly more difficult to use than a Telex or a television receiver.

Citizens who are not among the specialist or professional groups will also be able to exploit information banks to get the details they require about, for instance, meteorology, the jobs available in a region, current prices, a law that might affect their plans, the conditions for repaying a loan, and so on. Here again, the instrument of communication would be as simple as the telephone.

Current news – prepared by the media in written, spoken, filmed and televised form – might also be made available to users, no longer at fixed times but at the time they want to hear it. Anyone who had missed the television news at 11:00 p.m. would merely have to press a button in order to get it again.

The computer will also have its place in education, where audio-visual techniques are already partially replacing the teacher's imagination. In this field, the possibilities are virtually infinite. The education of the future will embrace all the techniques that pedagogy and cybernetics are able to devise to meet new needs, not only in primary, secondary and university education, but also in adult and specialized education. The student will be able to "question" the computer. The computer will give him information and set problems for him to solve. A student, registered at a great university, is able to hear a lecture given by a professor many miles away, and he hears it not just once but as often as he wants, and at the most convenient speed.

Specialists have drawn the attention of public authorities, universities and the industrial, financial and commercial

communities to the enormous cost involved in the construction, installation and widespread use of computers. They have insisted, furthermore, on the necessity of training specialized personnel to operate and maintain the machines. (The Canadian Government, for its part, already possesses many computers. Universities, private firms and provincial governments have also acquired them in recent years.) These machines, somewhat like men, must find a way to live together, and to co-ordinate their respective efforts. Integrated systems must be devised so that information and knowledge may circulate freely among provinces and countries. The experts argue that the retention of traditional methods may create delays, set-backs, and a waste of energy and money but that, if computers are well-used and their costs are fairly distributed among the many users of the future, the problems will not be insurmountable.

The computer will remain an indispensable supplement to human memory; it will continue to accumulate, file and process information, and to transmit it tirelessly. It shortens working time. It frees man from the executive tasks that take up so much of his energies. It may yet restore him to the privileged calling that his highest destiny has assigned to him; that of reflection and creation, whether spiritual, intellectual, scientific or artistic. To be sure, we have not yet reached so happy an age, and the obstacles in the path to its achievement are myriad. But the computer at least provides the assurance that, for men and their societies, the future may be more in harmony with vital human aspirations than the past has been.

In almost all spheres of human activity, the complexity of new equipment and the speed with which it functions are so great that men are no longer able to see events clearly, nor to analyse situations and make decisions with appropriate speed. In science, education and economics, to take only three fields, information flows forth so rapidly that experts are frequently compelled to rediscover the things they have failed to find among the innumerable journals and professional works published every day. There is a paramount need not merely for mechanical and electronic aids but also for integrated, co-ordinated and international systems.

In this context, scientific information is a particularly engrossing problem. The most advanced societies and international organizations have tackled it resolutely. In Canada, the government instructed a study group to produce for the Science Council a report on scientific and technical information. The team, under the guidance of J. P. I. Tyas, published the first part of its report in April 1969.

In Canada, thousands of people are engaged in scientific

research and technology. Science, as defined by Professor Andrew H. Wilson in a publication prepared for the Economic Council of Canada, embraces the sum of our knowledge and experience about the physical and natural elements of the world around us. Technology embraces our knowledge and experience on how to direct our scientific knowledge towards practical ends and how to derive beneficial results from other elements, even if we are not in possession of a complete scientific explanation of how they work. In other words, technology concerns practical knowledge while science corresponds to explanatory knowledge. Briefly, technology is "know-how"; science is "know-why."

Scientific knowledge and technological improvements are piling up in the university laboratories and private institutes of the country, in state scientific bodies, in military establishments, and in the research departments of the big commercial and industrial firms. To what extent are the State, the universities, and industry and commerce being kept informed of the results of one another's research? How does information about scientific and technological research circulate in Canada? Is it easily available to research workers, technicians, private citizens, the public at large? And are these people in a position to know what is being done in their own spheres of interest in other countries? Are the results obtained in Canadian laboratories, inventions conceived by Canadian technicians and technologists, quickly made known to men of science in other countries? And by what means?

The Tyas study considers all these questions and offers precise recommendations. The main one is that the Government of Canada immediately take appropriate steps to establish in Canada an office for scientific and technical information. The framework of our study does not justify our judging this proposal. In connection with the establishment of information offices, however, it is at least worth asking whether the ordinary citizen should not enjoy the same advantages as scholars and industrialists.

Conclusions

Information can never be properly considered as "goods" that belong exclusively to journalism, or as the prerogative of the mass media. By definition, it belongs to everyone, and it must circulate freely. In its essence, it is communicable and pervasive.

In recent years, the disseminators of information have constantly grown, and they have been ever more attentive to their sources. The transmitters of information, always alert in the search for improved and varied and dynamic

equipment, cover the earth. They overflow into space. And the receivers of information – the public on every continent, the people of every country and of all generations – they are growing increasingly sensitive, increasingly demanding.

Men no longer unthinkingly delegate to others the exercise of their right to information, nor the responsibility of meeting their need for knowledge. They are learning to want to be on the spot when events take place, and to consult the sources of information for themselves.

The current phenomenon, which we have described as the fourth revolution in information, demonstrates that the sources of information may be growing ever closer to the citizen; and that, in the daily life of advanced societies, the new methods of communication and transmission that stem from electronics and cybernetics can indeed bring about this coming together. Day by day, education and information are blending together. The free circulation of information coincides with the massive distribution of knowledge. To acquire information, to learn and to know are inseparable.

We bear consequences of the revolution. We pay the price of its style of progress, and the price is the frenzy engendered by a noisy torrent of clashing information, of advertising slogans that saturate the times, of grinding and conflicting propaganda. We have referred to the "communicational din," and to the constant pressuring of public opinion. They are peculiar to consumer societies, and they increasingly threaten to undermine our freedom of judgment. At times, information – in all its forms – jostles the very freedoms that ensure its survival, freedoms that information itself must help to preserve. For these reasons, every democratic society strives to maintain a frequently precarious balance between the freedom to inform and the responsibilities and obligations of those who do the informing. The balance is of paramount concern to the ordinary citizen. He must be as watchful of the State as he is of the mass media.

Information is directly related to social activity. It is founded upon freedoms which carry with them both rights and obligations. We have suggested that these freedoms, rights and obligations might properly be declared in a permanent document. In this way, the State could publicly recognize its obligation to provide the people with complete, regular and timely information.

Information reaches the people by a variety of channels, forms and techniques. It can be popular, specialized, documentary, commercial, or partial. Generally speaking, when it is sent out solely to convey knowledge, it can be described as cognitive. When it is conceived to inspire some reaction among citizens or consumers, it is motivating in-

formation. So far as the State is concerned, it must strive to process each type of information in the relevant and appropriate manner. The categories of information, though not rigid, are sufficiently distinguishable to enable the State to avoid confusing them, and to ensure the best possible processing of information. They are sufficiently flexible to allow effective co-ordination within systems of social communication.

All public servants who are engaged in one way or another in the processes of information and social communication should observe a professional code of ethics. The rules of the code might vary from one category of information to another; but official spokesmen, publicity agents, public relations men, press attachés, information officers – each in his own field should strive for objectivity and honesty. Adherence to the code of ethics might help to confer upon these public servants a status that is beyond the reach of arbitrary political decisions.

In distributing its information, the State might consider the nature and the significance of the various publics it is trying to reach. It might try to acquaint itself with its audiences, and to distinguish one from the other. To reach them, it should employ the means that are most appropriate to an audience so that, in each case, the information will be intelligible and directly responsive to the people's needs. The State might pay special attention to those citizens who are outside the normal channels of communication, and to those organizations and associations and groups of people who serve as intermediaries and keep the various parts of society informed about one another.

The State's informative function does not lie only with the information officer. Every public servant, at the moment he makes contact with the public, becomes a transmitter of information.

Finally, since information is a standard bearer of freedom and dialogue, it places before both the governed and those who govern the demanding challenge of participatory democracy. That challenge is the burden of the following Paper.

II Theory of the Rôle of Information in a Participatory Democracy

This paper is an analysis of the social and political context in which government information operates. It is based mainly on existing literature (chiefly Canadian), and on contributions invited by the Task Force from Canadian political scientists who have a special interest in the subject. While their interest in it is similar, their approach varies considerably. The political scientists include Professors Léon Dion of Laval University; Donald Gordon formerly of Waterloo University; John Meisel of Queen's University; Khayyam Paltiel of Carleton University; and Norman Ward of the University of Saskatchewan.

The study begins with an examination of the major rôles of government in the field of social communications. It continues with a consideration of participatory democracy, of society as a communications network, and of the information links between society and the State. It ends with some conclusions about the place of government information in the processes of the Canadian democracy.

The Major Rôles of the State in Social Communications

The characteristics inherent in various political systems – and the interrelationships between the branches and levels of the State within any one system – profoundly influence the style, flow and content of social communications. The very nature of the existing political system tends to determine the boundaries of communication; and it affects the type and quantity, the relative importance and the changing rôles of the organs of communication. Obviously, in totalitarian states, both the flow and the network of information are more closely controlled and circumscribed than they are in democratic states. And even within the liberal democracies, differences in political systems inevitably influence the communications network. The committees of the legislature in the congressional system in the United States are traditionally more active elements of the communications network than similar committees in parliamentary systems. Despite the limitations that may be inherent in the questions posed and in the answers given, the question period in a parliamentary democracy is a source of information. If Parliament were to choose to open some or all of its deliberations to television cameras, this decision would profoundly change both our communications network and the context of parliamentary debates.

The legislative, the governmental, the judicial and the administrative branches of government – through their separate natures, activities and interrelationships – all determine certain types of the information flow. They condi-

tion the flow of information from other sources. The information flow in a federal system is clearly different from the one in a unitary state. In Canada, the open federal-provincial constitutional conference generates a type of information that, in a unitary state, could not exist.

States are becoming increasingly involved in social communications. It is worth remembering that however important the state becomes in this field, it remains one among many participants, and the other participants never stop influencing it. Most of the relevant activities of this important participant in social communications fall into four broad and more or less homogeneous categories. The categories are: first, the legal framework within which social communications take place; second, the organs of communication created to serve elements in the communications system; third, groups that play an advisory rôle in information for government; and fourth, the state's own direct involvement in the flow of communications.

In its first rôle, the State establishes the legal and economic framework for social communications. Sometimes it does this with considerations of information in mind, and sometimes for reasons that are not chiefly related to information. In either case, the State does not directly involve itself with communications: it regulates what the government and others do. Thus, it might ensure there is no threat to the free flow of information, and that this flow does not itself endanger the stability of society. The legal provisions that regulate the flow of communications act both in direct and indirect ways. Entrenched bills of rights deal with communications directly; they guarantee freedom of speech, association and assembly. Their provisions declare not what may not be done but, rather, what may be done.

Other legislative and regulatory provisions work negatively. They create boundaries, beyond which those who spread information may not normally go. The provisions of the Criminal Code that relate to libel, obscenity and incitement set limits on the substance of communications. So do provisions that are designed to protect official secrets, and legislation that prohibits hate literature. The Canadian Radio and Television Commission has broad powers to regulate the programming of both public and private electronic media of information.

Other legislative provisions are less direct in their effect on communications. Among these are the laws that relate to concentrations of economic power—to monopolies, trusts, the ownership of the media, patents and copyrights. These laws affect the organs that spread information. Also the postal rates exert a definite effect on advertising and the

circulation of newspapers and magazines. From time to time governments also subsidize the communication and information flows that others initiate, or they intervene in price or cost structures. The Canadian Government pays certain costs of the Parliamentary Press Gallery and, decades ago, it briefly subsidized the Canadian Press.

The second category of the State's involvement in social communications concerns its deliberate creation of certain institutions. Here, it goes beyond the passive function of establishing the legal framework for the flow of information but, at the same time, it is not necessarily involved in the determination of content. It restricts itself to the creation and maintenance of a great variety of structures and it exercises a general surveillance over these, either directly or by establishing bodies to do the surveillance for it. Some of these structures are independent or, at least autonomous; others, at least in their administrative function, are closely controlled by the government. Some may be comparable to a monopoly. Others operate on the open market. Some are financed by the State. Others, in some contexts, may be left entirely to private enterprise. The one condition that they all share is that the government does not, or does not primarily, determine content.

The only power that the Post Office exercises over the content of what it carries is its denial of the right to use the mails for certain illegal purposes. The National Film Board, the National Gallery and the National Library have considerable autonomy with regard to the creative contents of their work. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, as a Crown Corporation, has even greater administrative and substantive freedom. It reports not to a Minister but, through a Minister, to Parliament.

Again, in this second category, a growing function of modern industrial states involves the elaborate organs for the storage, retrieval and dissemination of scientific and technical information. This information is both governmental and private, national and international. A system to handle scientific and technical information might well be created or supported by a government but, since much of its input and many of its users would be outside the government apparatus, it would probably function with considerable autonomy. Communications satellites are another development that profoundly affects the exchange of information and may reshape some of the institutions of social communication.

The third category of the State's rôle in communications includes such bodies of consultation and dissemination of information as the Economic Council of Canada, Royal

Commissions and study groups. The government sets these groups up and, though the rôle they play in the communications network may not be primary, it is nonetheless important. The government, in defining their terms of reference, has a limited control over their activities but in most cases it does not determine the content of the information they generate.

The fourth rôle of the State in social communications concerns its own direct involvement in the flow of information. It originates, receives, collects, processes, transmits and retransmits information. In many countries, the new information needs of both the people and government and the high costs involved, have elevated this function to one of the States major concerns. This category includes, in particular, the activities that the government and its administration undertake to keep the public informed on a great variety of subjects. It includes the myriad government statements, speeches, news releases, publications, advertisements in the public media, and assorted government information services abroad. The government, however, not only spreads information, but also receives it. It becomes the receiver of public, corporate or private information that derives from studies and surveys, and from the general carrying out of its responsibilities. Statutory requirements concerning disclosure of certain types of information mean that the government possesses some information that is not generally available to the public. Information collected by the government is frequently retransmitted, and in some cases interpreted. Here, the State acts as the intermediary between the generators of information and those who require it, and its rôle in this respect is growing constantly.

The four categories are a useful simplification but they are not rigid. The second, for instance, might group institutions according to whether they transmit information that they themselves have produced (the CBC and the NFB); or produce and store information but do not transmit it the way the media of mass communications do (the National Library or Public Archives).

In this section, we did not deal with the influence of the social system on the nature of the communications network. Our purpose was to give a broad outline of the major rôles of the State, and to put them in perspective. The fourth rôle, in which the State becomes directly involved in the communications flow is the one that concerns us most. Our terms of reference limit us to the study of the information activities of the government and administration. We refer to the rôle of the other main branches of government responsibility only to place their activities in context.

The Concepts that Underly the Theory of Participatory Democracy

For democracy to work it must possess a certain dynamic element to enable it to adjust to social change. The very forms of democracy are involved in change, and neither the political framework nor the information function is a static system. We live in a period of rapid and acute social change, and in the midst of a technological revolution. The revolution constantly affects the inter-relationships among the many elements of society. The new relationships are, in large measure, the result of far-ranging changes in communications; and, to a smaller degree, they are also a cause of these changes. People have new goals, new ideas of the things they want. The revolution of rising expectations rides on the revolution of technology. Technological progress makes the new demands attainable, or promises to make them attainable, and it leads unavoidably to the spread of a credo of development and growth. But, at any given time, resources are limited to certain activities and certain objectives; and governing, developing and administering all become progressively more complex. Increasingly, the goals become incomprehensible to large segments of society. This could alienate the people from the decision-makers, and the result could be a loss in the power of the people to influence even the decisions that may have great impact on their own lives. Many political and social theorists, who have large audiences – particularly among the young – might agree with this outline. Others might regard the phenomenon as improbable and others as a danger.

The increasing pace of development in scientific, cultural, social, economic and political spheres urges the co-operation of a great many forces and, above all, constant adaptation. Governments have now involved themselves as innovators, co-ordinators and participants in various activities and communities of society. They have, for instance, a number of relatively new rôles to play in scientific, cultural and regional development. Since governments are inevitably increasing their effect on the day to day lives of citizens, it follows that the citizens should be able to increase their say in what their governments do. The new technology has created conditions for a wider and more meaningful participation by the public in affairs of State than has ever occurred. At the same time, the new technology has created new requirements of the public, and has thereby made that participation more necessary than it has ever been. It is now possible, at least technically, for the branches and organs of the State to undertake continuous consultation

with associations and organizations and other bodies among the public. The tools exist. The question is how to use them, and to what extent, in order to achieve the participation.

Professor Dion, who has long been a student of participatory democracy, recently expressed some of his thoughts about the nature of participation: "The participation with which we are concerned is one which involves all citizens in the progress, first, of all activities associated with their own areas of life and, secondly, of all activities of any nature affecting the common interest. This participation may reasonably be termed political because of the exceptional importance of government responsibility for development. As a result of the intense interpenetration of the social and political rôles, however, participation characterizes an all-inclusive pattern of existence for modern man. The essential social division between individuals is no longer between workers and capitalists, consumers and producers; it is between those who participate and those who do not. This division covers all the rest. It is the new principle for the distribution of true social and political power. This situation is yet another reason for governments to consider, as quickly and as far as possible, the establishment of conditions which will allow the participation of the greatest possible number of citizens in the greatest possible number of common activities."

There is no consensus about what, exactly, is meant by participatory democracy. It is generally regarded, much as democracy itself, as an ideal toward which our political structures appear to be moving. It suggests the citizens' continuous and broadly-based involvement in the process of government. Participation is obviously absent if a citizen ignores his very rights and obligations. It is obviously present if he is in a position to influence the making of decisions by governments, and uses his influence.

From the standpoint of the State, rather than the public, "participatory democracy," may be referred to as "consultative democracy." The initiative for consultation is not left to the State alone, and State decisions take full account of the views received. Participatory democracy is clearly different from plebiscitary democracy. In the words of Professor Gordon, the government in a plebiscitary democracy generally seeks "confirmations of preference for a pre-selected choice of alternative policies."

The relationship between participatory democracy and representative democracy is more subtle. Professor Dion has pointed out¹ that the two are not incompatible, but that

1. Dion, Léon, *Queen's Quarterly*, vol. 75, no. 3, pp. 432-447.

participation in the representative institutions is only one aspect, however important, of the citizens' wide-spread participation in the business of the State. In that sense, participatory democracy is not a new idea; it has always been with us. What is new is the present potential to increase its use and effectiveness, and the emphasis now placed on it by governments.

The representative form of government, which is traditional to us, may be seen as a periodic participation in the machinery of government – a participation that occurs only once every four or five years. Long lapses may follow election-time participation and, with the exception of whatever rapport may exist between Members of Parliament and their constituents, participation is not very active. Only a few very concerned members of the public, some of whom may be vitally affected by government decisions, maintain any pretense at participation between elections. The ideal of participatory democracy might be regarded as a willingness to intensify and broaden the participatory practices of representative democracy.

If governments, legislatures and the public adopted continuous and wide-spread participation as a goal, this would lead to alterations in some traditional parliamentary forms. Participatory techniques could strengthen and supplement the traditional. For governments, the results would be a wider knowledge of society and, unless there were some new rules, fresh temptations to use participatory devices to manipulate citizens. Governments would also find that, in many cases, the task of making decisions had become far more complex. (Machiavelli thought very little of citizen participation; Rousseau, 200 years later regarded it highly.)

The advocates of participatory democracy think it is possible to employ the best of the new technology to strengthen the powers of the public, and to enable the government not only to communicate high quality information but also to receive information back from the people. At the same time it should be possible to strengthen and supplement the institutions of participatory democracy.

Society: A Network of Communications

If one accepts that there is a case for extending the people's participation in the affairs of State, what rôle can information play in the process?

Concepts derived from cybernetics and applied to the political analysis of the State enable us to see the State as a communications network that is based on the flow of information. It is then possible to judge the effectiveness of the

system partly by the accuracy of the information that passes both ways between the people and their government – that is by how thoroughly the messages received conform to the messages transmitted. Professor Dion puts the theory in the following way :

"It is the degree of conformity between the message transmitted at the circuit entry by the dispatching source and the message received by the recipient at the end of the circuit which not only defines the relative value of a medium of communication as a channel of information but, in addition, constitutes the information communicated. In other words, information is the process which remains more or less constant in communication. Since it may thus be considered a quantitative datum, information may be measured, using sophisticated mathematical processes."

This view suggests that the completeness, the accuracy, and the comprehensibility of information are the criteria of an effective information system – the norm by which one can assess the quality of information programmes in both directions.

There are at least three major elements in the communications network: governments, society and the bodies which link the two. We will refer to these links as "interaction mechanisms."

Government and Society

From the political standpoint, the bulk of information normally arises in two places. One is the State. The other is society – in all its economic, social, cultural and political rôles, and including individuals, groups, associations and organizations. The keystone of our modern social structure, our society of interdependence, is that the information generated by each is required by the other. In this system, government, in addition to its other functions in the communications flow, acts as both a consumer and generator of information. As consumer, it receives from outside sources information upon which it can base its actions. As a producer, it generates the information that it needs and that others need.

Its effectiveness depends not only on the accuracy of the information it sends out, but also on the extent to which it responds to the information needs of the people. Again, to quote Professor Dion:

"Since there are many centres of authority, social and political agencies are necessarily interdependent. Neither of these two groups of agencies holds a monopoly on information. On the contrary, the agencies within each category hold

information which is required at the same time by the agencies of the other category, if they are to be in a position to make rational decisions. The social agencies possess a great deal of expert knowledge (scientific and technical) and human knowledge (human climate, concrete physical and psychological conditions of individuals, etc.) without which the political agencies must work in the abstract, if not utter darkness. Inversely, the political agencies have access to banks of information (statistics, data on existing situations, etc.) and controls (financial, regulatory, etc.) on which the social agencies must be suitably informed if they are to act on the basis of sound information."

Society generates a good deal of the information that government requires to conduct its affairs. There is a logical need then for the State to consult all the groups within society to gain the information needed to make decisions.

The information needed is not the exclusive and static possession of generators that never change. It is constantly exchanged among social agents and within the State and, during the exchange, it undergoes further change. Indeed, in some cases, the exchange itself becomes the useful information. The State cannot obtain a real understanding of the information simply by establishing links with some privileged elements of the communications network. But by becoming part of the network and by assuming a clearly circumscribed rôle as receiver, transmitter, and transformer of information, the State may make use of the information it does not itself generate. Once the information which it has received has re-entered the communications network, the effect of its coming into contact with outside groups and bodies may alter it. The possible usefulness of this information to society and to all parts of the governing machine, makes it imperative that the information be retransmitted.

The government is the largest single component in the circuit, and it is the deliberate receiver of information that is generated outside itself; it is the possessor of a great bulk of information in society. It must therefore play a significant rôle in organizing and retransmitting information and, while doing this, it must take into account the difficulties that arise from its duty to interpret faithfully and its duty not to release certain types of information. It is therefore both legitimate and essential that, within clearly and publicly defined policies, the State develop instruments to collect, store, retransmit and, in some cases, interpret the information it possesses. The burden to supply society with information – even when the government is not the source of the information – also stems from the fact that information is a commodity that is exchanged on the open market. It has a price and, in some

cases the price is too high for many people. (Legal advice is only one case in point.)

The media and other non-governmental agencies make a vast body of information available at a minimal cost, or free of charge to the individual. But this kind of information has its limitations. Non-governmental bodies seldom have any obligation to reach the "unreached" in society, the outsiders; it is not necessarily their rôle to supply information that is tailored to individuals at the time these people need it. Moreover, these sources frequently carry a great deal of information that is promotional, or is presented in a promotional framework, and the purpose of their information may be to influence attitudes. It may be distorted to suit the interest of the distributor. There should therefore be a rôle for government as the guarantor of the people's right to receive objective information, particularly those people who are the least advantaged in society.

We have outlined the rôles and obligations of the State regarding information, and we have suggested that the changing realities of society and the technological revolution emphasize the need for the broadly based participation of the people in the affairs of their government. The exchange of information, between Parliament and government on the one hand and society on the other, is basic to the ability of Parliament and government to do their jobs, and to the citizen's ability to act rationally and achieve his goals.

The Links: Interaction Mechanisms

In the flow of information, the feeding of information back and forth between government and society, there are some critical links. We call them interaction mechanisms. Already, there are a group of traditional but highly sophisticated interaction mechanisms. They have grown up to meet the needs of representative democracy, and they tend to be well suited to collect, organize and retransmit information. They include the Member of Parliament, the political party, the information media, various advisory committees, and interest groups.

A Member of Parliament, for example, should be aware of currents of opinion and the reactions to government programmes and decisions of his constituents. He should be able to feed such information into Parliament and into the government and the administration. He may also be able to interpret and represent the views of the government, or of his party, to the citizen. In practice, his effectiveness in these matters depends to some degree on the tools that are available to him, and it may be possible to strengthen

his information rôle, to enable him to exploit new techniques to assess his constituents' opinions.

The problems that concern the Members' information function — their channels of communication with their constituents and with the government as well — are of great importance. In this regard, many proposals have been made, both inside and outside Parliament. The subject of Parliament, however, was not part of the Task Force's terms of reference; and we have of necessity limited our attention to recognizing the importance of the Members' information rôle in the democratic process.

Among the traditional interaction mechanisms, the ones that the new technology may yet affect most profoundly are the political parties. The party is an organization of course but, beyond that, it is a conglomerate of the views of the people and their leaders. It reflects a wide range of opinion. Parties have been criticized nevertheless for their failure to be as broadly based as they frequently claim to be. If they expect to remain as valid instruments of communication, technological and sociological changes may compel them to extend their base. Professor Paltiel has suggested the parties must learn to carry a broader spectrum of information than they carry now. He has said, "Participation must mean political participation re-shaping power vectors through submitting politicians to new tugs and pulls."

Professor Ward stresses the need for a major democratization of the political parties: "It is too easy for a party in power to become managerial, and to confuse administration increasingly with politics. (This is one reason, indeed, why institutional participation such as the electoral system will always be indispensable, to guarantee the regular re-infusion of politics into the system . . .) Yet of all the steps the present government could take to enlarge an open society, the increasing democratization of its own party structure — which would inevitably force the Opposition to do the same, or perish — is probably one of the most important."

Professor Donald Gordon suggests that changing conditions and a growing disenchantment among the young with the party structure, may make party democratization difficult to achieve:

"Depending upon the extent to which true participation rather than the fostering of acquiescence were the aim, party organization and operations would be drastically changed. Lacking the fuel of co-operative apathy (fostering easy and comfortable minority direction), beset by challenges to approximate advantages in the power game inherent in the rise of non-party vehicles, it would seem that the coherence, the convenience and the brokerage functions of the party

system would tend to be diminished. In view of what appears to be large scale disillusionment with or contempt for party politics (reminiscent of the Non-Partisan League outbursts in Western Canada and the United States) among younger Canadians, there might well be recruitment problems as well."

Another interaction mechanism is the information media. They obviously create information, transform it, convey it and filter it from all sources. Most organizations and groups use information media. The mass media themselves occupy so central a rôle in modern society that they may rightly be considered the main gate-keepers of most public information, the indispensable condition of a socially effective information system. The State uses a great variety of techniques of information — journals of parliamentary debates, white papers, speeches, publications, films, advertising, media relations, exhibitions, letters to and from the public. They are interaction mechanisms to the extent that they involve feedback, or two-way communication.

Still another traditional interaction mechanism is the Advisory Committee. The government establishes advisory committees to provide advice on the subjects of their expertise. These committees often possess or have immediate access to a great deal of useful information, and they are therefore able to provide much needed knowledge. Their number and their usefulness have grown over the years, and their importance may increase still further. Professor Gordon writes that one of the effects of participatory democracy will be: ". . . supplementing Parliament with, theoretically, non-party forms of representation to speak for special occupations and interests."

Professor Ward writes that:

"People in groups are already accustomed to participation and indeed were widely used by the Wartime Prices and Trade Board during the war, both to secure information for the government and to pass on information about policy and to obtain co-operation in connection with a variety of projects."

In a paper prepared for the Canadian Association for Adult Education, entitled *Groups Advisory to Government* Elizabeth Vickers notes that certain problems may accompany the use of such groups. There might be a time lag, for instance, in the government's response to a group's recommendations, and in implementation. The government might modify recommendations or accept them only partially, or not at all. The effectiveness of these bodies will depend upon the time that the group is created, the goals of those who create it, the nature of the problem studied, and the

people involved.

A final interaction mechanism consists of interest groups that represent the outlook of large numbers of members who share common, and generally strong, views about specific subjects. These groups are increasingly the possessors of not only opinions but "hard" information as well. This is especially true of universities, businesses, and labour unions.

If the elements were to be represented schematically, and the system considerably simplified (leaving out the flow of feed-back), they might be pictured in this way:

Social System	Organs of Interaction	Political System
Ecology	Political Parties	Governmental
Demography	Interest Groups	Legislative
Technology	Consultative Bodies	Administrative
Economy	Information Media	Judicial
Culture		
Social Stratification		

A number of points arise from this analysis of the interaction mechanisms. The first is that we already have well-established mechanisms for participation, and they should be improved by effective use. A second point is that the opinions of the disadvantaged are less likely to be fed into the governing process than the opinions of a fairly successful elite. Moreover, many aware and active people simply do not participate in the conventional communications network, and therefore they may not receive information from the government by the traditional interaction mechanisms. Nor do the mechanisms channel the opinion of these people to the government. Another point is that, in a free society, the various interaction mechanisms are not part of a single operating system, and that is probably to the good. Finally, however, the traditional mechanisms fail to cover the full gamut of possible channels for communications.

The Links: Mechanisms of the Future

To overcome some of the drawbacks in the traditional interaction mechanisms, to reach into the less obvious recesses of society to determine the needs of the future including information needs, and to avoid neglecting certain interests and points of view, it is possible that government should try to establish some new links between itself and

the citizens. Technological innovations have made this possible.

Such links would serve another important rôle. No communications network is complete without the essential function of feed-back, and the new links might improve feed-back where it already exists and provide it where there is now none. Feed-back is the process whereby information concerning the effects of activities is received and then, so that necessary adjustments may be made, is analysed. What makes the idea of feed-back dynamic and effective is the ability to adjust to changing conditions. Professor Dion describes the rôle of feed-back in the following way:

"Because the consequences of its workings are felt by the entire social system, the political system must include mechanisms for control and adjustment of great precision and sensitivity. It must be able to measure constantly the temperature, climate and reactions of the surrounding environment. Opinion polls, organizational missions, information conferences and advisory bodies are all means of producing such measures. But their accuracy and sensitivity are not guaranteed. The oscillations, hesitations and 'errors' which occur with great frequency within the systems show the ineffectiveness of the feed-back mechanisms. Thought must be given to how they can be improved."

One somewhat futuristic suggestion concerns the establishment of an electronic centre, or a closely-linked group of centres, which would receive a vast array of information from all parts of the political and social system. The information would be received directly from its sources by all possible methods, and it would be appropriately classified. For this to be truly effective and to ensure that it does not usurp the functions of other elements, it would be essential that as much of the information as possible be made available to all interested groups and individuals. (The recent report prepared by the Science Council of Canada, *Scientific and Technical Information in Canada*, recommended the creation of a national referral centre for science and technology.)

Greater use might be made of meetings among government officials, businessmen, university personnel and other well-informed people. Mr. Peter Dobell, the Director of the Parliamentary Centre for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade has outlined the importance of such seminars:

"... the government, through its respective departments, should give serious consideration, as part of an overall information programme, to arranging seminar-type discussions which would involve practitioners in Ottawa and an interested public from across the country. . . . Participation by

the interested public would have to be determined on the basis of the subject under discussion and should presumably include representatives of groups such as academics, journalists and, where appropriate, businessmen and trade unionists."

The sponsoring authority should be aware that the value of such meetings would rest on the quality and representativeness of the participants, and on their ability to express themselves on the basis of sufficient preparation and with utmost frankness.

The rôle of groups and associations in the functioning of a participatory democracy is important enough to justify an effort by government and Parliament to keep them systematically informed, and to seek from them expressions of their views.

Spontaneously and informally created small groups of people also play a large opinion-forming rôle among the less politically aware. Members of Parliament, of course, have traditionally used such consultative techniques but it is possible their use by public servants would raise problems. It is difficult to see, however, how the estrangement from the people of many senior public servants can be eliminated unless these officials resort to such contacts with small groups. They would have to do so under precise guidelines from the appropriate authorities, and within appropriate financial and time limits.

Professor Dion writes:

"In short, we may conclude with Jehlik and Losey that the small group constitutes 'a basic social mechanism for moulding public opinion, controlling local rumours, creating social pressure, transmitting news and developing leadership.'² The small group is a mechanism often overlooked in comprehensive programmes of reform. It is nonetheless essential for the proper functioning of the social structures and communication networks."

Professor Dion has suggested another channel for direct communication. It lies in the identification of the "critical points" of decision-making in the government, and the "critical points" of decision-making in society. The goal would be to encourage both groups to communicate with one another directly.

Finally, there is a growing rôle for research on public

opinion and attitudes. Such research—scientifically planned, carried out and analysed—can make an important contribution to government knowledge and decision-making.

This kind of research may indicate levels of public awareness of available government services, public reaction to what is being done and what is not being done, and perhaps even how the public might react to proposed measures. At the same time, while such surveys may be extremely useful channels of feed-back, they have their limitations. Professor Meisel writes:

"... opinion surveys, no matter how good, suffer from certain limitations: they cannot but ignore human needs which may be extremely important but of which the respondent is unaware. One would think that this is so self-evident as not to require mention. My studies of political parties and election campaigns have shown how often, recently, national campaign strategies have made shortsighted use of surveys precisely because their authors failed to make this vital distinction. Surveys are not likely to make a system more responsive to human needs in the broad sense of picking up those needs which have chronically been neglected because of the particular perspective of the politically dominant groups of a given era."

One of the newer and more interesting interaction mechanisms is the technique of social animation. A few citizens, usually chosen from among those who are not otherwise able to present their views, are gathered for the purpose of discussing their problems. The discussion may be video-taped for later study. The National Film Board series, "Challenge for Change" and *Société nouvelle* are notable experiments in social animation.

The government also appoints investigative committees—Royal Commissions, Task Forces, study groups—and these often make direct contact with various levels of society. They are useful gatherers of information and depending on their timeliness, their terms of reference, and the extent to which their findings are made public, they also demonstrate the government's concern for the opinions of the public. In this connection, the public, not to mention MPs, frequently encounter difficulties in getting the information they must have to participate intelligently in public debate. Research should be started early enough so that its results may be made public in a form that everyone can understand.

It is worth remembering, too, that information cannot ensure by itself that there will be widespread participation, or that the participation will be effective. The majority of people in any state may not want to participate beyond the effort it takes to cast their votes. Western democracies have

2. Jehlik and Losey, "Rural Social Organization in Henry County, Indiana," *Station Bulletin*, 568, (Purdue University, 1951), 37. Quoted by Wayland, Sloan R. and Lennard, Henry, "Current Conceptual Trends in Small Groups Study... Sociology," *Autonomous Groups*, 1952-1953, VIII, no. 2, 2-17. In Meister, op. cit. 133 (retranslation).

generally agreed that, so long as people obey the law, they have a right not to participate; and that governments should not take steps to enforce participation. And yet, effective democratic government now requires active and large-scale participation. It is necessary to motivate or inspire people to participate. To quote Professor Dion once more:

"The first condition for the success of any effort to improve and spread government information should deal with the very basis of political participation. The primary reason for participation is and can only be human self-realization. Naturally, in the existing social order and even—except in anarchy—in any foreseeable order, the phenomenon of domination and subordination seems inherent in the very nature of things. But this is a phenomenon which is based on the demands of social organization and not on man's intrinsic nature. In the reforms to be undertaken, the aim is not merely to reduce the distance between those who give the orders and those who carry them out. It must also be to reduce the authoritarian nature of the order itself through the participation of the largest possible number of individuals in the decision-making process."

If the participation is such that the citizens can really influence decisions, if participation is more than a government effort to rally the public behind decisions already taken, then the motivation may be created. It will inspire a sense of political effectiveness. Still, as Professor Meisel has noted: "A sense of political efficacy is of course only one aspect of the motivation of individuals for participating in the democratic process."

It should be possible for the State to create new mechanisms, and to improve upon those that already exist, and to stimulate research into the reasons for non-participation. Non-participation may stem from insufficient knowledge about ways to participate, or from the feeling that all political activity is futile. In this case, the State can at least try to remove the hesitations through explanation. The non-participants may often be the discontented, those who are in greatest need.

Conclusions

The public cannot engage in meaningful discussion of the activities of the government unless it has knowledge of all pertinent factors. Sometimes, the initiation of public debate results from the normal working of the democratic process; the Opposition, the media, or others instigate the debate. Sometimes it stems from the government's own deliberate decision. In any case, the public needs information.

The State, in order to reach enlightened decisions, requires information which is in the hands of the public, information which is in the hands of non-governmental bodies, and information which is in its own hands. It requires the ability to retrieve it, and use it fully.

Full, accurate, timely and attractive information, generated by the State is a necessary prerequisite for effective participation. At the moment, however, it is not a sufficient basis for this participation. Unless the government takes some special steps, many citizens will never receive this information; they will simply remain outside the communications circuit.

Information is the basis upon which the public may follow the activities of the State, and know of its own rights. Information from the government is the basis for feed-back which allows the constant adjustment of governmental planning. This relationship requires the use of appropriate techniques of information exchange to ensure that the government is aware of reactions to its programmes.

A full and free flow of information is a means to obtain the co-operation of the public in government activities. There is greater recognition than before that increasing participation by the public in the affairs of State is both necessary and possible. At the same time, there are differences in the assessment of the methods to bring about this participation. Democracy may be an ideal that can never be quite reached, but participation is nevertheless a means toward achieving that ideal. Participation requires two-way information which can be effectively exchanged; and an adaptation of many institutions so that they can make information available and understandable. Systems of State information must be able to exploit the general advances in technology, and to take full account of the requirements of society's political organization.

Timely two-way information of good quality is an essential element in the fostering of participation and in the improvement of the government's social effectiveness. The new or reinforced use of existing structures for participation may be vital to this improvement but, no matter what systems are established or strengthened, there are limits to the lengths that any system can go. Participation, at all times, will make the task of governing even more difficult than it has been in the past.

Given the complexity and the importance of the whole matter of information, and the variety of levels and branches and divisions of government that are involved in it, policies on information should be raised to the level of such major national policies as those on the social and economic affairs of the country. The government should enunciate its

information policies publicly, and subject them to the scrutiny of Parliament.

Citizens need effective channels for participation but more than that, they need to have the impression, based on reality, that they are in fact participating. Otherwise, there is indeed a danger of pseudo-participation.

Policies that apply to the information services of government and administration should not exist in isolation from other policies. Nor should they be isolated from the information functions of the legislative and the judiciary. Each branch of the government must have a clear view of its role. Otherwise, participatory democracy will become, as one of our advisers put it, "little more than an extra-political technique of consultation of individuals and non-state bodies between elections or, even worse, just a theoretical legitimization of the capacity of electronic media to create a sense of contact with the political structure among non-participants." There would also be a danger that administrative information flows would replace legitimate and necessary politics.

Governments can continue to hobble along traditional paths, pretending that modern developments have not taken place or do not affect their rôle. Or they can clearly recognize the existence of new conditions, and foster the growth of democratic and technical institutions to enable them to respond effectively to the new realities. There will be dangers along this second path. With each effort to strengthen the governmental and political information apparatus there will be a risk of manipulation. That risk may be guarded against by parallel efforts to strengthen the capacity of Parliament to speak to the country, and to express its opinions on clearly enunciated information policies.

III The Right of Access and Government Information Systems

While information by itself cannot guarantee participatory democracy, the atmosphere that surrounds a government's treatment of information does unquestionably influence the degree of the citizens' participation. One way to check apathy, alienation and disaffection toward government is to ensure that the flow of information, back and forth between government and people, is fast, accurate, credible, open, and relevant to the public issues of the time. The purpose of this paper is to examine the atmosphere and the attitude and the structures that currently dictate the way that government information systems operate; and to see how the Canadian environment and system compare with that of other western democracies such as Sweden, the United States, France and the United Kingdom.

Democracy should be seen to be working; participation is most likely to occur in a society where the citizen feels there is no barrier between himself and the administrative machinery of his government. In Canada, there are a number of such barriers. They stem from the sheer size of the country, from linguistic and cultural and regional differences, and from a federal-provincial framework that breeds a certain intra-governmental competition for public attention. The marriage of technological developments in transportation and communication to the national interest has partly overcome the problem of geography. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism has been studying linguistic and cultural disparities; and recent legislation, and related activities of the Department of the Secretary of State, have already begun to ease some of these problems. The federal-provincial structure is the concern of Part II, Paper XVII, of this report; and one can hope that concerted efforts by both levels of government will continue to encourage and strengthen the development of our national identity.

The barriers and the efforts to overcome them are all part of the country and part of its history. They are also part of an atmosphere that no system of Canadian government information services can escape. As MacGregor Dawson said in his volume on *The Government of Canada*, "The character of a government, like that of an individual, is shaped by the two primary forces of heredity and environment; and the study of a government, again like that of an individual, must perforce devote some attention to the parentage and the special associations which have had direct contact with each particular institution."

With reference to parentage, Canada has inherited some cherished traditions of parliamentary democracy and, along with them, the tradition of administrative secrecy. This tradition is a major barrier between the citizen and his Federal

Government, and it has a great deal to do with the atmosphere in which the government performs its information functions. Canadian scholars are aware of the basic conflict between administrative secrecy and the fact that publicity services are indispensable to a modern, participatory democracy. James Eayrs, Professor of Political Science, at the University of Toronto, wrote in *The Toronto Star*, July 8, 1969: "All bureaucracies are secretive, some more so than others. Canada's is more secretive than most. Totalitarian capitals apart, only official Canberra comes close to matching that special air of furtive reticence which marks the Ottawa mandarins off from other men."

Donald C. Rowat, Professor of Political Science at Carleton University, is a specialist on the question of access to government documents. He argues that there is a strong tradition of administrative secrecy in all countries that have inherited the British parliamentary system, and that the tradition is a legacy from the time of absolute monarchy.¹ In Canada, as in these other countries, it is the accepted principle that all administrative activities and documents must be secret until the government chooses to reveal them. Rowat argues that "any large measure of government secrecy is incompatible with democracy." Yet, the decisions at the very apex of our political system are made secretly in Cabinet by Ministers who swear to "keep close and secret all such matters as shall be treated, debated and resolved on in Privy Council." Moreover, Ministerial decisions are carried out by what Rowat terms an "anonymous, faceless and impervious" public service, which has traditionally been more than eager to restrict access to information.

The press, the public, opposition political parties, and even government back-benchers frequently find that they have only the most inadequate means for getting information about the administrative activities of the government. Without adequate knowledge of what is going on, Parliament and the public cannot hope to call the government to account; and the administration's monopoly of information ensures that many MPs are unable to offer informed criticism.

Part I – Access to Government Information

Canada: Opposition MPs, and government supporters as well, offered the Task Force several examples of their difficulties in gaining access to government information. One Opposition spokesman said that getting information about research conducted for ARDA "is like pulling teeth." Another com-

1. Rowat, D. C. "The Problem of Administrative Secrecy", *International Review of Administrative Science*, 1966, pp. 99, 100.

plained that he had been refused access to the reports on which the government based a decision to alter ways of spending on Indian health services, and said, "too often we're cut off from the reasoning behind government decisions." A Conservative MP reported his unsuccessful request to see the report that recommended moving Air Canada overhaul base from Winnipeg to Montreal. He said it was "98 times harder for the Opposition than for the government to know what is going on." According to a frustrated Liberal Member, however, "at present research material is unavailable to government MPs, never mind the Opposition." A New Democratic Party Member said, "In Canada there is a tendency on the part of governments to be partisan in the papers made public. If it's good news, the government releases it when it's advantageous, but if it's bad news, the government doesn't want it known."

A Liberal Member offered an illuminating example of previous government thinking when he recalled the fate of the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce's suggestion — made when he was a member of the Pearson Cabinet — that supporting papers, sent up to Cabinet at the time of policy formulation, should be published. The Member understood that the objection to the Minister's suggestion was that the publication of such papers would reveal the steps taken in making decisions. This brings us back to the strong tradition of administrative secrecy in countries with a parliamentary system of government, where ministerial responsibility goes hand in hand with public service neutrality and anonymity, and both are accepted as essential parts of the system.

Complaints about restricted access to government documents also come from many people who are not Members of Parliament. There are the representatives of the news media who, as Rowat says, "work in a crazy world of illicit purveyors of official information, who, like gossipers, give them a story but insist either that they must not tell anybody, or that if they print it, they must not give its source."² Scientists complain that the wall of military security prevents the free flow of information essential to scientific development. Social scientists have access to public records only in a limited sense and often at the sole discretion of the Dominion Archivist: they have no "right" of access.

Apart from the Official Secrets Act, Canada has no Statutory provisions that either forbid or permit access to government records. An Order in Council is currently in preparation to spell out details of access to records. Until now, Canadian governments have relied upon departmental discretion. In cases where Canadian documents might contain

information from other countries, the government has adhered meticulously to the rules regarding access in the relevant country, but it has no guidelines of its own. There is, however, an accepted degree of classification in three main areas: correspondence concerning our relations with other countries (External Affairs and Defence); personnel records; and security and intelligence records. In other areas, government departments vary in their approaches.

The files of the Department of External Affairs include so many documents originated by other governments that the Department has felt obliged not to release these files until the governments concerned release their foreign correspondence. Until recently, British and American diplomatic records remained closed until they were 50 years old. But the 30-year period has now been adopted by the United States in relation to State Department records, and by the United Kingdom in relation to most documents including Cabinet papers, but excluding security and intelligence records.

On May 1, 1969 the Prime Minister of Canada announced* that Canada, also, plans to adopt the 30-year rule "to make available for research and other public use as large a portion of the records of the Canadian government prior to July 1, 1939 as would be consistent with the national interest." Certain records will be exempted from public access — "particularly those whose release might adversely affect Canada's external relations, violate the right of privacy of individuals, or adversely affect the national security."

With these exceptions, all departmental records over 30 years old will be transferred to the Public Archives; and, in addition, departments and agencies "will be encouraged to transfer to the Archives records less than 30 years old, insofar as this would be consistent with the efficient operation of departments or agencies involved." These records will remain under the control of the Ministers concerned and will be made available to the public under terms to be established by the Minister responsible in consultation with the Dominion Archivist. In no case will Cabinet documents be made available until they are 30 years old.

The Prime Minister said that the new policy "exemplifies the government's desire to stimulate interest and participation in the affairs of government by Canadians generally." It was criticized inside the House as "meagre" and outside the House as not going far enough. One official at the Public Archives told the Task Force that the policy statement was "awfully vague and got some departments com-

* *Hansard* pp. 8199-8200.

pletely confused." The statement, however, was intended as a prelude to a forthcoming Order in Council which will spell out details of access to records and their transfer to the Public Archives. The Advisory Council on public records – made up of the Dominion Archivist and departmental representatives – is currently working on these details.

The recent *Report of the Royal Commission on Security, (Abridged)*, however, offers little encouragement to those who looked forward to a greater sense of freedom and openness than there is now in matters of access to administrative records.³ The Royal Commission has only just reported and it is too early to know the government's response to its detailed recommendations in this field. The report does say that the absence of a government policy has been "a serious handicap" to historical and other research but, at the same time, the Commission sees no alternative to the 30-year rule. Indeed, from the point of view of security, the Commission feels that there is some material which "for a variety of good reasons should not be made public even after thirty years, and adequate arrangements must be made to strip files of such material before the files are made available to the public."

Rowat's suggestion, made in 1965, was that a much shorter period, perhaps 12 years, should be adopted as the norm, with the government retaining clear authority to keep sensitive documents longer than this, and discretion to release non-sensitive documents earlier. Many western countries, including Britain and the United States, have shown concern in recent years over unduly restricted access to administrative documents. But the *Report of the Royal Commission on Security, (Abridged)*, apart from suggesting that the classification "Restricted" be abandoned, because it is superfluous and misleading, recommended no changes in classification procedures. The Commission was not sympathetic to what it termed "the current concern about over-classification" and said that "it would appear to us that very compelling arguments would need to be advanced for making major changes in the present system."⁴ Indeed, the Commission thought some tightening-up necessary, and said that more attention should be paid to the "need-to-know" principle, that classified information should be disseminated no further than necessary for the conduct of business. Rowat believes the most sensible scheme would be to apply the American declassification system, whereby

3. *Report of the Royal Commission on Security (Abridged)*, p. 80, Section 223.

4. *Op. cit. Report of the Royal Commission on Security, (Abridged)*, p. 74, Section 201.

the great bulk of unimportant documents can be made available immediately. The *Report of the Royal Commission on Security (Abridged)* suggested that departments should be constantly reminded of the value of down-grading the security classification of documents and that officers should seize any opportunity to amend the classifications of papers. But, it added, departmental judgment must be permitted to play a large rôle in declassification.

Reactions to the Royal Commission's recommendations were mixed. Roger Champoux, writing in *La Presse*, summed up the general press view when he said many of the recommendations were "exagérées dans leur rigueur."⁵ Professor Eayrs' comment on the *Report of the Royal Commission on Security (Abridged)* was that "it has pushed us back into the murk of administrative secrecy of which other countries are working free."⁶ Administrative secrecy is an important element of the atmosphere in which government operates. It is a matter of considerable concern in several other democratic countries.

The United States: Access to public documents, whether direct or as a result of government publications, has always been more free in the United States than in most western democracies. The high degree of access in the United States reflects a form of government in which the effects of the separation of powers are pervasive. U.S. civil servants must actively participate in the making of political decisions; they promote particular policies or pieces of legislation that their departments consider desirable. In one United States agency, studied in 1965,⁷ it was recognized that up to a third of the staff's time had to be allocated to making contact with members of congressional committees, state governors, municipal leaders, and others, in order to seek support for the agency's legislative programme. "Inevitably in such circumstances anonymity not only goes by the board, but feelings about its desirability differ from those commonly held where a parliamentary system operates."⁸

The maximum classification period observed for most United States government documents since 1945 has been 20 years, though the Department of State now observes a 30-year period. In 1961, President Kennedy stated in a letter to his secretaries that any official should have a clear and precise case involving the national interest before he seeks to

5. *La Presse*, June 28, 1969.

6. *Toronto Star*, July 8, 1969.

7. See Knight, K. W. "Administrative Secrecy and Ministerial Responsibility," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, xxxii, No. 1, Feb. 1966, pp. 77-84.

8. *Ibid*, 83.

withhold from publication any documents or papers that are 15 or more years old.⁹ According to a system instituted by the Kennedy administration in 1961, classified documents are placed in one of four declassification groups. The great bulk of classified documents fall into the first group. They step down automatically every three years until the lowest of the secrecy classifications is reached. At the end of 12 years, any material in this group is fully declassified. Documents in the second group are stepped down from one degree of secrecy to another only every 12 years. The third group contains extremely sensitive documents which are graded on an individual basis. The fourth group contains information controlled by international agreement, and over which the United States has no jurisdiction.

A major legislative achievement – which apparently has been put to little use – was the Freedom of Information Act. It was passed in 1966 after a campaign that lasted more than a decade and involved the press, the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Bar Association. The Freedom of Information Act, largely rewrote Section 3 of the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946, the law governing the disclosure of agency information. The 1946 Act had been criticized ever since its enactment for a list of exceptions so broad as to make it unworkable. Contrary to the intention of Congress, it had been frequently cited as authority for withholding rather than disclosing information. Under the 1966 Act, agencies are required not only to publish their procedures and rules in the Federal Register (as under the old Act) but to make publicly available all final opinions, including both concurring and dissenting views, statements of policy and interpretations not published in the Register.

The 1946 Act had permitted agencies to withhold information “required for good cause to be held confidential.” The Freedom of Information Act permitted withholding only information that fell into one or more of nine specifically defined areas. The exemptions include matters specifically required to be kept secret in the interests of national defence or foreign policy, matters specifically exempted from disclosure by statute, and trade secrets and commercial and financial information obtained from any person on a privileged or confidential basis. Other exemptions are personnel files, the disclosure of which would be an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, and investigatory files compiled for purposes of law enforcement.

In a June 1967 memorandum on the administration of the law, the United States Attorney-General said that it re-

quired that “disclosure be the general rule, not the exception; that all individuals have equal rights of access; that the burden be on the government to justify withholding a document, not on the person who requests it.” The new law provided, for the first time, a court procedure by which an aggrieved citizen might move against an agency that he thinks is improperly withholding records. Federal courts are authorized to punish agency officials for contempt. And although the law does not specifically require it, the Attorney-General recommended an administrative review procedure within each agency. This procedure would enable people who had been denied information to make a top-level appeal before taking the matter to court. As of December 1, 1968, every major executive agency with the exception of the Department of State had complied with the recommendation.

After the long struggle to get the Freedom of Information Act through Congress, it was most discouraging for those who had fought for its passage to find that comparatively little use was being made of it, and that many government agencies have apparently tried to repeal the law by regulation. Some have twisted or ignored the Act. Some have even used it as an excuse to hide the facts by classifying information in one of the nine categories of exemption. Only a few agencies have used the Act as it was intended – to improve their public information efforts. According to Samuel J. Archibald, former staff director of the Government Information Sub-committee of the House of Representatives, the Act has “liberated only the information which agencies have been willing to make public.” The American professional journalistic society, *Sigma Delta Chi*, complained in 1968 that the Act had not made any noticeable difference at the Pentagon. There, information programmes were still “not designed to provide information but to protect the Secretary of Defence and various services against criticism.” The Society also commented on the information policies of the White House, where “the news is suppressed under the strict injunction of the President. It is tighter than a drum.” But at the same time, the Society quoted an unnamed long-term White House correspondent as saying that he knew of no instance in which a reporter had used the Freedom of Information Act to challenge the White House for information.

Archibald, who now acts as consultant to the Washington office of the University of Missouri’s Freedom of Information Centre, is particularly disappointed that the news media have made so little use of the Act. Only a handful of appeals against administrative secrecy have been filed. In the first six months that the law was in operation, only 26 per cent

9. Quoted in Stacey, C. P. “Some Pros and Cons of the Access Problem”, *International Journal*, 20 (1964-65).

of the government information problems that the Government Information sub-committee handled were brought to its attention by newspapers, magazines or broadcasters. Lawyers, businessmen and other citizens accounted for 64 per cent of the Sub-committee's information work, and Members of Congress for ten per cent.

This pattern was also apparent in appeals filed directly with federal agencies, according to the Washington office of the University of Missouri Freedom of Information Centre. And the Centre reported that the newsmen used the major enforcement provision of the new law even less. Of the 12 court cases filed in the first six months of the law's operation, not one was based on press attempts to enforce the people's right to know. Archibald believes the press should stand up for the public's right to know by enforcing that right – in the name of the public, not the press. It was therefore interesting to learn from Max Frankel of the *New York Times* in July 1969 that the paper's Washington bureau, dissatisfied with the flow of official information, had set up a study to determine when and where to invoke the Freedom of Information Act.

France: In the matter of public access to government documents, France's system appears to be more restrictive than that of the other countries we have considered, including Canada. In principle access is almost entirely subject to ministerial discretion. We have not been able to assess just how broadly this discretion is applied. Papers cease to be confidential or secret only on the day that a Minister orders the release of the records that relate to a specific period of time. There is no automatic provision for their release, such as the 30-year rule that applies in the United States and the United Kingdom and is beginning to be applied in Canada.

With respect to certain files from certain periods of time, the records for example, of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs are open for purposes of historical research, but only to those researchers whom the Minister himself has authorized to examine them.

Even after a ministerial order releases a series, certain files pertaining to security and personnel that may date as far back as 1815 must remain confidential. *Documentation française*, and other government sources, publish edited series of official papers. But such publications, as is the case in other countries, are not a substitute for free and open access to government documents. For this reason, France, through its *Service des Archives*, plans to move closer to the practices followed in the United States and Britain. We understand that, within six or seven years, the 30-year rule will apply

there as well.

Sweden: For almost 200 years the assumption in Sweden has been that all government documents are public unless legal provision has been made for them to be withheld. In effect, a Swedish official who is drafting a document does not assign a security classification to it. All documents, except those in certain defined areas, are considered "unclassified" up to the time they are requested to be produced for public examination. Any citizen may ask for a document. It is up to the official responsible (or his superiors) to say whether or not it can be produced but, if he refuses access, he must be able to give adequate reasons that conform to the regulations.

The Swedish Constitution provides limitations to access: "To further the free interchange of opinion and general enlightenment, every Swedish citizen shall have free access to official documents This right shall be subject only to such restrictions as are required out of consideration for the security of the realm and its relations with foreign powers, or in connection with official activities for inspection, control or other supervision, or for the prevention and prosecution of crime, or to protect the legitimate economic interests of the State, communities and individuals, or out of consideration for the maintenance of privacy, security of the person, decency and morality."

The Constitution goes on to say that the specific cases in which official documents are to be kept secret shall be "closely defined" in a special statute. This law, the Secrecy Act, spells out an impressive list of matters that must be kept secret.

The principle of open access, however, has extensive application. It applies to public documents both prepared and received by all sorts of administrative agencies, from government departments to the police, administrative tribunals and local governments. Even Parliament comes under the rule; citizens can demand to see the minutes of its committees. Moreover, a person who asks to see public documents does not have to show that he has a legal interest in them. He does not even have to say why he wants them. The Constitution provides that a requested document shall be "made available immediately or as soon as possible." The courts in their judgments have taken this rule seriously.

As Rowat has indicated, the list of exceptions covers all the circumstances that are traditionally used as arguments against free access to administrative information. But in general, the right of free access is to prevail, and this right is limited only by the listed exceptions.

In the Secrecy Act itself, and in other government regula-

tions, the secrecy of documents is valid only for a specified period of time, and the restrictions are not valid for documents preserved in the courts. Where documents of the Foreign Office and the armed services are concerned, the Secrecy Act carefully enumerates those that may be temporarily kept secret. Most of the regulations for secrecy do not refer to documents containing administrative decisions.

The principle of open access is upheld by the Ombudsman who handles questions about the classification of documents with regard to publicity, by the courts and by regulations requiring special arrangements to facilitate easy access to documents by scholars, the press and by any interested members of the public.

Open access makes it possible for the interested Swedish public to participate in the formation of policy. Citizens have a chance to criticize and discuss proposals before the government makes decisions, often using the same documentation as the experts. In Sweden, draft bills are made public. They are widely discussed among interested groups before their presentation to the legislature. This overcomes one of the disabilities of the Canadian parliamentary system, in which the government has no easy way to seek public reaction to a measure before it is presented to Parliament in a form that is almost final. The most important effect of publicity, according to Canadian scholar Jacques Premont,¹⁰ is that any decision taken by government and administration is under public scrutiny and therefore control.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Security (Abridged) acknowledged the fact of the Swedish system of open access but it did not approve of the principle behind the system:

"We would view suggestions for increased publicity with some alarm. We think the knowledge that memoranda might be made public would have a seriously inhibiting effect on the transaction of public business. We believe that the process of policy-making implies a need for wide-ranging and tentative consideration of options, many of which it would be silly or undesirable to expose to the public gaze. To insist that all such communications must be made public would appear to us likely to impede the discussive deliberation that is necessary for wise administration."¹¹

The Royal Commission saw no reason why controlled access to specific Canadian Government files should not

be arranged on an *ad hoc* basis, when a genuine requirement can be established.

The Swedish system of open administration may be admirable but it is not necessarily easily adaptable to Canadian conditions. Nor is there much evidence that the real results for the public – in improved quality of information or lack of suppression of essential documents – are notably different from the results in the Canadian or United States systems. The atmospheres, however, the atmospheres in which the public seeks and the government releases information, are markedly different.

Both Sweden and Canada have a parliamentary system and a Cabinet responsible to the legislature, but the Swedish Cabinet differs significantly from the Canadian. Sweden has attempted to separate the administrative and political functions of government through the use of Royal Administrative Boards. Swedish Cabinet Ministers normally confine themselves to laying down lines of policy and determining budgets for the Boards, but it is not unknown for a Minister and Board to disagree publicly on the anticipated effects of a certain policy. Moreover, Cabinet policy-making endures supervision by an elaborate system of parliamentary committees that extends even into such sensitive areas as foreign affairs. In general, the Swedish system stresses an exact and detailed accountability throughout the whole executive structure, functioning in what K. W. Knight terms "a context of traditional suspicion of arbitrary executive power." The Swedish form of responsible government is very different from ours. The satisfactory transplanting of Swedish practices in access to public documents might be difficult to achieve.

Rowat, however, is convinced that Canada should follow the Swedish example because "the principle of open access to administrative information is essential to the full development of democracy."¹² He was challenged by K. W. Knight in an exchange of articles published in *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* in 1965 and 1966. Knight felt that making official files available to the public might "induce such a degree of administrative caution as would seriously inhibit the effective functioning of government." He foresaw officials "completely avoiding the risks of putting pen to paper," or "writing with an eye to history by recording only favourable information." Full access to working papers might lead to the officials being "forced to the hustings" to "engage in public controversy" allowing "political capital to be made." Under such circumstances Ministers of the Crown "might be tempted to fill

10. Premont, J. "Publicité de Documents Officiels," *Canadian Public Administration*, 1968, Vol. XI, No. 4, pp. 449-453.

11. *Report of the Royal Commission on Security, (Abridged)*, Section 223, p. 80.

12. Rowat, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

senior posts with their political sympathizers"¹³

In reply,¹⁴ Rowat suggested that, rather than taking a defeatist position on the first points, the public should ensure that such things did not happen. In Rowat's view, Knight's fears were "largely false" because the great bulk of administrative information is required to be recorded, and this requirement could easily be extended by legislation. Under the existing system, Rowat believes that "officials and governments are free to put out only favourable publicity. Access to records which are required to be kept would prevent them doing this." Rowat argued that, in the Swedish experience, the open access principle had produced an attitude in officials which worked against any wholesale tendency to evade the requirement of putting pen to paper. In any case, he was not advocating complete access to information and documents at all times. His proposal would still be compatible with an appropriate measure of secrecy in administration. "There will always be the problem of drawing a line between the government's need to deliberate confidentially and the public's need for information. It is simply a question of emphasis."

Rowat agreed there was a possibility Ministers "might be tempted to fill senior posts with their political sympathizers" but suggested the temptation need not be satisfied. In Sweden not only are all public service jobs publicly advertised, as they are in Canada, but the press and the general public has the right to examine the list of applicants after an appointment has been made. In several western European countries, senior officials have considerable freedom to express their views publicly. In the United States, the whole top level of the civil service is politically appointed. Rowat believes such a system has "certain advantages, such as the top officials' commitment to and enthusiasm for the government's programmes, as compared with the cold neutrality of permanent officials under the Commonwealth parliamentary system . . . other workable arrangements exist and they may even be superior to our own."

This argument went to the root of Knight's doubts about the principle of open access. Knight believes the principle is basically incompatible with the parliamentary democratic system practised in Commonwealth countries. He wrote: "In questioning the need for administrative secrecy we are casting doubt on notions that not only have some con-

stitutional support, but also represent a significant element in our general ideology of government. It may be that we have been believing (or acting as if we believe) in a myth. Perhaps we should completely abandon the doctrines of ministerial responsibility and public service anonymity and neutrality; based as they are on the doubtful idea that a clear distinction can be made between policy-making and administration. If this is to be the approach, however, the issues must be presented clearly."¹⁵

This point was made again very recently by Jacques Premont,¹⁶ who wrote that, if Canada is to make its system of government more open to access, we will probably have to set aside our concepts of administrative practice and access which developed along with the parliamentary system.

These arguments are not as theoretical as they may appear. Indeed, not long after Rowat's and Knight's discussions, the United Kingdom which has long served as the example for Commonwealth parliaments and public servants, took up the issue.

Britain: Here, where "our general ideology of government" originated, the tradition of administrative secrecy has been questioned in recent years by scholars¹⁷ and by a Committee on the Civil Service. The Committee submitted its report to Prime Minister Harold Wilson in 1968.¹⁸ In a chapter entitled "Consultation and Secrecy" the Fulton Committee found that the British administrative process is surrounded by excessive secrecy, and that a greater degree of openness would serve the public interest. The increasingly wide range of problems handled by government, and their far-reaching effects upon society, demand the widest possible consultation. "It is an abuse of consultation when it is turned into a belated attempt to prepare the ground for decisions that have in reality been taken already."

The Committee recognized that there must always be an element of secrecy (not simply on the grounds of national security) in administration and policy-making. At the formative stages of decisions, civil servants no less than Ministers should be able to discuss, and disagree among

15. Knight, K. W., op. cit., p. 84.

16. See Premont, J., op. cit.

17. Chapman, Brian. *British Government Observed: Some European Reflections* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1963) Parker, R. S. "Official Neutrality and the Right of Public Comment" *Public Administration* (Sydney) xx No. 4. (Dec. 1961) and xxiii No. 3 (Sept. 1964). Shils, E. B., *The Torment of Secrecy* (Glenco, Ill.) 1956.

18. *Report of the Fulton Committee on the Civil Service, 1966-68* (Cmnd. 3638) Vol. I Chapter 8, Sections 277-280.

13. Knight, K. W., "Administrative Secrecy and Ministerial Responsibility," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, xxxii, No. 1, February 1966, p. 78.

14. Rowat, D. C., "Administrative Secrecy and Ministerial Responsibility: A Reply" loc. cit., pp. 84-87.

themselves, about possible courses of action without danger of their individual views becoming a matter of public knowledge. The Committee said it was difficult to see how there could be mutual trust between colleagues and proper critical discussion on any other basis. But the material and some of the analyses that are the basis for these policy discussions should fall into a different category. Unless there are overriding considerations to the contrary, positive advantages would derive from making such information available to the public at the formative stage of policy-making. The Committee suggested the government set up an enquiry "to make recommendations for getting rid of unnecessary secrecy in this country."

The Fulton Report observed that Parliament and, to a more limited extent, the mass media were already eroding the traditional anonymity of civil servants, and the process was likely to continue. "We see no reason to seek to reverse it. Indeed, we think that administration suffers from the convention, which is still alive in many fields, that only the Minister should explain issues in public and what his department is doing or not doing about them." It is no longer possible, the Report said, for a Minister to have the full and detailed knowledge and control of all activities within his department that is implied in the old concept of ministerial responsibility. Nor can a Minister be present at every forum where citizens raise legitimate questions about his department's activities. In the Committee's view, the convention of anonymity should be modified and public servants, as professional administrators, should be able to go further than they do now in explaining what their departments are doing. The Committee ducked the question of how this was to be achieved. It said only that, "We think it best not to offer any specific precepts for the progressive relaxation of the convention of anonymity. It should be left to develop gradually and pragmatically."

The matter of how precisely to achieve the relaxation of the convention of anonymity was also avoided by the Wilson Government in its White Paper on "Information and the Public Interest."¹⁹ The paper was presented to the British House of Commons in June 1969, and it said only that "this development should be encouraged." The White Paper agreed with the Fulton Committee that civil servants should be able to go further than they do now in explaining departmental activities, but it also said the government must avoid the risk of officials becoming personally identified with a particular issue of policy or being drawn into expressing personal views on policy matters which could be represented

as being in conflict with those of their Ministers. The main responsibility for explaining policy to Parliament and the public must continue to rest with the Ministers.

The White Paper said nothing about setting up the enquiry, suggested by the Fulton Committee, to make recommendations for getting rid of "unnecessary secrecy." It did refer, however, to a "guiding principle" adopted by the government: "the prior publication of information about the considerations involved in policy matters should form a continuing part of the decision-making process wherever reasonably possible." Reference was made to the recent introduction of government Green Papers that set out for public discussion major ministerial proposals while they are still at the formative stage. In the past year or so, Green Papers have been issued on the regional employment premium, the reorganization of the health service, and the implications of a national minimum wage.

The White Paper also said, however, that public consultation on tentative proposals may not invariably be the right course. It may result in delays when prompt action is essential. Sometimes, too, conflicting views and conflicting interests are already well known. In such cases, prolonged consultation might merely impose delay without any compensating advantages. The White Paper argued that each case should be considered on its own merits.

Canada has lagged behind other countries – and particularly Britain, the United States and Sweden – in opening administrative practices to the public, Members of Parliament, and the "public watch-dog" of the news media. One attempt to encourage a more open administration in Canada was the introduction of a private member's bill²⁰ by Barry Mather of the New Democratic Party in 1965. This bill, which was talked out in 1966, contained the main elements of the Swedish system. The first section stated that every administrative or ministerial commission, power and authority should make its records, and other information concerning its activities available to any person at his request in reasonable manner and time. The second section provided that this rule would not apply to records that affected national security, that were exempted by statute from disclosure, and that concerned trade secrets. Nor would it apply to cases where the right to personal privacy excluded the public interest. Section three contained the important principle that the courts should determine whether any particular record or information should be made public.

The report of the Fulton Committee and recent actions by the Wilson Government indicate that in Britain, the

19. *Information and the Public Interest*. HMSO Cmnd. 4089.

20. Bill C-39, given first reading, April 8, 1965.

birthplace of our traditions of administrative secrecy, these very traditions are no longer sacrosanct. Does the Prime Minister's policy statement of May 1969, mean that Canada, too, is prepared to make changes? Will the expected Order in Council concerning access go much beyond that statement? And if it does, will the passage of an Order in Council be enough to guarantee real change?

The U.S. experience has shown that it is not enough merely to legislate. Legislation can be evaded and its purpose distorted. Legislation, despite a demonstrable need, may simply go unused. Constant vigilance is necessary to see that freedom of access, which may exist on the statute books, also exists in practice.

Fears about the implications of the principle of open access are sometimes exaggerated. Totally unrestricted access to materials has never been seriously suggested. Even in Sweden, there are many significant restrictions. The point about the Swedish system is that, there, the citizens can see their democracy at work; the atmosphere of open access is important to the maintaining of public confidence in a democratic system of government.

In Sweden, the operation of laws such as the Freedom of the Press Act (1949) keeps the public aware of democratic freedom. According to this Act, a reporter or editor cannot be compelled to disclose his source of information. In fact, he is legally prohibited from revealing an informant's name without the informant's consent. The only significant exception to this prohibition occurs when an official has disregarded a clear statutory duty to keep a matter secret. There are special court proceedings for lawsuits that concern freedom of the press.

In France, freedom of expression is formally guaranteed by the 1958 Constitution. Official recognition of the freedom of the press was given in the Press Act of 1881, which did not, however, contain provisions concerning a journalist's right to protect his sources of information. The Press Act laid down a number of offences which can be committed by the press. They include incitement to crimes and offences; publication of material defamatory to the President of the Republic, or to foreign heads of State, or diplomatic representatives; libel; publication of false news with a view to disturbing the peace; and undermining the security of the State. The Act of 1881 provided that these offences would be tried by the Assizes in which trials are held by jury. In 1945, however, competence to try many press offences was transferred to the lower criminal courts. Cases of incitement to crime are still tried by the Assizes. Cases of undermining the security of the State are tried in the State

security court.

In the United States, 12 states recognize the right of journalists to withhold their sources of information, but as Professor Adam Popovici²¹ of the University of Montreal has pointed out, the legislation always contains a qualifying clause, concerning cases where it is "in the public interest" for a journalist's sources to be revealed. This qualification allows for a considerable range of interpretation, and for a restrictive use of the legislation as in Alabama. Popovici also drew attention to the fact that in 1949 the New York Law Reform Commission attempted to draft legislation concerning the rights of journalists, but the attempt foundered over the difficulty of defining journalistic privilege.

In Canada, as in all Commonwealth countries with a common-law tradition, no such legislation exists. It is left to the discretion of the various courts of the land to decide whether the public interest is better served by revealing sources or concealing them. Normand Lépine, writing in *Le Devoir* on March 17, 1969, said that ultimately it is necessary to choose between the liberty of the press and the proper working of justice. In the United States the emphasis has been on the liberty of the press. This has not been the case in Canada.

Customarily the Canadian courts give admonitions or suspended sentences to journalists who refuse to divulge their sources. But judgements differ. In recent months John Smith, a freelance producer with the CBC, received a short jail sentence in Montreal for refusing to divulge the name of an alleged Quebec terrorist he had interviewed. Yet a week after that judgement, the freedom of journalists not to reveal their sources was accepted in another court in another part of Canada. In commenting on the John Smith case, Maxwell Cohen formerly Dean of Law at McGill University, said he does not believe that a journalist's sources should be protected because "I'm inclined to think that the journalist would have a very hard case to demonstrate that the community interest is better served by non-disclosure." Nevertheless Cohen also said, "Where the state is still in many respects highly secrecy oriented, and in Canada we're very secrecy oriented, at almost every level, journalism becomes a kind of countervailing power to loosen the congealed secrecy"²² surrounding us.

The Smith case prompted Vincent Prince of *Le Devoir* to urge Canadian legislation to reconcile the requirements of a free press with the interests of society as a whole. "*En atten-*

21. Quoted in *Le Devoir*, March 20, 1969.

22. Transcript of a statement made by Maxwell Cohen on CBC-TV, April 27, 1969.

dant, les autorités, les juges en particulier, devraient réduire au minimum le zèle qui les pousse à faire témoigner les représentants de la presse." ²³ Le conseil syndical du Syndicat des journalistes de Montréal passed a resolution in April demanding legislation upholding a journalist's right to conceal his sources of information, although some journalists at the meeting pointed out that, while the public has the right to know about matters concerning it, the public also has the right to know where this information comes from.²⁴

A secrecy-oriented society is unlikely to produce the atmosphere that is necessary for public participation in the democratic process. But an open administration is only one of the requirements for a participatory democracy. If participation is to mean anything, citizens must be fully informed of their government's purposes and activities and, to get this information, they are largely dependent on their government's publicity services.

The qualities and shortcomings of the present Canadian Government information system are later discussed in this report. Here, we choose to consider further the general atmosphere in which these services must currently operate, and the superstructure imposed on them. Again, a comparison with the way other democratic governments handle information should prove instructive. Other and older countries, for example, with somewhat different forms of democratic government, have attempted some form of co-ordinated information service, and sometimes on more than one level. In France, until recently at any rate, interdepartmental co-ordination occurred at the level of the "*service de liaison interministérielle pour information*" and also at the "*secrétariat d'État à l'information*", whose chief was a Cabinet Member. In Britain, co-ordination of departmental information needs is met at the service level by the Central Office of Information; and since World War II it has been customary for a co-ordinating Minister at Cabinet level to speak for the government as a whole on information matters. In the United States, co-ordination exists at the highest level, in the office of the Director of Communications for the Executive Branch. In Britain, where the political and parliamentary systems most resemble our own – and, for that reason, receive our most detailed consideration here – there is co-ordination at the technical, public service and political levels. In Canada, however, the only co-ordination occurs on an *ad hoc* basis, within the Prime Minister's Office.

23. *Le Devoir*, March 18, 1969.

24. *La Presse*, April 3, 1969.

Part II – Information Systems

Canada: The Prime Minister's Press Secretary is his principal adviser in the business of making information available to the media and public on matters that concern the government as a whole. The Press Secretary is a political appointee. He is not an overseer of government information, and any co-ordination of departmental information occurs on an *ad hoc* basis, usually at the political level. (In the United States, by contrast, the Director of Communications for the Executive Branch is intended to be an overseer of government information.)

Under the present administration the Prime Minister's Press Secretary has three assistants, one of them part-time. All are located in the Prime Minister's Office. Under the previous administration, when the title of Press Secretary was established, the incumbent had one assistant. The Press Secretary's function has not changed, but the job has become increasingly demanding in the past two or three years; it is one of the most intensely political of all positions in the Prime Minister's Office. The Press Secretary has access to the Prime Minister by phone at any time. He is one of four men who attend daily morning meetings with the Prime Minister.

The Press Secretary's office is a distribution agency for the Prime Minister's speeches, and a clearinghouse for the many requests for interviews with the Prime Minister. There is daily contact between the Press Gallery and the Press Secretary and his assistants. The staff answer newsmen's questions on details of policy that involve the whole government, and they clear time on the Prime Minister's agenda for anticipated requests for news media interviews.

The Press Secretary also plays an advisory rôle on information policy. During the early stages of planning for the Constitutional Conference, for example, the Press Secretary was asked for advice on whether sessions should be open to the news media. "Obviously," says the current Press Secretary, "my main function is to serve the Prime Minister's interest, to advise him on what he should say or not say to the press, by giving him warning about danger signals when the weather is rough, by offering suggestions about what course to follow." The Press Secretary sees a conflict between his responsibility to advise the Prime Minister on when not to make certain statements and, on the other hand, the need to give as much information as possible to the news media so that they – and the public – may understand the background to government decisions. In

his opinion, "the conflict will never be resolved."

Newsmen also pursue the executive and special assistants to Cabinet Ministers as valuable sources of information at the policy level of government and, because Information Officers often have little status or access to Ministers, executive assistants sometimes assume the rôle of departmental spokesman for existing policies and programmes. One man, with experience as an executive assistant, told the Task Force that he saw a certain danger in ministers using executive assistants rather than Information Officers as purveyors of news. As political appointees, they are susceptible to the charge of withholding information that might reflect badly on their minister, or of slanting material to political advantage. He also pointed out that often an executive assistant has not the opportunity to become fully acquainted with the details of departmental programmes that are not under review, or are still being developed. This tremendously important, if gray area, where the official and partisan policies meet has never been carefully studied by scholars or experts with a view to establishing a more coherent and cohesive information system at this level in Canada.)

United States: Until President Nixon took office, it was customary for Presidents of the United States to appoint a Press Secretary who had three functions. According to George Reedy, Press Secretary to President Johnson, he served as spokesman for the President; he handled the logistical problems involved in obtaining adequate news coverage of the President; and he served as a point of contact so that newspapermen had a recognized source for answers to their queries. Reedy said it was "his responsibility somehow to disentangle the intricate skein of daily activities and determine what should be made available and what could legitimately be withheld."²⁵ Furthermore, he was responsible for administering the rules and procedures under which access to the President is possible at all. Nothing in the title of Press Secretary determined a particular incumbent's closeness to the President. He might or might not be a trusted adviser. He had no official status other than that accorded to other special assistants to the President.

It was President Nixon's opinion that former Press Secretaries had spent a great deal more time acting as spokesman for the President than they did co-ordinating press arrangements. On taking office, he divided the Press Secretary's function. He appointed a Presidential Press Secretary, Ron Ziegler; and a Director of Communications for the Executive Branch, Herbert Klein. Klein's main responsibilities are to

25. Hiebert, R. E. and Spitzer, C. E., editors. *The Voice of Government* (New York: John Wiley) 1968.

co-ordinate public information activities at all levels of government apart from the White House; and to maintain close contact with the departmental and agency press officers, and with the Director of the United States Information Agency. In practice, the contact is daily. Each Cabinet department and some large non-Cabinet agencies report to Klein's office on their major press conferences and statements.

Klein has worked closer to President Nixon, and for a longer time, than most presidential press officers have worked with their chiefs. He was with Nixon when Nixon was a Senator and later Vice President. As Director of Communications, he ranks at the highest level of the President's personal staff and draws a salary of \$42,500 a year. His job is equivalent to Assistant to the President.²⁶ He has 12 assistants to handle business, which includes answering an average of 400 telephone calls and 150 letters a day. Klein's four senior assistants call departments each day to find out the day's programme, and if there are any problems. In most cases the departmental press officer prepares and puts out his own press releases or answers reporters' questions on his own. Except in rare instances, however, he does this only after informing Klein's office and discussing the matter with a Klein staffer. Ron Ziegler is an exception. He does not work under anyone's direction except the President's, but he frequently consults with Klein.

Klein attends the daily 8:00 a.m. meeting of White House officials, as well as certain Cabinet meetings, but not National Security Council sessions.

The administration stated that the new position was an indication the President "intended to emphasize the need for free access to information in all departments of government, to the extent that it does not endanger national security." The *New York Times* greeted this with the observation that "what constitutes the public interest has always been the main argument between the Government and the mass media." The *New York Times* said "Klein's rôle as a sort of information czar" immediately raised the prospect that he would "try to control other Government information officers." The *Washington Post* anticipated "he might be a censor, a news manager, a man through whom will filter only the favourable news of the Nixon administration."

Klein vigorously denied that he was intended to be any of these things, and in the months following his appointment the outcry subsided. The initial fears of the press that he would centralize and censor the flow of information from government had not materialized. In July 1969, the Task

26. See Huston, Luther A. *Editor and Publisher*, February 15, 1969.

Force asked Max Frankel, Head of the Washington desk of the *New York Times*, to comment. Frankel saw no sign that Klein was establishing a new network of information officers, and he remarked on Klein's usefulness in arranging interviews with Cabinet Members. Frankel pointed out that, while no one government information officer had ever before been given so broad a mandate, Klein's assignment and function were not new to government.

The Freedom of Information Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors said in April 1969 that Klein was "helping to close the credibility gap." In June the *Washington Post* remarked that there was no evidence Klein had attempted to diminish the flow of information. The paper commented favourably on the regular despatch of the complete texts of White House speeches to a thousand daily newspaper editors and broadcasters, in addition to the weekly press. A university study, quoted by the *Washington Post*, showed that Nixon men had received only 17 of 255 top information jobs in Cabinet departments.

Apart from the co-ordination achieved by the new Director of Communications for the Executive Branch, the United States Government has no centrally organized system of domestic information services. This lack of a central system contrasts with the enormous co-ordinating machinery established for dispensing U.S. information abroad through the United States Information Agency. The USIA was established in 1953 under a Director who reports directly to the President. The Director is a member of the National Security Council, as well as other groups of presidential advisers.

Both Information Officers and Members of Congress have already expressed their dissatisfaction with the domestic information services. Last year, Congressman John E. Moss, Chairman of the House subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Government Information, remarked that the last major study of the government information system was the Hutchins Commission *Report on the Freedom of the Press*, and it was published in 1947.²⁷ Twenty years later the *Columbia Journalism Review*²⁸ asked a number of communications experts to assess the current value of the Report's recommendations; they concluded there had been progress in every area except the recommendation that the government improve its domestic information procedures.

Moss's criticisms of the United States Government in-

formation system will sound familiar to readers of Volume 1 of this Task Force's report. Information officers, he observed, have insufficient access to the decision-making process. They occupy relatively low-level positions. "The job of informing the public of the facts with respect to government policies and the purposes underlying these policies . . . cannot be done at all well if the public information function is not at a top administrative level."²⁹

Wayne Phillips, Director of the Division of Public Affairs, United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, says that "no two government public information offices are organized alike. Beyond that there are no safe generalities on this subject."³⁰ To his knowledge, no one has made a thorough study of existing organizations. "So fragmented is the world in which we live that the public information officers of the 12 federal departments, for example, know each other only casually and have only infrequent contacts in the course of their work." Phillips says there is little if any concept of an overall domestic information programme in the U.S. government, or of how much it should cost in relation to other demands on administrative funds. His solution is a clearly defined budget for public information activities, but "we will never see this day as long as Congress regards public information as synonymous with propaganda - rather than recognizing it as an essential bulwark of democracy."

France: Between 1944 and 1969 France had a centralized government information system, headed by a Minister of Information or a Secretary of State for Information. The degree of centralization established in the immediate post-war period decreased after 1947, and various information functions were gradually transferred to different government departments - particularly to the Prime Minister's Office, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. In June 1969, when President Pompidou took office, the Ministry of Information was disbanded, and its staff assigned to interdepartmental liaison duties. It is too early to assess the results of the change, other than to remark that the trend is away from strong central control. The new French Government has a Cabinet spokesman for information, M. Léo Hamon, with the rank of Secretary of State, who meets news media representatives after each Cabinet meeting. The essential change appears to be that M. Hamon is not the head of a centralized government information service, as was his predecessor under President de Gaulle.

27. Hiebert and Spitzer, op. cit.

28. *Columbia Journalism Review*, Summer and fall editions, 1967.

29. Hiebert and Spitzer, op. cit. p. 31.

30. Hiebert and Spitzer, op. cit. pp. 247-259.

Despite the long-established Ministry of Information, the centralization of government information was never complete in France. All ministries maintained their own press and information services, and they have always been free to issue their own press releases when they wished. Some of the older ministries, like foreign affairs and agriculture, have had highly organized information services for many years, run by long-established information officers. In some other ministries, however, the press attaché to the Minister performs a major information function, and like the Canadian executive assistant to a Minister, straddles the line between official departmental and political information.

In 1963 co-ordination of information at the interdepartmental level was introduced through the "*services de liaison interministérielle pour l'information*." Representatives of major government departments are seconded to this service, which used to hold daily meetings at the Ministry of Information, and which maintain close and constant contact both with the individual ministries and, to ensure the flow of information to the regions, with the Prefects of the various departments.

At the same time that M. Léo Hamon was appointed Cabinet spokesman for information, with the rank of Secretary of State, President Pompidou also appointed M. Jacques Baumel, as an "*auditeur*", with the same rank. The *auditeur* is something of an Ombudsman. His duties as a spokesman for the public include liaison and consultation with all manner of organizations throughout the country. It is expected that his contacts will help maintain the two-way flow of information between the government and the people. These changes, however, in no way affect some of the major institutions that deal with government information in France. One of these is *Documentation française*.

Documentation française was established in 1944, and formed part of the Ministry of Information until 1947, when it was attached to the *Secrétariat général du gouvernement*. It has resided there ever since, as a quasi-independent, largely technical and scholarly body of international repute.

Documentation française's current functions were spelled out in 1950. It is responsible for assembling and producing a collection of publications on a wide variety of major current issues of interest in France and abroad. It serves both the administration and the public, and it prepares publications according to academic standards, but frequently written in popular form for distribution in France and elsewhere. The organization has its own translation services, along with research, writing, editing and publishing facilities. *Documentation française* also performs an interdepartmental co-

ordinating function by producing various publications concerning the administration and the public service. It produces papers for internal use by government officials at seminars and conferences in France and abroad.

When it was first established, *Documentation française* was intended primarily to serve the government, the National Assembly and the public service, but it has been used increasingly by the public, and particularly by students of political science, economics and public administration. Four-fifths of its publications are available commercially, some by subscription. It has produced various series of publications on international affairs, including special studies of Russia, China, the Middle East and Latin America. Lists of current publications are produced regularly, as are bibliographies, prepared to suit the needs of various users, private and public. *Documentation française's* library now contains over 100,000 publications, and its central index system, while not available to the general public provides service to other libraries and to research bodies.

Britain: During World War II the British Government included a Minister of Information, but in 1946 the position was abolished. This was in keeping with the basic principle that individual departmental Ministers retain complete responsibility for everything which is done by and on behalf of their departments. The same Minister is answerable to Parliament both for his department's policy and for the publicity for that policy. The Chief Information Officer in most departments is the equivalent of Assistant Secretary in rank.

When the Ministry of Information was abolished at the end of World War II, its production divisions became the nucleus of a new organization, the Central Office of Information. Until 1951 a Cabinet Minister was responsible for the coi's operations, but since then the Financial Secretary of the Treasury has been responsible to Parliament for the coi's total vote and staffing. The coi was set up as a common service agency to provide expert and technical knowledge to translate departmental requirements into publicity material. The coi has no real powers of programme co-ordination; co-ordination is supposed to occur at the departmental level. It undertakes little research. Nor does it initiate information programmes.

In Britain a line is drawn between media relations work and the deliberate production of information material paid for out of public funds. The coi handles production of materials, but it has no concern with media relations (except in the provinces, as mentioned below). The Director General of the coi, T. Fife Clark, told the Commonwealth Press

Union in 1964, that every government department has its own Press Office. "We believe that we benefit as a free country from the fact that the official news and information on different subjects issue from different sources; we would find it impracticable as well as undesirable to centralize the government's press contacts."

The coi is concerned almost exclusively with publicity, much of it overseas publicity. Within Britain the coi acts on the initiative of policy departments. When departments commission it to do so, it advises on and produces publicity matter. It has a certain responsibility for co-ordinating departments, but only at the working level, and only to ensure that all the relevant departments are informed of information campaigns.

Apart from its overseas responsibilities, the coi either prepares material itself, or arranges for commercial agencies to produce material to its requirements and under its guidance. For example, it commissions press advertisements from advertising agencies and films from independent production companies, but its own staff produces exhibitions, posters, leaflets and books. The coi distributes all government press notices to London and provincial papers as a common service. But its only press officers are those employed in the coi's nine regional offices. They provide a public relations and common media service for whatever departments need one.

The extent of interdepartmental co-ordination achieved through the coi, and the effect of weekly meetings of chief Information Officers, is more limited perhaps than appears on the surface. Lord Francis-Williams observed in 1965 that the various departmental information services have so far "singularly failed in integration", in contrast to the co-ordination achieved in external information services.³¹ In his view, departmental information divisions are "still woefully old-fashioned", and the chief Information Officer in most departments ought to be at the Deputy Secretary level. Furthermore, there is no transfer from the top of the Information Service into the administrative class. "Information officers are technicians not mandarins." Lord Francis-Williams felt that the information service should be integrated into the civil service structure, at least at the top levels.

British Government information services, split as they are between the Information Divisions in each department and the coi, have no Ministerial head. Since the early 1950's the Minister responsible for co-ordinating govern-

ment publicity within Britain has been either a Minister without Portfolio or a Minister without major departmental responsibilities.

The co-ordinating Minister's duties have never affected the responsibility of each Minister for the information of his own department. He is primarily a custodian of government interests on information in the Cabinet, in Parliament and in dealing with the media. In the past, one Minister has spoken in Parliament for information policy generally, as Dr. Charles Hill did under the Right Honourable Harold Macmillan; or sometimes two Ministers have been involved, one for home and one for overseas information. In the present government no Minister has a formal organizing or co-ordinating responsibility, but Mrs. Judith Hart, the former Paymaster General, spoke for the government on information matters in the House of Commons.

Unofficially, the co-ordinating Minister in previous governments advised other Ministers on matters of public relations. He was not expected to interfere in any department's internal affairs but to co-ordinate through influence and persuasion, the work of information officials. In the past, this was mainly done through weekly meetings of chief Information Officers under his chairmanship. Under the present administration, the Prime Minister's Press Secretary has chaired these meetings.

In 1956 Prime Minister Anthony Eden asked Dr. Charles Hill, the Postmaster-General (later Lord Hill of Luton), to re-organize the British information services at home and abroad. Hill and the head of the coi worked out a scheme to improve the overseas information services, and at the same time they overhauled the co-ordination of internal information services.

Hill began by arranging for all the departmental chief Information Officers to meet daily under his chairmanship so that they would get a general picture of what was going on. These meetings eventually became weekly. When Harold Macmillan became Prime Minister, Dr. Hill was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster with a seat in the Cabinet and no departmental responsibilities. For the first time a Cabinet Minister was able to devote all of his time to thinking about information. From the first, he acted as a genuine co-ordinator.

In her book *The Government Explains*³² Marjorie Ogilvy-Webb remarked upon the initial anxiety left among civil servants and MPs about Dr. Hill co-ordinating the information services while also holding a position of authority within his own political party. There was apprehension that

31. Lord Francis-Williams, "The Government Information Services" *Public Administration*, (London) V. 43, Autumn 1965, pp. 331-334.

32. Ogilvy-Webb, op. cit., p. 196.

the most important topic of any one week might well be discussed both at the meeting of the chief Information Officers within the civil service, and at the weekly briefing of back-benchers, and the co-ordinating Minister might be present at both meetings.

The fears proved to be unfounded. Neither Dr. Hill nor his successor briefed the back-benchers, and the information officers' discussions gave the party no help in presenting its case or discussing its tactics. Co-ordinating Ministers have said they felt no strain in filling both rôles.

One important function of former co-ordinating Ministers was to meet the Lobby correspondents of the various newspapers on occasions when information questions arose that were wider than one Minister's responsibilities. The Lobby organization is a part of the Parliamentary Press Gallery and, within the British section of the Press Gallery, there are about 50 journalists who are Lobby correspondents.

Lobby correspondents have the special privilege of access to the Member's Lobby just outside the debating chamber. They are in daily contact with Ministers and MPs. Through their Lobby organization – which has its own Chairman, Committee and Officers, and its own room in the House of Commons – these political journalists have collective conferences with Ministers and Members of the Opposition. The Lobby correspondents guarantee the secrecy of such proceedings. They write about the information they gather on the basis of their personal responsibility, and do not reveal sources. Lobby practice requires, for example, that no member shall reveal to anyone outside the professional circle even what collective meetings may have taken place. The highly confidential nature of Lobby meetings enables Ministers – including the co-ordinating Minister – to provide journalists with background information, or to reveal the way in which they intend to deal with a particular subject.

The co-ordinating Minister has an overall view of government intentions and this is essential in dealing with the Lobby. The Lobby is of great importance to the information services, and therefore it gets first-class service from them. When Dr. Hill was the co-ordinating Minister, he considered that one of his most important and difficult tasks was to persuade other Ministers to talk to the Lobby as often as possible. He himself saw the Lobby at least once a week. The Prime Minister's public relations adviser sees the Lobby at least once a day.

Constitutionally, the Prime Minister is the supreme co-ordinator of government policy, and his adviser on information matters therefore has a central position in the government information services. The adviser sees the Lobby and

overseas correspondents on matters involving the Prime Minister, and also on all matters of general government policy. He must also keep in touch with the departments concerned. Over the years, the nature of the relationship between Prime Minister and adviser has varied considerably. There was no close relationship between Prime Minister Churchill and his adviser, an established civil servant; but another civil servant, Sir Harold Evans, became in time so identified with Prime Minister Macmillan that it was difficult for him to stay on after Macmillan retired.³³

It makes some difference whether the holder of the adviser's post is a personal appointee of the Prime Minister, or a career civil servant. Until the Labour Government took office in 1964, there had been a tendency under Conservative administrations towards appointing civil servants, and the press, when asked what kind of person they preferred at No. 10, were very much on the side of having an established civil servant in the post. Perhaps this is because a civil servant is more likely to give the government's views rather than party views or his own ideas. But there is no tradition about this. Prime Minister Wilson appointed a former Lobby journalist, Trevor Lloyd-Hughes. Wilson called him Press Secretary instead of Public Relations Adviser.

The No. 10 spokesman handles all the Prime Minister's press relations, and advises him generally on public relations. He customarily accompanies the Prime Minister on major journeys abroad. The Lobby is of great importance and convenience to him. Nearly all his press contacts on the domestic side are on a non-attributable basis, and he sees the Lobby at least once a day.

One important difference between the Prime Minister's adviser and the United States Director of Communications is that the President's spokesman usually speaks on the record. The No. 10 spokesman rarely does. Sir Harold Evans, former adviser to Prime Minister Macmillan, told the Commonwealth Press Union in 1964, there is a "tremendous advantage" in the British system. "You are pretty free and easy as long as there is non-attribution. You try to think one thing out on your feet. But if you know that what you are saying can be quoted, not the whole of it perhaps, but some extracts, you need to be protected in some way." But Evans pointed out that the contrast between the American and British systems is not so sharp as it first appears. In

33. See Sir Harold Evan's speech in *Report of the Proceedings of the 54th Annual Conference of the Commonwealth Press Union*, London, June 1964. See Also Lord Francis-Williams, "The Government Information Services", *Public Administration*, (London) V. 43, Autumn 1965, pp. 331-334.

the United States certain things go on record, but the real briefing always occurs behind the scenes and after a press conference.

It has been stressed several times,³⁴ both by those who have held the No. 10 post and by Chief Information Officers, that it has proved useful to have one person as adviser both to the Prime Minister and to the co-ordinating Minister. This triple arrangement – the Prime Minister, the co-ordinating Minister, and the adviser acting for them both – supplied a very necessary focal point for all information policy during the Macmillan administration. (Dr. Hill was the co-ordinating Minister, and Evans the adviser.) This arrangement was not established on the same basis in the first years of the Wilson Government, but it appears to have been set up in recent months. Mr. Wilson's Press Secretary has been appointed Chief Information Adviser to the government. It is a new post in which he works closely with both the Prime Minister and the former Paymaster General, Mrs. Judith Hart who until recently spoke on information matters for the government in Parliament. A new press secretary has also been appointed at No. 10.

On coming to office, Prime Minister Wilson extended his personal information staff in a significant attempt to separate the official from the party political rôle. He appointed a Parliamentary Press Liaison Officer, Gerald Kaufman, to deal with the Prime Minister's press relations in his capacity as leader of the Labour Party. Unlike the Chief Information Adviser, the liaison officer is not a temporary civil servant. Kaufman's salary, and all expenses pertaining to his office, are paid out of Labour Party funds.

In Britain, where the system of government most closely approximates the Canadian system, co-ordination of government information has existed for more than 20 years, at three different administrative levels: through the Central Office of Information, through the co-ordinating Cabinet Minister, and through the Prime Minister's Chief Information Adviser. Canada has no equivalent machinery for co-ordination. A limited comparison can perhaps be drawn between our Prime Minister's Press Secretary and the Chief Information Adviser and Press Secretary appointed by the British Prime Minister. But, as Mr. Trudeau's Press Secretary told the Task Force, any co-ordination work performed by his office is done on an *ad hoc* basis.

In the United States, co-ordination of domestic information services exists only within the new office of the Director of Communications for the Executive Branch. In France the system is in transition, but co-ordination exists at the

34. Ogilvy-Webb, *op. cit.* p. 96.

interdepartmental level, and in the office of the Secretary of State for Information.

Other governments, as well as Canada's, are currently examining the efficiency and the purposes of their information services. Studies of government information systems have been commissioned in the past two years in France, Sweden, Ireland and the Netherlands.

Meanwhile, the Canadian Government has done less to co-ordinate government information than some of the provinces. In Ontario, the government has augmented its information services by the employment of private firms to perform such specialized publicity jobs as producing film clips for use across the province and special films to promote Ontario trade and travel in Canada and abroad. The province co-ordinates information services, and imaginatively exploits radio to present news and background on provincial policy.

Quebec has also expanded its information services in a fairly dramatic way. Its *Office de l'information et de publicité du Québec* – whose Director answers to the Premier, and to whom all departmental information officers ultimately report – employs more than 160 people who work with radio, television, film and printed information. The Quebec Government has information bureaux of its own in Paris, New York, London, Montreal, Ottawa and Rimouski; and its own news service, through TELBEC, dispatches a continuous flow of information to the media. A recent Quebec Government study recommended that two to three per cent of the provincial budget be spent on information and publicity.

Nova Scotia now has a highly centralized provincial information service, and Manitoba has taken steps to provide "a sustained, balanced, and co-ordinated programme" of information and public relations activities. Manitoba's Director of Information reports directly to a committee of Cabinet Ministers, and advises Cabinet on information matters.

The vigour and focus of much of the provincial activity in government information, in comparison with the ill co-ordination and confused history at the federal level, may mean that the people of the country are not hearing or understanding a full and accurate version of the federal contribution to the affairs of the country. But that is a primary concern of other papers in this volume.

Part III

Information, Power and the people's Control

In this paper, and the two that have preceded it, we have examined some of the problems involved in encouraging

active participatory democracy and, in particular, the problem of the rôle of government information in this encouragement. If participatory democracy is to have any real meaning, the public must be kept fully informed of their government's programmes and purposes. Other countries – and some of our Canadian provinces – have done more to meet this need than the Federal Government. Later, this report discusses the shortcomings of the present information system, and suggests ways to improve it.

But in our democratic society, a significant increase in the efficiency of government information services is not equally welcome in all quarters, either inside Parliament or outside. Government information is a very powerful tool, and while it may be used, legitimately, to inform the public about the many matters in which government action directly impinges on their lives, and to present an accurate account of programmes and policies at home and abroad, it can also be used for political purposes, to manipulate public opinion and to maintain a ruling party in power. Apart from powers of physical and economic coercion, an information system is perhaps the most potent means available to a government of influencing the minds and behaviour of its citizens.

The very power of modern information techniques may well restrain a democratic government from using them fully, for fear that it may be accused of manipulating opinion for partisan political purposes. Opposition MPs gave the Task Force some indication of the apprehension that already exists. Conservative spokesmen expressed concern over the relative capacity of the Opposition and the government to compete in the communications field. "We are aware of the magnitude of the government's ability to create news." An NDP Member was afraid that any centralization of government information would result in a "government propaganda machine." A leading Conservative said "Government is so God-awful powerful that a central office would immeasurably add to its power."

Such apprehensions are particularly understandable in Canada. The Constitution does not specifically safeguard any of our basic freedoms. Freedom of speech, of assembly and of belief are protected in Canada, as in Britain, by custom and usage, through the common law and the courts;³⁵ together with the watchfulness of special interest groups and the surveillance of the press and other media. But as one letter to the Editor of the *Ottawa Citizen* said recently, "the fact remains that members of the mass media are not

democratically elected agents. They exist outside the constitutional system and thus have no responsibility to it. The media can ignore issues which they do not regard as newsworthy."

Ultimately, our basic freedoms depend on the proper functioning of the parliamentary system, and the only real guarantee of our liberties is the alertness and maturity of the Canadian public and their elected representatives. It is no wonder then that parliamentarians are concerned about changes in such a sensitive field as government information.

In an age when most people receive their information from television and radio, the government concentrates on communicating through print. Many people are apprehensive that more extensive government use of the electronic media could upset the system of checks and balances which traditionally curb the executive. A Conservative spokesman, among others, drew the Task Force's attention to the way Parliament is "becoming an annex, a subsidiary, of the major networks." For him, and for some of his colleagues, it appears that more and more of the action in Parliament is being transferred from the House of Commons to the corridors outside the Chamber for the benefit of radio and television. In the Commons, House rules often restrict the form of a Minister's reply to a question. But in the corridor, where he repeats his reply to a question asked in the House, a Minister is often prepared to go beyond his earlier statement. He can say things for the camera which he would not say in the House, where he knows he would be subjected to closer examination by the Opposition.

Many of the protests about the "intrusion" of the electronic media come from newspapermen who have traditionally acted as the "public watch-dog" over Parliament. At the end of June 1969, the Canadian section of the Commonwealth Press Union criticized the Prime Minister of Canada for making government statements to the television cameras instead of in the House of Commons. They voiced the fear that democracy as practised in the Commons may give way to demagoguery in the drawing room. The situation was well put by James Reston when he wrote that "officials find the television interview more dangerous but more alluring than the private interview, for though what is said on television must stand as spoken, they can reach millions by television in no more time than it takes to talk quietly and privately to a single newspaper reporter."³⁶

It is important to face up to the power of the electronic media, and to put the power to responsible use. One possibil-

35. See Lalonde, Marc, "Réformes visant à assurer une plus grande protection des droits de la presse", *Cité Libre*, juillet, août 1966.

36. Reston, James, "The Press, The President and Foreign Policy", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 44, no. 4, July 1966.

ity is that the proceedings of the House of Commons should be televised, and this matter is also currently under consideration in both Britain and Australia. Debates in the Danish Parliament are already televised, and selective television coverage is provided in West Germany, Austria, Italy, France, Japan and the Netherlands. At the December 1968 meeting of the Inter-parliamentary Union, the Director of United Nations radio, Jean d'Arcy, argued that parliaments must adapt themselves to the electronic age. A recent United Nations survey had shown that seven people received their news from television and radio for every one who got it from newspapers. In the circumstances, d'Arcy said, there is no longer any democratic justification for insisting that people should make do with the limitations of newspaper reporting of Parliament. At the same meeting the British television interviewer, Robin Day, observed that it is hardly surprising that an invisible and inaudible Parliament had lost some of its prestige.

Strictly speaking, televising Parliament does not come within the Task Force's terms of reference, but it illustrates the problem of adapting old and hallowed institutions to an age of electronic communication. It tells us something of the conservative social context in which changes in information systems must occur. At the Inter-parliamentary Union meeting, Canadian delegates said they feared television would bring a disruption of traditional parliamentary behaviour, and that the resulting image of Parliament might discredit parliamentary institutions. One Member of the Commons Standing Committee on Broadcasting favours televising parliamentary proceedings, including Committee proceedings, but says it would be necessary to change the format of speeches as they are delivered to the House, where Members speak for the record. A leading Conservative, who also believes that Parliament must allow television into the Commons if parliamentary debates are to become more relevant to the public, is nonetheless concerned that "television leaves people with impressions, not facts."

It has been acknowledged in Britain that Parliament is losing ground in competition with the increasingly effective attempts of other organizations to achieve publicity. The Managing Director of Granada Television, James Forman, wrote in the *Times* in January 1969, that television could inject reality into parliamentary proceedings if committee work could be redesigned to parallel the American Senate hearings. Forman said that if the politicians want television to treat the parliamentary system in depth, they must adjust the present machinery of politics so that television may participate. "The area of reality is within the party caucus,

in the select committees and in ministerial debate, seldom in the House of Commons, certainly not in party political broadcasts."

There are two major problems to solve in relation to the use of modern techniques of communication. The first is how a government can take full advantage of all available methods to keep the public properly informed so that they may participate actively in the democratic process. The second is how to achieve this aim without creating an information machinery that gives inordinate power to the ruling party. An answer to the first question is easier to provide than an answer to the second; this report offers a number of suggestions for the use of modern techniques of communicating. The answer to the second and much more difficult problem lies not in limiting the efficiency of government information services, but rather in ensuring that the information machinery is established and operated under careful public control.

Conclusions

As the three papers in this section demonstrate, the mechanisms by which governments transmit and receive information have always been extremely delicate in Canada. Their acceptability, their efficiency and their credibility have depended on the restraint and the common sense of the people and institutions that have controlled them. The new media of communication – which have developed in step with demands for unprecedented participation in the democratic process – only increase the importance of care and foresight in any reformation of the traditional procedures.

No Canadian Government information system can exist outside a framework of certain inalienable rights and rôles for individuals and institutions. The place of Parliament and the place of the courts – in protecting our fundamental freedoms, our federal structure and the bilingual and multi-cultural character of Canada – determine and sustain these rights and rôles.

We began our investigation by examining the government's information function in the light of public need, and by recognizing information as a social process that is rooted in the country's past. The information obligations of the State are fairly clear; the precise means by which it should carry out these obligations are not. Clearly, Canada must devise some federal-provincial means to guarantee that the citizens get unvarnished facts about the activities of their governments. And the means must not only accommodate our cultural and linguistic characteristics but also clarify

rules for fast and efficient access to government information.

Any strengthening of the government information function will also strengthen the government's opportunity for manipulation of the public. For this reason, the experience of other democratic countries deserves attention — particularly with respect to their efforts to reconcile the need for increasing and improving the flow of government information with the danger of its political exploitation. As guidelines are drawn up, and rationalization of information services takes place, it will be necessary to introduce legislative controls to ensure the involvement of Parliament and the courts. In short, as government information efforts increase in efficiency, the democratic process as it affects this information must increase in strength.

! & ?

Let the Public Speak

iv National Public Opinion Survey

v The Leaders' Survey

vi The Strategic Gatekeepers of Federal News

Introduction

The Task Force commissioned a nation-wide survey of attitudes toward the Federal Government information system because it wanted to hear from all parts of the population, and to take into account all shades of opinion. It is easy to restrict an enquiry to the views of a politically sophisticated minority, people who are well able to articulate their opinions and make them known (and some of their opinions follow, in Paper v). Through survey research, however, it is also possible to hear from the reticent, the less educated and those with few political resources; and to give their opinions equal weight with those of the more vocal. It can be a valuable means of communication between the government and the governed.

How much do Canadians know about the responsibilities of their Federal Government? How many are aware that certain programmes are administered jointly by the Federal and the provincial governments? Do Canadians accept, disbelieve or simply ignore the information federal agents provide? Does this information even reach those for whom it is intended? Is it timely? Is the people's contact with government officials pleasant? Are some attitudes towards the information services more characteristic of certain groups than of others? Other primary concerns were the channels through which the public receives its information, and how Canadians would like to communicate with the Federal Government in future.

Only a large-scale national survey could provide detailed answers to such questions. The detail was important. It was not enough, for instance, to ask immigrants whether they felt bewildered about getting information on a particular programme. It was necessary, too, to know how far this bewilderment extended to immigrants from particular parts of the world, to immigrants who had been in Canada only a short time, and to those who had been here for many years. Immigrants constitute under 20 per cent of the population. No small survey could determine the various kinds of immigrants to whom government information campaigns might wish to aim.

The Task Force relied, first, on a large national survey; and second, on an analysis of some of the results of a current and more intensive survey in Ontario. The contract for the national survey was awarded jointly to Canadian Facts Company Limited, and the Institute for Behavioural Research at York University. Canadian Facts' autumn "Big 8-M" survey offered the best medium available for interviewing a cross-section of the population. It offered the most economical way to interview a large enough sample to allow a detailed analy-

sis of the results. The sample included 6,800 people. In preparing the questionnaire, which was pre-tested, senior researchers at York University and Canadian Facts collaborated with the Task Force. Canadian Facts provided the interviewing, coding and many of the tables. York University prepared the analysis. The Task Force was also able to employ York University's June 1968 survey of Ontario social and political attitudes. Moreover, in both the preparation of the questionnaire and some subsequent work, the Task Force was able to draw on the advice of survey experts at the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

In a small study, such as the Ontario Survey, it is possible to ask exploratory questions and to let the respondents reply in their own words, in as much detail as they wish. In a large survey, where findings are required quickly, it is necessary to ask the respondent a pre-arranged set of questions, and to require him to choose from a pre-arranged list of answers.

In this case, early discussions with York University and Canadian Facts Ltd. pointed to a number of questions which might successfully be covered in a single survey. These fall under three general headings:

a) *Knowledge of Government Involvement*

Popular awareness of federal involvement, provincial involvement, and shared responsibility in specified areas of government activity. Public knowledge of the levels of government involved in particular programmes, such as the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act (ARDA), medicare and the Trans-Canada Highway.

b) *Government Information*

How far government information about federal policies is accepted at face value? Do Canadians think that the Federal Government keeps them well informed?

c) *Attitudes Toward the Government*

Do Canadians feel involved in the governmental process? What complaints do they have, and against whom? What are their attitudes toward the Federal Public Service?

Under the first heading, Knowledge of Government Involvement, interviewers asked 17 questions about programmes or areas of involvement. Six of these had already been used successfully in the Ontario Survey. The 17 questions, taken together, made up Question 2 of the interview schedule.¹ The results of the 17 parts of Question 2 were added up to form an index. Those who scored high on the index were rated as well-formed about many federal and provincial activities. Those who scored very low were almost

1. The questionnaire may be found at the end of this Paper.

totally uninformed about the divisions of responsibility between the two levels of government. Whenever there were a number of questions on closely related matters, researchers compiled similar indices.

Question 11 returned to the theme of knowledge about federal-provincial responsibilities. It asked the level of government that a respondent would approach to get information about a programme or area of government activity. Where the responsibility was either clearly federal or clearly provincial, it was assumed respondents would go to the appropriate level of government. Where both levels were involved, it was important to see if there was a consistent preference for either the federal or the provincial. If the public turns mainly to the provincial government for information on, for instance, housing, the federal information services need to consider this habit in their planning and their publicity.

Government Information, the second general category of inquiry, was the focus of 26 questions. In the interview schedule, they appear under question numbers 4, 6, 12a-d, and 15. Question 4 asked about exposure to federal publicity: what proportion of the population remembered seeing any Federal Government advertisement? More precisely, what proportion recalled advertisements on certain topics — housing, agriculture, labour matters, taxes and bonds, pension benefits, and government assistance to industry? To check the possibility that respondents might confuse their memory of advertisements with their memory of public controversies, there was also a question on whether they had seen an advertisement for the guaranteed annual wage programme. There is no such programme.

Question 6 asked about sources of information: through what channels do people learn about federal programmes? This information could then be related to other facts about the respondents to show what kind of person was being reached by, for example, government publications, by personal contact with public servants and MPs, or through government advertisements in the news media. The first four parts of Question 12 were intended to measure public opinion of the quantity and quality of federal information services. Finally, the seven parts of Question 15 concerned future means of communicating with the Federal Government. There is always some risk that such questions may appear hypothetical. In this case, however, it was possible to learn something about the public's satisfaction with conventional methods of conveying an individual's opinion to government and, at the same time, to probe the potential popularity of more novel ideas such as free telephone lines to Ottawa.

The remaining questions fell under the third and broadest heading: Attitudes Toward the Government. Into this category fall the eight parts of Question 1, which formed the index of Desire for Expanded Government Services; Questions 3 and 7a, which contributed to the assessment of those groups in the population that look mainly toward the Federal, or toward the provincial government; and Question 10, which measured the public's sense of involvement with, and its ability to influence, federal decision-making.

The survey measured the public's sense of involvement in other ways. Question 5 formed the index of Interest in Government Affairs; parts (e) to (j) of Question 12 asked about public faith in the Federal Government, and the government's responsiveness to suggestions from the electorate.

The questions were designed to elicit attitudes to the Federal Government, rather than particular incidents to illustrate the respondent's viewpoint. Questions 7b, 8b, 12i and 12j asked whether citizens were treated fairly, promptly and satisfactorily when they visited government offices or discussed problems with officials. Question 14 sought complaints about the Federal Government in its dealing with local populations and the province. Questions 9 and 10 concerned the possibility that citizens felt unable to influence officials or elected representatives.

Finally, complaints against federal officials were studied under the heading of Attitudes Toward the Federal Civil Service. Question 9 concerned relations with officials: how does the citizen feel about conducting business in a federal office? Question 13 sought his impressions of the man behind the desk: does the federal official usually seem to be interested? Intelligent? Courteous? Lazy? Inefficient? Unenterprising?

But before considering the results of all this, one might well wonder, who were the thousands of Canadians who answered the questions? The specifications for Canadian Facts "Big 8-M" survey call for a probability sample of individuals ten years and older and, in November and December, approximately 8,000 interviews were obtained. The Task Force was not interested in collecting information from those aged 14 or under. Hence, its questions were asked in only 6,800 interviews.

The "universe" for this study included the entire population of Canada with the following exceptions: the Northwest Territories and Yukon; the least accessible and most sparsely populated areas of each of the provinces; inmates of institutions; inhabitants of lumber and mining camps; members of the Armed Forces not living at home; Indian

reservations; and transients or others having no regular place of residence. Only about seven per cent of the population falls within these groups but, in the opinion of York University, their exclusion from the survey means that the report's estimate of the number of people with very little knowledge of government involvement is lower than it should be.

Individuals were selected from at least 800 sample areas, or clusters, in 131 counties or census divisions across the country. The 6,800 respondents were statistically weighted so that the number of cases totals 12,952. Application of the "Politz Not-At-Home Weighting Formula" accounts for the bulk of this weighting. Its purpose is to adjust for bias caused by the sample's failure to represent those who were not in the home at the time the interviewer called. In addition, there was a minor adjustment to bring the various community sizes, regions and age groups into their correct relative proportions according to the latest Dominion Bureau of Statistics census of population.

Social researchers take great pains to ensure that their results are as representative as possible. Experience has shown, however, that certain groups are unusually difficult to interview. They are apt to be under-represented in the final returns. Young transients with a low income and a low level of education are a clear example of such groups. Those who regard any interview as an invasion of their privacy, and those who are scarcely ever at home, are also unlikely to be represented accurately. The purpose of weighting is to take account of such people.

Canadian Facts' professional interviewers had information about the broad scope of the survey, and instructions on how to deal with problems that might arise. Most of them obtained seven interviews each. Supervisors checked their work before sending it to Canadian Facts' Office for coding and analysis.

The second survey – a study by York University's Social Research Centre into social and political attitudes in Ontario – was already well under way when the Task Force was formed. It coincided with Task Force interests in a number of respects. Besides asking about social attitudes on a broad spectrum of issues, it included questions about knowledge of government responsibilities, and attitudes towards the Federal Government. The inclusion in both surveys of certain identical questions made it possible to explore some topics more fully than would otherwise have been feasible. Both studies included questions on federal-provincial responsibilities.

The Ontario Survey complemented the national study in other ways. It could show, for instance, whether knowledge

was greater among the politically active than the inactive. On the other hand, the national survey could show the connection between knowledge and exposure to federal advertising. The Ontario Survey could probe such matters as occupational history and preferences for the Federal or provincial government more intensively than the national survey could. In many respects it also served as a test for the national survey. It gave preliminary indications of the attitudes and the levels of knowledge, and it checked the ability of members of the public to understand the questions.

The specifications for the June portion of the Ontario Survey called for a random sample of households with a random selection of the designated respondents within the household, yielding a final sample of about 800 respondents. Sample units corresponded to the 85 Ontario Electoral Districts. Respondents were limited to those residents eligible to vote. Interviewers were trained under the supervision of the York University Survey Research Centre. They used a questionnaire that normally took about 90 minutes to complete.

A copy of the questionnaire used in the national survey may be found at the end of this paper.

The full report is available at York University's Institute for Behavioural Research, Downsview, Ontario.

Survey Highlights

1. Knowledge and Uncertainty about Government Involvement.

Most Canadians have a fairly limited knowledge of the varying responsibilities and involvements of their Federal and provincial governments. The sample was asked whether the Federal Government, the provincial government or both are involved in 17 programmes, and areas of government activity such as unemployment insurance, ARDA and foreign policy.

No. of Correct Answers					
(maximum 17)	0,1	2-5	6,7	8-11	12 or more
Percentage of Canadians giving this no. of correct answers					
	8	43	24	23	2

By far the most frequent mistake was to attribute a programme or area to a single level of government when, in fact, responsibility is shared. As a result, most Canadians exaggerated the extent to which the provincial and Federal governments are constitutionally free to act independently of each other.

	Federal Government	Provincial Government
Percentage of cases in which independent involvement is:		
Overestimated	75	56
Correctly estimated	11	25
Underestimated	14	21

The eight per cent with the least knowledge about government involvement stand apart from their compatriots in several ways. They are not interested in government affairs. They have no opinions about the Federal Government, and little or no contact. They are somewhat reluctant to increase their contact with it. These people are not concentrated in any region or province. About half of them are housewives; some are unskilled workers; some are immigrants; some are elderly. Few of them are in the labour market; few of them have much education.

2. Government Information

The survey indicated that half the Canadian population cannot recall seeing federal advertisements on certain major activities.

No. of topics on which a federal advertisement has been seen	0	1,2	3,4	5,6
Percentage of Canadians	52	10	18	20

Advertisements about taxation are the most widely remembered. Exposure to federal advertisements is most widespread among professionals and managers. It is least common among unskilled workers and housewives who are not employed. Recent immigrants are less exposed to federal advertisements than long-term residents. Persons aged under 65 are more exposed to federal advertisements than persons aged 65 and over.

The mass media are the main sources through which Canadians report recent learning about federal programmes:

Reported Sources of Federal Information	
Television	70%
Newspapers, Magazines	62%
Radio	58%
Friends, Relatives	38%
Govt. Publications	27%
Public Servants, MPs	15%
Associations, Clubs	14%

Quebec is higher than average in reliance for federal information on television, and on friends and relatives. The Prairies and British Columbia are higher than average for

newspapers and magazines, and for government publications. Alberta is higher than average for radio. The Maritime provinces are lower than average in reliance on newspapers and magazines. Ontario is lower than average for radio, television and friends and relatives. Manitoba and Saskatchewan are lower than average for friends and relatives. French-speaking Canadians are higher in reliance on television, radio, and friends and relatives; English-speaking Canadians are higher on newspapers and magazines, and on government publications. Rural residents make more use of radio and government publications than do urban residents. The poor in rural areas and middle-sized cities make better use of most sources than do the poor in large cities. Those with higher education and higher-status jobs make more use of available sources of information than other Canadians.

A majority would like more federal information than they now get.

Desire	
Much more federal information	31%
Some More	23%
Little more, Same, Do Not Know	38%
Definitely no more	8%

The desire for more information about the Federal Government is strongest among those living in Quebec and British Columbia. It is weakest among those living in the Prairies, Alberta and the Maritime provinces. The desire for more information is strongest among students and manual workers. It is weakest among professionals, managers, farmers and housewives.

A comparison of some of the highlights, so far, indicates that professionals and managers are quite knowledgeable and have some desire for more information than they get now; that manual workers (especially the unskilled) and students have little knowledge, and desire much more information; and that housewives have little knowledge, and have some desire for more federal information.

For future dealings with the Federal Government, the following proportions regard these channels as satisfactory:

Members of Parliament	77%
Provincial Government	55%
Municipal Government	53%
Local Federal Agent	53%
Mail	52%
Free Telephone Line to Ottawa	40%
Recorded message	12%

As a means by which the citizen can make his views known to the Federal Government, or appeal its decisions, the MP is the most popular in every province.

When the citizen wishes to obtain information from the Federal Government, however, the public service and its publications are more widely used.

3. Public Orientation Toward Different Levels of Government

About 40 per cent of Canadians are "politically provincial", and about 40 per cent are "politically federal." This result was found from the percentages of respondents who agreed with the following statements:

Compared with other provinces, we in	Agree	Disagree	Do Not Know
get little attention from the Federal Government	46%	47%	7%
The Federal Government does a poor job of handling complaints from people around here	50%	38%	12%
The Federal Government has taken too much power away from our provincial government	42%	47%	11%
There are not many problems nowadays that a provincial government can handle alone	53%	38%	9%

"Provincialism," in this sense, is highest in Quebec and the Maritimes, and lowest in Ontario. It is highest among farmers and lowest among professionals, managers and students.

As a source of information on jointly administered programmes, the Federal Government is definitely preferred for pensions, for income tax and the loan of experts to under-developed countries. The provincial government is somewhat preferred for medicare and public housing.

Regarding the level of government to which one would make a general problem first, the Federal Government is more important to residents of Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia; the provincial government is more important to residents of the Maritimes, Quebec and the Prairies.

Canadians tend to think the Federal Government handles the most important problems but that the provincial governments affect their daily life somewhat more.

4. Attitudes toward the Federal Government

Operation of the Federal Government

Efficient 6%; Somewhat Efficient 18% Passable, Don't Know 31%; Somewhat Inefficient 25%; Inefficient 20%. Most Fair 17%; Reasonably Fair 44%; So-so Don't Know 31%; Somewhat Unfair 8%; Unfair 1%. Very Prompt 5%; Reasonably Prompt 26%; So-so Don't Know 28%; Somewhat Slow 24%; Slow 17%. Responsive to Suggestions 9%; Somewhat Responsive 25%; Sometimes Don't Know 31%; Somewhat Unresponsive 20%; Unresponsive 15%.

British Columbia, Ontario and the Maritimes tend to have the most favourable opinions; Alberta is intermediate; Quebec and the Prairies are the most critical. Quebec residents emerge as generally critical, but hopeful of change within the present system.

Faith in Government: does one usually know where one stands with the Federal Government, and does it usually live up to its promises?

Favourable on Both Counts 8%; Somewhat Favourable 24%; Undecided Neutral 23%; Somewhat Unfavourable 26%; Unfavourable on Both Counts 19%.

Faith in the Federal Government is highest in Quebec; lowest in the Prairies and Alberta.

Feelings of Political Efficacy: can citizens influence Parliament, the public service and the Federal Government?

Definitely 13%; More Often Than Not 32%; Sometimes 24%; Not Very Often 22%; Definitely Not 9%.

Interest in Government Affairs

Higher than Average 38%; Average Don't Know 31%; Lower than Average 8%; Hardly Any 23%.

Interest in government affairs is higher than average among middle-class people; people with some knowledge of government involvement; men; those who obtain information about government from several sources; and those who describe their relations with federal officials in relatively positive terms.

Desire for Expanded Government Services

"Government Services" here may refer to any level of government.

Desire Expansion 33%; Little Change Overall 44%; Some Contraction 23%.

Expansion is most often desired by residents of Quebec. It is least often desired by residents of the Prairies and Alberta.

5. Attitudes to Federal Officials

Relationships with Federal Officials when one goes to a government office.

Warm Co-operative 30%; Somewhat Warm, Businesslike 24%; Somewhat Cold 16%; Cold, Strained 30%.

Attitudes to Federal Officials

Favourable 11%; Somewhat Favourable 47%; Neutral, Don't Know 28%; Somewhat Unfavourable 13%; Unfavourable 1%.

Description of Federal Officials

	Most are	Many are	Some are	Few are	None are
Lazy	4%	8%	41%	32%	14%
Intelligent	38%	25	30	5	1
Interested in one's problems	17%	16	42	20	5
Inefficient	4%	8	43	35	10
Well respected	36%	24	30	8	1
Overpaid	13%	11	35	21	19
Courteous	46%	22	26	5	1
Know only their own jobs	26%	18	16	16	4
No initiative	7%	9	40	32	12

Residents of Quebec are the least favourable in their descriptions of federal officials.

Knowledge and Uncertainty About Government Involvement

The survey sought information on how much knowledge Canadians have about the involvement of levels of government in certain areas of activity such as housing and certain programmes such as ARDA; on which groups have the most and the least knowledge of federal and provincial responsibilities; and on what kinds of attitudes and what experiences

with government information relate most closely to knowledge of government involvement.

1. Levels of Knowledge About Government Involvement

Canadians were asked which level of government was involved in each of 17 instances, such as foreign policy, hospital insurance, or public and high schools. For each example, respondents could choose the Federal Government, provincial government or both, or they could indicate that they did not know.

A respondent's score on the Index of Knowledge of Government Involvement represents the number of correct answers that he gave. On the whole the index yields a rather severe or low measure of the level of knowledge. Although some answers might be considered partly correct, the index ruled all mistakes as equally serious. Moreover, in cases of doubt, respondents were encouraged to say they did not know rather than to guess. Another consideration is that many of the areas asked about – ARDA, for instance – were of little concern to large segments of Canadian society. In most cases, the correct answer, was “both”, but shared responsibilities, fiscal equivalents, or unconditional grants are difficult concepts for many to grasp. Questions about such matters as government involvement are a stern measure of knowledge; the answers may not be the best possible measure of government knowledge. In a number of cases the answers to the questions may even be rather ambiguous. For instance, some provinces may not use their authority to send experts to under-developed countries, and yet the correct answer here was shared federal-provincial involvement. A higher proportion of questions about programmes with solely federal or solely provincial involvement might have produced a higher average number of correct answers.

Table 1

Knowledge of Government Involvement

Number of Correct Answers (maximum 17)

Low	Fairly Low	Medium	Fairly High
0, 1	2, 3	4, 5	6, 7
8, 9	10, 11	12, 13	14, 15
Percentage of Canadians			
8	16	27	24
15	8	2	(0.2)
Number of replies 12,952			

Table 1 indicates that few Canadians can identify the responsible government correctly in more than nine of the 17 cases. Most were correct in at least four. Later tables

will use the above descriptions of "Low", "Fairly Low", "Medium" and "Fairly High" to relate knowledge to other variables. The table shows the general level of knowledge of government involvement to be low. Indeed, in the opinion of the researchers at York University, the exclusion from the sample of certain groups in the population means that the eight per cent who are "low" may really amount to nine per cent or even ten per cent. In any event, later analysis will show that those in the "low" category, those who could answer no more than one of 17 correctly, are in many respects a unique group in Canada society.

Some of the knowledge items, examined separately, provide the following results (See Table 2).

The items in Table 2 are listed in order of the proportion of respondents who knew the correct answer, beginning with the item best understood. Starred items are closely comparable to those reported in the next table from the Ontario Survey. The differences between the findings of the national survey and the Ontario Survey do not follow a simple pattern. In the national survey, Ontario people emerge as the least informed. On some questions, however, notably foreign policy, the Ontario Survey shows a higher level of knowledge than does the national survey. On others, notably medicare, the opposite is true. The clearest difference between the findings from the two surveys is that the proportion of "don't knows" is much higher in the national survey.

Several explanations suggest themselves. The wording of the question in the national survey may have encouraged people to admit their uncertainty. The wording of the question in the Ontario Survey may have encouraged those who were not sure to guess. The national survey had a much longer list of items and respondents may have become tired. They may have unthinkingly answered "don't know" to some of the later items. The Ontario Survey excluded two of the less informed groups – youth and recent immigrants. Moreover, the election campaign at the time of the Ontario Survey may have raised constitutional issues and heightened respondents' understanding of the political system.

Table 2 makes several patterns apparent. Where involvement is actually shared, respondents who err are most likely to err in the direction of exaggerating federal responsibility. In eight out of ten cases of shared involvement, the most frequent wrong answer is federal involvement.

Two questions were omitted from Table 2 for technical reasons. This left 15 items, and a close examination of them suggests several conclusions.

First, respondents have difficulty grasping shared involvement. With one slight exception, the ten items of shared involvement are the ones which respondents most often miss. They also yield a higher average number of "don't know." Second, despite the rather low proportion of completely correct answers, respondents who miss questions show some

Table 2
Knowledge of Government Involvement: Individual Items

Government Responsibilities	Percentage Correct Answer	Percentage Most Freq. Wrong Answer	Percentage Least Freq. Wrong Answer	Percentage Don't Know	Total
a foreign policy	Federal 62	Both 14	Provincial 2	22	100
b public & high schools	Provincial 60	Both 20	Federal 7	13	100
e homeless children	Provincial 54	Both 20	Federal 10	16	100
f unemployment insurance	Federal 48	Provincial 23	Both 18	11	100
m income tax	Both 41	Federal 46	Provincial 6	7	100
o Trans-Canada Highway	Both 33	Federal 42	Provincial 11	13	99
g college & universities	Both 31	Provincial 36	Federal 17	16	100
b medicare	Both 26	Federal 43	Provincial 16	15	100
h scientific research	Both 26	Federal 49	Provincial 5	20	100
l public housing	Both 25	Provincial 33	Federal 21	20	99
n protection of lang. and culture	Both 24	Federal 36	Provincial 15	25	100
f retraining unemployed	Both 24	Provincial 32	Federal 26	18	100
p maintaining farm prices	Both 20	Federal 41	Provincial 16	23	100
d ARDA	Both 20	Federal 29	Provincial 17	34	100
q sending experts to under-developed countries	Both 13	Federal 62	Provincial 3	22	100

knowledge by usually making the lesser error where possible. Finally, although the pattern is not entirely consistent, the proportion of "don't knows" generally increases along with the proportion of wrong answers. The first five items average about 14 per cent "don't knows"; the last five average a little over 24 per cent "don't knows."

The items in Table 3 are arranged according to how many people knew the correct answer, with the best-known area, foreign policy, first, and medicare, as the area most often misunderstood, last. It is immediately apparent in this table as well as in Table 2 that a major source of error is the failure of the public to be aware of shared involvement. The two items where "both" is the correct response are by far the most frequently missed, and on no item do as many as 20 per cent of the respondents believe involvement is shared by the Federal and provincial governments. (The wording of the question in this case may have unintentionally biased respondents, thus exaggerating the measure of ignorance).

2. Which groups in Canada Have Most and Least Knowledge about Government Involvement

This part of the analysis begins with an examination of knowledge differences among different regions and language groups. Then it examines knowledge related to occupation, education, and interviewer ratings of social class. Finally, it briefly considers the relationship of knowledge to age, to size of community, to length of residence in Canada, and to ethnic origin.

Table 4 shows that knowledge is a little higher than average in Quebec and in the West, and lower than average in Ontario. Since the limits of federal and provincial involvement are a sensitive issue in Quebec, it is not surprising to find a greater awareness there of just what those limits are. Regional differences remain the same when native-born Canadians are studied separately, and when the analysis is limited either to English-speakers who recall seeing no federal publicity or to English-speakers who remember seeing a broad range of federal advertisements.

Table 3

Ontario Survey: Knowledge of Government Involvement

Government Responsibilities	Correct Answer	Most Frequently Wrong Answer	Least Frequently Wrong Answer	Don't Know	Total %
Foreign Policy	Federal 82	Both 7	Provincial 2	8	99
Looking after homeless children	Provincial 66	Both 11	Federal 10	13	100
Education	Provincial 58	Federal 16	Both 15	10	99
Unemployment Insurance	Federal 43	Provincial 37	Both 9	11	100
Controlling the cost of living	Both 19	Federal 59	Provincial 10	12	100
Medicare	Both 14	Federal 45	Provincial 31	10	100
Number of replies 796					

Table 4

Regional Variations in Knowledge of Government Involvement

Region or Province	Maritimes	Quebec*	Ontario	Man. Sask.	Alberta	B.C.
Knowledge of Government Involvement						
Low	9	8	10	8	5	6
Fairly low	37	34	53	41	42	40
Medium	25	27	20	27	23	24
Fairly high	29	31	17	24	30	30
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,214	3,733	4,592	1,313	847	1,253

*87 per cent of the Quebec sample was French-speaking.

Table 5
French-English Differences
in Knowledge of Government Involvement

Language		
Knowledge of Government Involvement		
	English; Other	French
Low	8%	8
Fairly low	46%	36
Medium	23	26
Fairly high	23	30
Total	100%	100%
Number of replies	9,352	3,600

In view of the greater knowledge of government involvement shown in Quebec, it is not surprising to find that those who speak French are more knowledgeable than the English-speaking. This result holds for the university educated, high school graduates, public school graduates, and for those who did not finish public school. The English-speaking and the French-speaking within Quebec do not differ significantly in knowledge. Language apparently has no effect in this case. However, while French-speaking Quebecers are better informed than average about government involvement, other French-speaking Canadians are below average in information. The poor showing of French-speakers outside Quebec may relate to the difficulties of assimilating knowledge in areas where the dominant language is not their native tongue, or to a general feeling of powerlessness which diminishes interest. Those whose mother tongue is neither French nor English show, at each educational level, the least knowledge. The Ontario Study also finds that people in Ontario who speak any language other than English rate low on a general

index of knowledge about government. When the effects of language differences among those with similar educational background are compared, the broad regional pattern shows little change, but the details vary. The language minorities tend to low scores. The most knowledgeable groups are usually French-speakers in Quebec and, to some extent, residents of Alberta and British Columbia. Residents of Ontario, and French-speakers outside Quebec, are consistently below average in knowledge. In the Maritimes and Prairie provinces, the relationship between knowledge and education is less consistent than elsewhere.

Table 6 shows the relationship of occupation to knowledge of government involvement.

Occupation, education, and interviewer ratings of social class are all strongly and consistently related to knowledge. The higher a person's social class, the greater his knowledge of government involvement is likely to be. Analysis of the more detailed tables shows education to be the most important variable although, for some groups, sex and employment are also significant.

Among all occupational groups the more highly educated consistently exhibit more knowledge than the others. Among those who are employed, the clearest difference is between those who attended technical school or university, and those who did not proceed beyond high school. Among those who are not employed, the clearest difference is between those who did and those who did not graduate from high school.

When married women who are in the labour market are compared with those not in the labour market, the currently employed university graduates are significantly better informed than those who are not currently employed. Similarly, among married women who did not complete high school,

Table 6
Social Class: Occupational Differences in Knowledge of Government Involvement

Occupation									
Knowledge of Government Involvement									
	Professional, Manager	Sales	Clerical	Skilled Labour	Unskilled Labour	Farmer	University or High School Student	Housewife	Retired Unemployed
Low	2	3	5	6	11	2	8	13	9
Fairly low	32	43	37	43	42	44	46	47	44
Medium	27	21	26	24	27	31	22	21	24
Fairly high	39	33	32	27	20	23	24	19	23
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,330	462	1,016	2,061	1,235	497	1,638	3,995	718

the employed show more knowledge than the non-employed. This conclusion, however, does not hold for high school graduates.

If this difference were a matter of age, one would expect a difference between housewives who are not in the labour market and female students with a similar education. This, however, is not the case.

Sex by itself also affects knowledge, among those who completed high school and among those who entered college. When men and wives in the labour market with the same level of education are compared, some 10-12 per cent more of the men than the women fall into the best-informed category.

People aged 15-20 and those aged 65 and over are less knowledgeable than those aged 21-64. The difference is not great, but it is clear and significant. (The low level of awareness, or perhaps the apathy, of young people may also have been demonstrated in the last Ontario general election when, in spite of special polling stations set up on university campuses, the turnout of eligible voters among university students was far below the average elsewhere in the province.)

Size of community bears some relation to knowledge of government involvement but only among the poor. Poor people in major metropolitan areas know less than the poor in rural areas or in the smaller cities. But where other social groups are concerned, knowledge of government involvement is apparently equally wide-spread in the rural and the urban populations.

In general, the newer an immigrant, the less informed he is about the Canadian Government. Not only has a new immigrant had fewer years to learn about Canadian Government, but he may have little in his background to help him to understand what information is available. Most information presumes some base of understanding about Canada and its Government. The Ontario Study confirms this relationship between length of time in Canada and knowledge of government in a variety of ways.

3. Knowledge of Government involvement Related to Attitudes Toward Government and Experience with Government Information

The first attitude examined is the relation of knowledge about government involvement to opinions of the relative importance of the federal and provincial governments. The findings show that those who know the very least about government involvement are most likely to underestimate

both federal involvement and provincial involvement, because they "don't know" about the details of so many government programmes. Those with a fairly low level of knowledge, by contrast, are likely to overestimate federal involvement greatly. They ascribe many shared programmes solely to the Federal Government.

Similarly when asked to which level of government they would take a general problem, respondents with more knowledge are more likely to know which government they would approach. Those with less knowledge are more likely to say they don't know. Only seven per cent of the best informed, compared with 50 per cent of the least informed, do not know where to go with a general problem.

Certain other attitudes toward government are clearly related to knowledge. The most knowledgeable express more than average interest in government affairs. This remains true to a considerable extent when people with the same amount of education are compared. The effects of education and interest, however, are somewhat distinct. The most knowledgeable also report their relationships with federal officials as more friendly and co-operative. Finally, 38 per cent of fairly knowledgeable people would like to see some expansion of services compared with 27 per cent of those with very little knowledge. On the other hand, knowledge does not relate to belief in the fairness and promptness of the Federal Government, or to faith in the Federal Government. These values are equally common among those at all levels of knowledge. Perhaps the greatest effect of knowledge on attitudes is that those with the least knowledge are very likely to say "don't know" to the majority of attitude questions. A certain minimum of knowledge is apparently necessary in order to form a set of attitudes toward the government.

Finally, experiences with federal information relate to knowledge of government involvement. Those with the least knowledge, according to their own recollections, are consistently least exposed to federal advertisements and information. Both exposure and knowledge are linked to education and position in the labour market. Education and position in the labour market apparently serve both to stimulate the desire for knowledge about government and, once the knowledge is acquired, to make it useful. Education facilitates access to knowledge, and trains the mind to store and use it.

It is plausible to conclude that those who need federal services the most are the least equipped to hear of them or to take advantage of them. Although only about eight per cent of the population fall into the category of those

most seriously excluded from participation in government, many others are undoubtedly handicapped to a lesser extent. In part, they may be self-excluded. If, as some of the evidence suggests, they are not only less aware but also less interested in federal services, any attempt to reach them through a government information process must rest on a full understanding of their situation.

The Index of Knowledge of Government Involvement revealed a group of people, representing eight per cent of our sample, who know virtually nothing about involvement. This group includes 12 per cent of the people aged 65 or over, 13 per cent of the housewives, 11 per cent of the unskilled workers, three per cent of sales workers, two per cent of professional and managerial people and two per cent of farmers. While the eight per cent includes only a few of the people with higher education, 18 per cent of those who did not finish public school are in this group, and so are 19 per cent of the people born outside North America and Europe. The group also includes 20 per cent of the immigrants who have lived in Canada for under five years, and 14 per cent of those who have been here for between five and 14 years. The eight per cent are scattered across all provinces; no province contains an unusually high or low proportion of people with "low" knowledge.

The Index revealed a further 43 per cent of respondents who are considerably handicapped. This large group gave between two and five correct answers to the 17 questions, a score that is lower than would be expected from blind guesswork. The characteristics of this 43 per cent are in many ways similar to those of the eight per cent group, but less strongly marked. A little over 50 per cent of Ontario residents and French-speaking Canadians from outside Quebec come within this group, and a little under 50 per cent of those from 15 to 21, the elderly adults, housewives, and public school graduates. The number includes about 50 per cent of those people born in the United States, the United Kingdom, Italy and Eastern Europe. Disproportionately few people in this group come from Quebec or the Maritimes, or are college educated, professional and managerial people.

4. Knowledge of Government Involvement: Summary

The national survey shows a rather low level of knowledge about government involvement among Canadians as a whole, but the measure of knowledge was a rather severe one. Those who are least knowledgeable about government involvement appear to be those out of the labour force, low status groups in general, the very old and the young, and

newer immigrants. Housewives who are not in the labour force are likely to be in the least informed group. This group is unique in its high proportion of "don't knows" on most attitude questions.

The Ontario study's information index included the questions about government involvement found in Table 3. Those least informed on this index are those who speak a language other than English in their homes, those who have not visited other provinces, those who do not discuss politics or feel any responsibility to keep informed on politics, and, surprisingly, those who think the government is very effective. The probable explanation for this last group is that they are passive, acquiescent citizens who, though uninformed, assume the government is doing a good job.

The national survey found that the better informed are those who express the most interest in government affairs. It also found that the most knowledgeable people report more favourable relationships with federal officials, and are more likely than others to desire expanded government services.

The picture that emerges from both studies is that the knowledgeable are relatively upper-status persons who are interested in government, well educated, active in the labour force, and able to speak the dominant language in their community. They are not uncritical of their governments, but they have enough confidence in them to want to give them additional responsibilities.

5. Uncertainty About Government Involvement and Sources of Information

For the most part uncertainty about government involvement and about sources of information, or the tendency to say "don't know", is closely connected with the factors that produce a low proportion of accurate answers about government involvement. Those over 65, new immigrants, persons low in status and education, and those out of the active labour force are most likely to be uncertain about government involvement and to answer a low proportion of items correctly. On the other hand, the proportion of "don't knows" is also influenced by the individual's disposition to guess or not to guess. This temperamental factor is not necessarily related to knowledge. Consequently, in a few cases, knowledge and certainty do not relate very closely. Notably, students and those aged 15-20 are more likely to guess than their rather low degree of knowledge would lead one to expect. Quebec residents are relatively well informed but, when in doubt, they are more likely to acknowledge that they "don't know," instead of making a guess. Among the

provinces, Ontario residents are lowest on accuracy but they are no more inclined than average to say "don't know." Apart from knowledge, the chief factor in "don't know" replies seems to have been familiarity and direct personal contact. The lowest proportion of "don't knows" came with regard to income tax. The highest concerned ARDA.

Relatively few people are aware that responsibility is usually shared between the Federal and provincial governments. Most Canadians tend to exaggerate the authority of the Federal Government. As a result, increasing public knowledge involves the correction of misconceptions rather than the replacement of total ignorance and uncertainty by knowledge.

Government Information

This part of the summary report of survey research into attitudes toward federal information considers public access to information about the government, and it does this through four lines of analysis: 1. exposure to federal advertisements; 2. sources of government information; 3. levels of satisfaction with both the quality and quantity of federal information;

and 4. preferences regarding future methods of communication with the government.

1. Exposure to Federal Advertising

The Index of Exposure to Federal Advertising was built up from six of the seven items in Question 4. The question asked whether the respondent had ever seen or heard Federal Government advertisements in relation to agriculture, housing, taxation and bond issues, labour matters, pensions, or assistance to industry. Those who claim to have seen or heard advertisements on at least five of these subjects are described here as being widely exposed to federal advertising. Those who claim to have seen or heard no such advertisements are described as narrowly exposed. In many cases, differences may lie more in the perception and memory of respondents than in the actual number of federal advertisements seen. As a check on the authenticity of replies, respondents were also asked if they had seen an advertisement for the guaranteed annual wage. The topic has been under discussion in the media, but no Canadian Government has had a programme for a guaranteed annual wage. It was

Table 7

Percentages Who Have Seen Federal Advertisement on Certain Topics

Topic of Advertisement	Taxes Bonds*	Pension Benefits	Labour Matters	Housing*	Agriculture	Assistance to Industry	Guaranteed Annual Wage
Have seen	41	31	27	23	19	17	11
Not sure	3	6	8	9	12	9	10
Have not seen	56	63	65	68	69	74	79
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Number of replies 12,952 for each column

*There were advertisements running on these subjects at the time of the survey.

Table 8

Regional Variations in Exposure to Federal Advertising

Region or Province

Range of Exposure to Federal Advertising

	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba Saskatchewan	Alberta	B.C.	All Regions
Narrow	53	52	50	57	50	50	52
Fairly narrow	11	9	13	6	8	11	10
Fairly wide	15	18	19	15	19	20	18
Wide	21	21	18	22	23	19	20
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,214	3,733	4,592	1,313	847	1,253	12,952

assumed, however, that some respondents would have difficulty in distinguishing policy from debate on controversial matters. A substantial minority claimed to have seen the non-existent advertisement. The following tables relate to the genuine advertisements only, and it is worth bearing in mind that the extent of exposure is probably somewhat exaggerated. On the other hand, to the extent that respondents have seen federal advertisements on topics that are not covered here, the tables underestimate exposure.

Tables 7 and 8 indicate that half the Canadian population recalls no federal advertisement in the selected areas. Ten per cent recall advertisements on one or two topics; 18 per cent on three or four; 20 per cent on five or six.

Advertisements about taxation and bond issues are the most widely remembered. Those about pension benefits come second. Labour matters, housing, agriculture, and aid to industry follow in that order.

Table 8 indicates that there are few regional variations in the degree to which respondents report exposure to advertisements from the Federal Government. Respondents in the Prairies are slightly more likely to report wide exposure or narrow exposure. In other provinces replies are spread more evenly over the four categories.

Table 9 relates range of exposure to social position by occupation. In the first five columns, as social-class position declines, so does the range of exposure. The differences are much more marked at the extremes of the occupational scale than in the middle. The professionals and managers claim to have seen advertisements on most of the six topics, while fewer than half of the unskilled remember seeing even one.

Similarly, exposure to federal advertising is much lower among the less educated. Sixty-seven per cent of those who did not complete public school are narrowly exposed, compared to only 26 per cent of the university-educated. The results for socio-economic status tell the same story.

The farmers fall into two relatively distinct groups, one

fairly heavily and one little exposed to federal advertising. The housewives, the unemployed and the retired emerge as relatively unaware of federal advertising and, in this regard, they are similar to the unskilled workers.

There are a number of possible explanations for these findings. First there may be variations in the relevance of government to the day-to-day work of the respondents. Then differences in exposure may be primarily related to the respondents' level of interest in governmental and political matters. The detailed analysis suggests that interest in government is indeed important: those who describe themselves as interested are much more likely to have seen federal advertisements than those who consider themselves bored. Whether exposure generates interest or not, is not shown. When the comparisons are limited to those who express the same amounts of interest, however, the basic features of the table remain unaltered. Professionals and managers are the most aware of federal advertisements; farmers fall at both extremes; while the unskilled, the retired and the housewives (unless they are employed full-time are the least exposed).

The location of federal advertisements in radio and television programme schedules may be yet another factor. If, for example, advertisements are usually placed near newscasts, the results might be influenced by respondents' interest in such programmes.

The findings may also be better explained by education than by occupation as such. Perhaps those with more education are more alert than others as viewers and readers, and thus recall more advertisements. Perhaps the advertisements are aimed at the more educated. Perhaps they convey little to those who left school in their early teens. Certainly, among those with the same amount of education, the relationship between exposure and knowledge is weak.

By contrast, the relationship between education and knowledge of government involvement, among those with

Table 9
Occupation and Range of Exposure to Federal Advertising

Range of Exposure to Federal Advertising	Professional, Manager	Sales	Clerical	Skilled Labour	Unskilled Labour	Farmer	Student	Housewife	Retired Unemployed
Narrow	30%	52%	44%	51%	61%	46%	45%	60%	59%
Fairly narrow	11	8	11	8	10	9	17	10	9
Fairly wide	26	16	24	20	13	15	22	14	12
Wide	33	24	21	21	16	30	16	16	20
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,300	462	1,016	2,061	1,235	497	1,638	3,995	718

the same amount of exposure is quite firm.

Education, however, is not the only factor. Some persons at each educational level recalled an unusually large or small number of advertisements.

Table 10 shows the relationship between exposure to federal advertising and knowledge of government involvement. Those with the least knowledge are the least exposed. At the other end of the scale, those with a fairly high level of knowledge vary widely in their range of exposure.

Table 10

Range of Exposure to Federal Advertising and Knowledge of Government Involvement

Knowledge of Government Involvement		Range of Exposure to Federal Advertising			
		Low	Fairly Low	Medium	Fairly High
Narrow	80%	56%	47%	38%	
Fairly narrow	5	10	11	11	
Fairly wide	8	17	20	22	
Wide	7	17	22	29	
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	
Number of replies	1,097	5,541	3,059	3,255	

Again, the results are susceptible to several explanations. Exposure may increase knowledge, or advertisements may be recalled only by those who are among the fairly well-informed. Those who are already middle-class, better educated and more interested than others may consequently be both better informed and more exposed.

Immigrants, by their own accounts, are less exposed to federal advertising than are native Canadians. Among recent

immigrants, 69 per cent are narrowly exposed. This figure falls to 57 per cent for immigrants of more than four years' standing, and to 50 per cent for the native-born. Only seven per cent of recent immigrants claim wide exposure, compared with 16 per cent of longer-term immigrants and 21 per cent of native-born Canadians.

French-English differences emerge in the responses to many of the survey questions, but the two major language groups do not differ in their exposure to federal advertising.

There are no consistent differences among the younger age groups, but the over-65s are significantly less exposed than others to federal advertising. The greater isolation of the elderly from communication with the Federal Government is consistent with their lower level of knowledge of government involvement, and their greater uncertainty about where to go for information.

2. Sources of Government Information

Question 6 asked for the sources from which the respondent had learned about any federal programme within the past year, and the replies indicated that the mass media are by far the most common sources of information. Friends and relatives are also important. Direct contact with government representatives or their publications are significant only for a minority. Associations and clubs are mentioned quite rarely.

Table 11 explores differences among provinces and regions in the use of available sources of information. In the Maritimes, 18 per cent have learned something about a federal programme from a public servant or an MP within the past year; and by implication the remaining 82 per cent have

Table 11

Regional Variations in Sources of Government Information*

Region or Province		Sources of Government Information						
		Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba, Saskatchewan	Alberta	B.C.	All Regions
Public servants, MPs	18%	12%	13%	16%	20%	18%	15%	
Newspapers, Magazines	56	60	61	66	66	67	62	
Government publications	30	23	26	28	34	34	27	
Radio	60	62	51	62	67	61	58	
Television	69	79	62	71	72	70	70	
Associations	15	12	14	15	17	19	14	
Relatives, friends	39	45	33	33	40	37	38	
Number of replies	1,214	3,733	4,592	1,313	847	1,253	12,952	

* Percentages total more than 100 since some respondents mentioned more than one source of information.

not. In the Maritimes, 56 per cent have learned about a programme from newspapers or magazines; and by implication 44 per cent have not. Thirty per cent have read about a programme in a government publication while 70 per cent have not.

The interest here lies in comparing the figures within a rough guide, differences of eight-ten per cent between one row, to see whether a medium of communication is reaching a greater audience in some regions than in others. As a rough guide, differences of eight-ten per cent between one province and another are needed to indicate statistical significance. There are no marked differences among the provinces to the extent to which public servants and MPs together act as a source of information. Newspapers and magazines are of more importance in the Prairies and the West than in the Maritimes. Government publications are more important in the West than in Quebec. Radio is more important in Alberta than elsewhere, and it is particularly unimportant in Ontario. Television is less important in Ontario than elsewhere, and more important in Quebec. Relatives and friends are more important in Quebec, and less important in Ontario and the Prairies. In general, British Columbia and Alberta are above average in exposure to each source, while Ontario is below average. In Quebec, television, relatives and friends are more important than elsewhere, and government publications are less important.

Respondents were not asked how much they had learned from each source, nor about which programmes. (Earlier research, by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, has suggested that a high level of public awareness can be generated, if not maintained, on topics that are both complex and at times remote from the daily lives of most citizens.)

French-speaking Canadians rely more on audio-visual sources and less on written sources than do English-speaking Canadians. The study does not show whether this is a matter of choice or availability. The greater reliance on friends and relatives in the French-speaking areas, especially those outside Quebec, probably reflects the greater prevalence of the extended family in French-Canadian culture.

The survey shows three other differences in relation to sources of information. First, residents of rural areas make more use of radio and government publications than do urban residents, although the two groups do not differ in their use of other media. In particular, the poor in rural areas and in middle-sized cities make fuller use of most sources of government information than do the poor in the four largest cities. This is especially true in relation to MPs and public servants, government publications, associations

and friends. Second, about five per cent more men than women obtain information from newspapers, from government publications and through associations. And third, people with more knowledge, education and interest than others generally use a wider range of sources of information, and possibly they check what they see or hear on the mass media. The differences are most apparent in considering those sources which presume the highest educational level of people – written media, associations, and direct contact with public servants or MPs. Those with the least knowledge, education and interest in government are by far the least likely to have had contact with any source of government information. Once again, most of the eight per cent with the least knowledge are isolated from all sources of information about the government and its activities.

Those who are exposed to more sources of information are neither more nor less likely to express favourable attitudes toward the Federal Government.

Perhaps we could recap for a moment. Those who are most exposed to government information are better informed than others, and more highly educated. They are more likely to be in the labour market, and more likely to be interested in government affairs. Education and position in the labour market are both important in stimulating the desire to get information, and in providing the means for its collection and retention. One would expect that those in jobs that require knowledge of current affairs and higher education are likely to be better informed than other people, and more receptive to federal information services. Those with little education and few contacts outside the home probably experience more difficulty in understanding federal advertisements, and find them less relevant to their own lives. Education and employment, however, are by no means the sole factors. Among university graduates, the knowledgeable do not rely on more sources of information. For Canadians who graduated from high school but have no higher education, contact with the various sources of information is quite strongly related to knowledge of government involvement. The relationship is stronger still for those who did not finish high school. Among the less educated, the better informed people are much more likely to use the existing sources.

The survey can say little about cause and effect. It is plausible that those who are deliberately or accidentally exposed to information about federal programmes consequently become more knowledgeable than those who are not. Other explanations are possible, however. Interest may lead to knowledge, and also to a variety of information. The important variable may be not the amount of education re-

ceived but, rather, the uses to which it is put.

There is some evidence that professional people and business managers are, for the most part, able to obtain adequate information. For less privileged groups, the availability, the clarity, and the intrinsic interest of federal information materials may be much important in affecting their knowledge of government. They are relatively isolated from the mainstream of Canadian political life, and apparently not only poorly informed but apathetic as well. Exposure to information can increase knowledge only if the information falls on receptive ears. Informing willing listeners is often a complex and challenging task; that of stimulating the apathetic or reluctant is much more challenging. It calls for more flexible and imaginative approaches than are current now, and a much greater commitment of resources.

3. Satisfaction with Government Information

This index involves answers to two questions: whether the Federal Government should supply more information about its activities than it supplies now; and whether, to do it, it should spend more. The second question was a reminder to respondents that more information implies more government expenditure. Those who desire more information therefore want both an expanded and a more expensive federal information programme. Those who desire no more information may be unusually satisfied with the amount of information already available, or they may think existing services are inefficient and ripe for curtailment.

Table 12 shows that those who desire a general expansion of government services are also more likely to desire expansion of federal information services. Perhaps people feel that to make expanded government services effective, there must be a corresponding increase in information.

Table 13 shows that Quebec and British Columbia are

Table 12

Desire for Expanded Government Services and Satisfaction with the Amount of Federal Information

Amount of Federal Information Desired				
Desires for Government Services				
	Desires Much More	Desires Some More	No Opinion	Very Satisfied with Present Amount
Some Contraction of Government Services	14	21	28	36
Little net change, some Expansion of Government Services	43	45	43	43
Expansion of Government Services	43	34	29	21
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	4,103	2,859	3,120	2,770

the most likely parts of the country to desire more federal information, while Prairie residents are the least likely to wish for an increase if it involves additional government spending. In every province about five per cent think that the supply of federal information is already sufficient. Another five per cent do not want more information if the increase implies an increase in federal expenditures. The replies to the two constituent questions however, are very similar.

The occupational groups differ considerably in their desire for federal information though, in this context, educational differences are not relevant.

College and high-school students are the most likely to want more information but this desire is related to their age rather than their educational level. The desire for more information, and dissatisfaction with the amount currently

Table 13

Regional Variations in Satisfaction with Amount of Federal Information

Region or Province	Satisfaction with Amount of Federal Information						
	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba, Saskatchewan	Alberta	B.C.	All Regions
Desires much more	25	41	30	19	24	36	31
Some more	23	22	22	23	26	23	23
Don't know, Little change	42	30	39	49	42	34	38
No more	10	7	9	9	8	7	8
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,214	3,733	4,592	1,313	847	1,253	12,952

available, is also strong among skilled and unskilled workers. They are willing to see federal expenditures grow to cover the cost of the additional information.

These figures can best be understood in relation to the other findings. Those who desire the most expansion of federal information are the manual workers, who are in the labour market but poorly informed; and the students, who are on the verge of entering the labour market and are also somewhat ill-informed. The desire is lower among the well-informed workers and among those who are not in the labour market. It could be argued that the wage-earner has, or seeks, more information because he represents the main point at which the Federal Government impinges on the family.

City, town, village and rural residents do not differ in their satisfaction with the present amount of federal infor-

mation.

Finally, there is no association between satisfaction with the amount of federal information and satisfaction with its quality or suitability for its intended audience.

4. Future Methods of Dealing with the Federal Government

The final question asked how citizens would like to deal with their Federal Government in the future. The respondent was asked whether he would like to make use in the future of each of seven specified ways of approaching the government. The analysis concentrates on the percentage who think a method is good. It includes those with no opinion among those who think the method is poor.

Table 15 shows that the MP is clearly the most popular

Table 14

Occupation and Satisfaction with Amount of Federal Information

Occupation									
Satisfaction with Amount of Federal Information									
	Professional Manager	Sales	Clerical	Skilled Labour	Unskilled Labour	Farmer	Student	Housewife	Retired Unemployed
Desires much more	27%	29%	31%	36%	37%	26%	38%	28%	30%
Some more	23	16	26	22	22	24	28	21	21
Don't know	17	23	21	20	19	20	20	22	21
Little more	23	22	13	14	14	19	10	20	18
No more	10	10	9	8	8	11	4	9	10
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,330	462	1,016	2,061	1,235	497	1,638	3,995	718

Table 15

Regional Differences in Desired Method of Communication*

Region or Province							
Method of Communication							
	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba, Saskatchewan	Alberta	B.C.	All Regions
Through MP	75%	71%	83%	75%	75%	77%	77%
Through Provincial Government	55	56	51	58	62	62	55
Through Municipal Government	52	44	57	53	63	58	53
Local Federal Agent	42	52	53	49	60	64	53
Recorded Message	9	15	12	11	8	15	12
Free telephone to Ottawa	29	42	43	26	41	45	40
Mail	48	54	52	47	54	55	52
Number of replies	1,214	3,733	4,592	1,313	847	1,253	12,952

* Percentages total more than 100% because respondents could judge more than one method satisfactory.

choice. Seventy-seven per cent of the sample regarded him as a satisfactory method of dealing with the government. Four other methods each prove satisfactory to 50-55 per cent. They are communication through the provincial government, through the municipal government, by mail, or through contact with a local representative of the Federal Government. These could be called the four traditional public service methods. In terms of popularity, they are close to indistinguishable, and they are all less popular than the MP.

The other two suggestions were a system of recorded messages to handle queries about specific problems, and a set of free telephone lines which the public could use to reach offices in Ottawa directly. These are judged satisfactory by 12 per cent and 40 per cent respectively.

Table 15 also shows regional variations in replies to this question. Satisfaction with the MP as a channel of communication is highest in Ontario (83 per cent) and lowest in Quebec (71 per cent), but in every province the MP is the most popular means of communication.

The question was worded very generally. It did not focus specifically on the relative merits of the public servant and the MP as a source of information or as a source of help and advice. The earlier findings show that, when compared with the mass media, both are minor sources of information. This certainly does not preclude their usefulness in supplying the more detailed kinds of information, which are not often available through the media. Perhaps respondents perceive the MP as an advocate, to whom one turns for support in pressing one's case with the Federal Government. When respondents were asked to whom they would go first with a general problem, 62 per cent mentioned the MP or the Member of the provincial Legislative Assembly, while only seven per cent mentioned a federal or provincial official. The MP appears to be a major source of feed-back from the public to the government; and it is from this point of view that most respondents seem to have understood the phrase "deal with the government in future."

At the same time, the Ontario Survey found that 51 per cent consider that their MPs pay little attention to them, except at election time. By contrast, only 38 per cent feel that public servants do not care what people think. This suggests that the MP is seen as a very valuable ally, but one who may be quite circumspect about taking up arms for individual constituents. It is important not to apply the findings from a very general question to such specific areas as the future organization of federal information services. It may well be that members of the public approach one source for information, and another for advice or help. They

approach different sources for different types of information. Certainly, it was found that people go to more than one level of government for their information.

The only evidence that relates explicitly to information services is that, leaving aside the mass media for the moment, more members of the public have learned something about federal programmes from government publications (27 per cent) than from MPs and public servants combined (15 per cent). Since publications are associated mainly with the public service rather than with Parliament or the provincial legislatures, it appears that information flows through the public service much more than through MPs.

On the other hand, those who seek help or advice about a problem appear to be nine times as likely to go to an MP or MLA as they are to a public servant. Thus, there is a fairly clear division: information from the government to the public flows mainly through the public service, or indirectly through the mass media; information from the public to the government flows mainly through the elected representatives.

The recorded message is invariably the least popular method of communication with the Federal Government. The free telephone service is much less popular in the Maritimes and the Prairies than elsewhere. In Ontario, the Prairies and the West the four traditional "public service" methods are equally popular. In the Maritimes the local federal representative is noticeably less popular than elsewhere. In every region except Ontario and B.C., the respondents prefer to communicate through a provincial office rather than a local federal office.

The MP and the municipal government prove to be less popular among French-speaking than among English-speaking Canadians, while the provincial government and, to a small extent, the recorded-message system are more popular. French Canadians outside Quebec are much more locally oriented than French-speaking Quebecers or English-speaking respondents. In their view, the municipal and provincial governments are almost as satisfactory as the MP.

Traditional methods appeal more to the elderly, and new approaches more to the young; nevertheless, several traditional methods are no more attractive to one age group than to another. Social-class differences emerge only in relation to satisfaction with the MP and the mail service. Lower-class citizens are the least satisfied with each of these channels, and upper-class citizens the most.

The popularity of the MP is highest in the middle-sized towns. It gradually declines as one moves toward rural areas or toward the larger cities, and reaches its lowest point in the major cities. Even there, however, 72 per cent

consider the MP as a satisfactory intermediary.

The main relationship between knowledge of government involvement and preferred methods of future communication is that the eight per cent who are least knowledgeable are by far the most likely to have no opinion about future communication. Of this group, 47-53 per cent say "don't know" to each of the proposed methods; only ten-17 per cent of the other groups have no opinion.

Actual relationships with government officials may have a bearing on satisfaction with methods of communication. Those who think of meetings with officials as cold or strained are usually quite a bit more reluctant than others to deal with them in person, by mail, or through an intermediary. They are also more hesitant to solicit help from an MP who can exercise some power over the official. This group of people, however, is not uncommonly dissatisfied with telephone communication. It appears that telephone conversations are relatively attractive to those respondents who feel uncomfortable in government offices and dislike writing official letters. The attraction of telephone conversations, despite their drawbacks, may be that the citizen can conduct them from his "home ground" in his own style of conversation.

Those who consider that citizens are able to influence their government are more favourable to MP's and the four traditional public service methods of communication. Their beliefs and experiences may combine to make them more satisfied than others with current channels of communication. Those who desire more information appear somewhat more likely than others to seek face to face contact with an official or, failing that, telephone contact with officials in Ottawa. And the people who believe the Federal Government is responsive to suggestions are more satisfied than others to have direct contact with the federal official, to hear a recorded message which he has dictated, or to communicate through the MP. Those who have considerable faith in the Federal Government are more likely to favour direct contact with federal officials than those who have less faith. Not surprisingly, respondents who find correspondence brings a prompt reply are more likely to be satisfied with mail communication than the other groups are, and they are a little less likely to be interested in the innovation of direct free telephone lines. People who anticipate slow service by mail show a cautious interest in free telephones, but perhaps they are too sceptical to reveal much real enthusiasm for the idea.

The respondent's source of information about federal activities is not related to his preferred means of communica-

tion. People who have successfully obtained information from the government in the past are more likely to favour every specified method of future communication. Those who have been less successful, or have not tried to obtain information, are less likely to favour any of them.

The indices thus yield many varied results. In general, the relevant features of each method are its novelty or its traditional use; whether it involves meeting public servants in an office setting; whether it implies direct contact with decision-makers, or the use of an intermediary; and whether it is likely to involve substantial delays. Separately or in combination, these characteristics are sufficient to offer a range of reasonable explanation for the findings. The explanations, however, are somewhat tentative. The respondents may not perceive as crucial those characteristics of each method of communication that this analysis stresses.

Public Orientation Toward Different Levels of Government

We have considered the extent to which a representative sample of several thousand Canadians reply that they "don't know," when asked where they would go for help in a number of programme areas. It is important to examine as well which level of government – Federal, provincial or local – Canadians are most likely to approach. The answer, in the most general terms, is that they are most likely to go to the Federal Government, and least likely to go to their local governments. This is consistent with a general public tendency to exaggerate the extent of federal involvement.

Orientation toward the Federal Government is most pronounced in relation to pensions, income tax and the loan of experts to under-developed countries. It is less pronounced with regard to scientific research and the Trans-Canada Highway.

1. Exaggeration of Involvement

Examination of Table 2 demonstrates that Canadians consistently exaggerate the authority of the Federal Government. The general lack of awareness of shared responsibility leads to some exaggeration of provincial involvement, but Canadians attribute most shared programmes solely to federal involvement. Rather than vague and wide-spread uncertainties, Canadian knowledge of government involvement is characterized by distinct misconceptions. It appears probable that a large proportion of respondents not only do not know

that responsibility is shared in many areas, but feel convinced that it is not.

2. Which Election is the Most Important ?

The wording of this question was intended to force respondents into a specific choice among federal, provincial and municipal elections but 40 per cent insist that all elections are equally important. Twenty-nine per cent say federal elections are most important, 14 per cent provincial, and only ten per cent select municipal elections. Both English and French-speakers are most likely to say all elections are equally important. The differences appeared only among those who gave a preference. Quebec has the lowest proportion of respondents who think federal elections are the most important (20 per cent compared to 30-36 per cent for the other provinces). Ontario and Alberta attach the least importance to provincial elections. Otherwise, the regional differences are small.

Ninety per cent of French-speaking respondents in the sample live in Quebec, and French-speaking Canadians are much more likely than others to consider provincial elections most important. English-speaking Canadians are more likely to attach the most importance to federal elections.

(The Ontario Survey, taken at the time of the 1968 general election, had very different results. Fifty per cent of respondents said federal elections were most important, and only 19 per cent said all elections are equally important.)

3. Political Provincialism

Political provincialism, in the terms of the national surveys, covers a variety of attitudes. They range from a vague un-

easiness about the Federal Government's paying insufficient attention to "people around here" to a conviction that the Federal Government has taken too much power away from the provincial government. Overall, according to the survey, about 40 per cent of Canadians are mainly politically provincial and 40 per cent are mainly politically national.

The first part of the question asked whether the respondent thought people in his province got as much attention from the Federal Government as did those in other provinces. Forty-seven per cent think that their province receives fair treatment in this sense; 46 per cent do not.

The second part asked whether the Federal Government does a poor job of handling complaints from people "around here". Fifty per cent think it does; 38 per cent think it does not.

The third part asked whether the Federal Government has taken too much power away from the provincial government. Forty-two per cent think it has; 47 per cent think it has not.

The final part asked whether there were many problems that a provincial government could still handle alone. Fifty-three per cent think there are not; 38 per cent think that there are.

On the whole, opinions are fairly evenly divided on each of these questions.

Provincialism, in this sense, is highest in Quebec. It is lowest in Ontario. French-speaking respondents are much more likely than English-speaking to be provincial in their orientation. Fifty-eight per cent of French-speaking Canadians are fairly or very provincial, compared to only 32 per cent of English-speaking Canadians.

A comparison of occupational groups shows that the

Table 16

Regional Variations in Political Provincialism

Region or Province

Political Provincialism

	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba, Saskatchewan	Alberta	B.C.
Very provincial	20%	23%	7%	16%	12%	12%
Fairly provincial	30	34	18	27	26	26
Somewhat provincial	17	15	19	23	18	17
A little provincial	20	17	35	20	33	31
Not at all provincial	13	11	21	14	11	14
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,214	3,733	4,592	1,313	847	1,253

least provincial groups are students and those in middle class occupations. Farmers are the most provincial of all occupational groups in their attitudes. The higher level of provincialism among farmers may be traditional. The historic animosity of the western farmers toward easterners must certainly have some connection with their inclination towards their provincial governments. Another influential factor may be the farmer's position as a member of a shrinking minority group whose livelihood is strongly affected by federal decisions.

Lower status groups are more likely to be provincial than higher status groups. The only relation between provincialism and knowledge of government involvement is that those with least knowledge are least likely to have any opinions at all about federal-provincial relations. Those aged 15-20 are a little less provincial than their elders, but the difference is slight and age does not appear to be related to provincialism in any other way.

4. Choice of Levels of Government

The Ontario Study explored in some detail the respondents' orientation toward the different levels of Canadian Government. Respondents were asked which level of government handles the most important problems facing us today, and which is more important in affecting families from day to day. Mildred Schwartz asked comparable questions at the time of the November 1965 general election.*

Although the results are not precisely comparable, they suggest that between 1965 and 1968 there has been a small reduction (from 55 per cent to 50 per cent) in the proportion thinking that most important problems are handled by the Federal Government. Correspondingly, there has been a small rise from 15 per cent to 19 per cent in the proportion thinking that most important problems are handled by the provincial government.

Several Ontario groups are more likely than average to think that the Federal Government handles most important problems. Among them are found those with family income in excess of \$10,000, those who have lived in other provinces or abroad and in some instances those who are most likely to think the Federal Government is very effective. These groups, according to the survey, have the strongest orientation to the Federal Government.

* Mildred Schwartz, *The Political Outlook of Canadian Voters in the November 1965 Election*, a paper presented to the 39th annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Ottawa 1967.

In Ontario, an orientation toward the provincial or local government seems to be related to a low level of interest and knowledge about politics, but again the associations are not very strong. Those who voted in the last federal election are no more likely than non-voters to be federally oriented. Similarly, voters in the last provincial election are no more likely to be provincially oriented.

When Professor Schwartz asked which government affected daily life more, the results were rather different from those of the current study. In 1965, in Ontario, the largest proportion (39 per cent) still pointed to the Federal Government, but in the present study 35 per cent mentioned the provincial government as being more influential on daily life. Again, there appears to have been a small swing from federal to provincial orientation. The swing is sufficient to make the provincial government appear slightly more influential than the Federal Government.

A federal orientation is also related to evaluation of the effectiveness of government. There is a small minority which thinks government is very effective in most undertakings. This minority is more inclined to say the Federal Government is important in affecting their lives. The majority in Ontario, who think government is rather less effective, is fairly evenly divided between those with a federal and those with a provincial orientation.

Although Canadians are very likely to have an exaggerated perception of federal involvement, they are about equally likely to take a general problem to the federal or to the provincial level of government. They are least likely to take a general problem to local government.

Table 17 shows that the public response to a general problem varies somewhat from one province to another. The main variations are between the groups favouring the Federal and the provincial governments. Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia are more likely to take general problems to the Federal Government, while the Maritimes, Quebec, Manitoba and Saskatchewan prefer to take general problems to their provincial governments. The likelihood of going to local government or to any other source is least variable; it hovers around 30 per cent for all groups. The provincial variations are not extreme but they are significant. They are all of the kind that might be expected. The public generally regards Quebec, the Maritimes and the Prairies as quite provincial in orientation. The findings support both this view, and the general belief that Ontario, British Columbia and, to a lesser extent, Alberta, are the most nationally oriented provinces.

French-speaking Canadians are more likely than their

Table 17

"If You Wanted to Bring a General Problem to the Attention of Government, Where Would You Go First?"**Regional Variations in the Replies****Region or Province****Respondent would first approach**

	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba, Saskatchewan	Alberta	B.C.	Over-all
Federal Government	29%	27%	39%	28%	39%	42%	33%
Provincial Government	41	40	30	41	36	33	36
Local Government; Non-government body; Don't know	30	33	31	31	25	25	31
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,214	3,733	4,592	1,313	847	1,253	

English-speaking counterparts to take a general problem to their provincial government. French speakers outside Quebec, however, are almost as likely as English speakers to consult the Federal Government. They are the most likely to consult local sources such as friends and relatives. Among English-speaking Canadians, 36 per cent would take a problem to the Federal Government, compared to 33 per cent who would go to the provincial government. In Quebec, 43 per cent of French-speaking Canadians would consult the provincial government and 27 per cent the Federal. Outside Quebec, 26 per cent of French-speaking Canadians would take a problem to the provincial government, and 34 per cent would go to the Federal Government.

The Ontario Study found a distinctive pattern for the French-speaking in the province, on the question of where they would go with a general problem such as air pollution. In the Ontario Study, French speakers are far the most likely to go to the Federal Government about air pollution: 33 per cent of French speakers would do so, compared with nine per cent of English, five per cent of Italian speakers and 20 per cent of those speaking other languages.

5. Summary: Perception of the Relative Importance of the Federal and Provincial Governments

The findings on public perception of the relative importance of Federal and provincial governments have covered several separate questions. First, it was found that most respondents tend to exaggerate the scope of federal involvement, often to a marked extent, and to rely most on federal sources of information for specific problems. All elections are usually considered equally important but, if forced to choose, most Canadians feel federal elections are the most important.

Canadians as a whole have no clear preference concerning the level of government which they would approach first. Federal and provincial are selected about equally often. People in Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia are more likely to go to the Federal Government, while respondents in other provinces are more likely to go to their provincial government. French-speaking Quebecers are much more likely than English-speaking Canadians throughout the country to go to the provincial government. Quebec residents and French-speakers are most provincial in orientation, and also most likely to consider provincial elections pre-eminent.

Most Canadians feel that the most important problems are handled by the Federal Government, but that the provincial government affects their daily life slightly more than the Federal does. In both respects, Ontario data suggests a slight swing toward a provincial orientation since 1965.

Attitudes Toward the Federal Government

The following is a review of the main indices to measure public attitudes toward the Federal Government. It shows the groups in which particular attitudes are unusual or widespread. The first five indices relate primarily to beliefs, and the last three to attitudes.

1. Beliefs About Federal Government Efficiency

The respondents were asked whether the Federal Government usually operates smoothly and efficiently; or whether it keeps putting things off and letting things slide. In each case, 35-40 per cent made positive and about 55 per cent

Table 18

Regional Variations in Beliefs About Federal Government Efficiency

Region or Province

Believes Federal Government is:

	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba, Saskatchewan	Alberta	B.C.	All Regions
Inefficient	16%	20%	21%	24%	26%	17%	20%
Somewhat inefficient	22	30	22	27	24	27	25
Passable	30	35	29	30	26	31	31
Somewhat efficient	27	11	21	15	18	19	18
Efficient	5	4	7	4	6	6	6
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,214	3,733	4,592	1,313	847	1,253	12,952

Table 19

Regional Variations in the Expectation of Fair Treatment

Region or Province

Expectation of fair treatment by Federal Government

	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba, Saskatchewan	Alberta	B.C.	All Regions
Most fair	21%	14%	18%	12%	15%	21%	17%
Reasonably fair	43	38	48	44	42	46	44
Just so-so	25	33	23	31	23	22	27
Unfair	6	12	6	10	11	6	9
Don't know	5	3	5	3	9	5	4
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	981	3,045	3,488	1,099	679	1,012	12,952

Note: Recent immigrants and those aged 15-20 were excluded.

negative judgments about the government's efficiency.

Of the criteria used in the survey, smooth, efficient operation is the one in which the Federal Government has the most difficulty in meeting the expectations of its citizens. There is no basis for judging how far the government is at fault, or how far the citizens' expectations are unreasonable.

As Table 18 shows, residents of the Maritimes are the most likely to regard the Federal Government as efficient; respondents in the Prairies and in Quebec are the least likely. Indeed, in Quebec only 15 per cent regard the government as even moderately efficient. Residents of the Prairies and Alberta are the most likely to believe that the Federal Government is positively inefficient.

Farm families are more likely than non-farm families to think that the Federal Government is inefficient. Farmers may well be one of the occupational groups that are most directly affected by federal policies.

2. Fair and Prompt Treatment from the Federal Government

Residents of British Columbia, Ontario and the Maritimes are the most likely to expect fair treatment from the Federal Government. Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Quebec residents are all more likely to expect unfair or "so-so" treatment. Residents of the more federally-oriented provinces are in general somewhat more likely to think the Federal Government is fair than residents of the more provincially-oriented provinces.

The expectation of unfair treatment is not related to social class or to size of community. Immigrants from the United States appear to have somewhat greater expectations of fair treatment from the Federal Government than native-born Canadians. Immigrants from Italy and East Europe are much more likely than native-born Canadians and other groups

to say they "don't know" if they would be treated fairly by the Federal Government.

A comparison of Tables 19 and 20 shows that Canadians are much more likely to expect fair treatment from the Federal Government than to expect prompt treatment. Quebec residents are by far the most likely to expect slow treatment from the Federal Government and, to a lesser extent, Alberta residents share this expectation. At the opposite extreme, Ontario and the Maritimes are the most optimistic about getting prompt treatment.

Public servants probably do not differ greatly in their treatment of citizens from the ten provinces and therefore the differences found are probably due to slower treatment for members of minority language groups, or to differences in expectations from one province to another.

The relationship between country of birth and expectation of prompt treatment is similar to that between country of birth and expectation of fair treatment. Social class and size of community do not affect expectations of prompt or slow treatment.

3. Faith in Government

The Faith in Government index measures two aspects of faith: the belief that the government supplies honest information, that "you usually know where you stand" with it; and the belief that the Federal Government usually lives up to its promises.

The replies to the two separate questions are similar: about 40 per cent are confident that the Federal Government can be trusted, while 50 per cent lack this confidence and some 10 per cent are undecided. When the two questions

are put together to form an index, eight per cent have confidence on both counts; 19 per cent have no confidence on either count; 73 per cent take an intermediate position.

These findings have a parallel in the Ontario study, where 67 per cent of respondents agreed that the citizen could usually trust his government to do what is right. The percentage supporting the government is much higher in this instance, where disagreement would have implied a harsher condemnation of the government. We are inclined to think that many citizens have only a limited faith in the government as an entity. But they believe that, given the safeguards of a parliamentary democracy, the final decisions the government makes are usually satisfactory.

Table 21 examines regional differences in the amount of faith in the Federal Government. Faith tends to be highest in Quebec, and lowest in Alberta and the Prairies. Correspondingly, French-speaking Canadians have more faith than English-speaking Canadians, while French speakers in Quebec have slightly less than French speakers in other provinces.

The level of faith in government does not vary from one social class to another, between immigrants and native-born, between old and young, between city and country dwellers, or between the more or the less knowledgeable.

4. Feelings of Political Efficacy

The fourth index, Feelings of Political Efficacy, is constituted from Question 10. Those scoring high on this index believe that the citizen is able to influence Parliament, the public service and "the government". Low scorers believe

Table 20

Regional Variations in the Expectation of Prompt Treatment

Region or Province

Expectation of prompt treatment by Federal Government

	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba, Saskatchewan	Alberta	B.C.	All Regions
Very prompt	6%	3%	5%	3%	5%	4%	5%
Reasonably prompt	35	16	32	25	22	29	26
Just so-so	24	23	24	28	18	20	23
Somewhat slow	18	27	21	26	27	26	24
Very slow	11	28	14	13	19	15	17
Don't know	6	3	4	5	9	6	5
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,214	3,733	4,592	1,313	847	1,253	12,952

the citizen to be powerless politically.

Overall, the respondents are more likely to think the citizen powerful than powerless. Most think that the citizen has real but not unlimited power. The sense of power is stronger in relation to MPs than to "the government", and stronger in relation to "the government" than to the public service.

Differences in feelings of political efficacy are unrelated to age, to region, to language, to social class, or to knowledge of government involvement. These feelings are, however, related to attitudes to the public service.

Table 23 shows that favourable attitudes to the public service are associated with feelings of political efficacy. Those who think that citizens have some influence with the government are more likely to have a good opinion of public servants. Conversely, those who feel that the citizen cannot influence government decisions tend to have a lower opinion of the public servants who administer, and, in some cases, make them. Some correspondence between these two indices was expected; the efficacy index includes two questions which ask about the citizen's sense of power when dealing with a government official.

Table 21

Regional Variations in Faith in the Federal Government

Region or Province

Faith in the Federal Government

	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba, Saskatchewan	Alberta	B.C.	All Regions
Low	22%	15%	20%	24%	23%	19%	19%
Fairly low	28	25	27	26	26	26	26
Moderate	21	23	23	24	27	24	23
Fairly high	20	27	25	21	17	25	24
High	9	10	5	5	7	6	8
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,214	3,733	4,592	1,313	847	1,253	12,952

Table 22

Feelings of Political Efficacy

Feelings of Efficacy

	Definitely Not	Not very Often	Sometimes	More Often Than Not	Definitely
Percentage of Canadians	9	22	24	32	13
Number of replies	12,952				

Table 23

Attitudes to the Federal Public Service and Feelings of Political Efficacy

Feelings of Political Efficacy

Attitudes to the Federal Public Service

	Citizens are Powerless	Usually Powerless	Sometimes Powerful	Usually Powerful	Citizens are Powerful
Somewhat unfavourable	29%	15%	13%	9%	6%
Neutral	33	30	35	27	21
Somewhat favourable	32	47	42	51	53
Quite favourable	6	8	10	13	20
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,037	2,805	3,174	4,191	1,745

5. Belief that the Federal Government is Responsive to Suggestions

The fifth index measures the belief that the Federal Government is responsive to suggestions. One question concerned the Federal Government's initiative in seeking ideas, and the other concerned its receptiveness to ideas which were offered spontaneously. The population divides itself into thirds on this measure: one-third thinks the Federal Government receptive, one-third considers it unreceptive, and one-third has no definite opinion.

Table 24 shows that residents of Alberta, and especially of Quebec, are the least likely to believe that the Federal Government is responsive to their suggestions. French-speaking Canadians are less likely than English-speaking Canadians to think the Federal Government responsive. Differences in this belief are not associated with variations

in age, social class, length of residence in Canada, knowledge, size of place of residence, or ethnic background.

6. Interest in Government Affairs

On this index, interest could be in government affairs at any level, federal, provincial or local. Those who claim that they are usually interested and rarely bored by government affairs, are scored as high in interest. Those whose replies indicate average interest are scored as moderate, and those indicating below average or little interest as fairly low or low respectively.

Overall, 38 per cent indicate a high level of interest, and another 31 per cent describe themselves as having at least average interest. Most of the remaining 31 per cent suggest little interest.

Table 25 shows the extent of regional variations in interest

Table 24

Regional Variations in the Belief that the Federal Government is Responsive to Suggestions

Region or Province

Belief that the Federal Government is Responsive to Suggestions

	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba, Saskatchewan	Alberta	B.C.	All Regions
Unresponsive	13%	19%	13%	17%	17%	11%	15%
Usually unresponsive	20	23	20	20	23	23	20
Sometimes responsive	30	34	30	29	31	30	31
Usually responsive	31	17	28	26	21	28	25
Responsive	6	7	9	8	8	8	9
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,214	3,733	4,592	1,313	847	1,253	12,952

Table 25

Regional Variations in Interest in Government Affairs

Region or Province

Interest in Government Affairs

	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba, Saskatchewan	Alberta	B.C.	All Regions
Low	23%	23%	26%	22%	19%	19%	23%
Fairly low	9	9	8	7	8	6	8
Moderate	40	20	32	38	38	31	31
High	28	48	34	33	35	44	38
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,214	3,733	4,592	1,313	847	1,253	12,952

in government affairs. Although the differences are sometimes sharp, they are not entirely simple. In general, interest is highest in Quebec and British Columbia. In the Maritimes, Prairies and Alberta, interest tends to be concentrated in the "moderate" category. In Ontario it tends to be slightly below average.

At each educational level, French-speaking Quebecers are the most likely to have a high level of interest in government. The English-speaking, and those whose native tongue is neither English nor French, are intermediate. French-speaking Canadians outside Quebec exhibit the least interest in government affairs.

Table 26 relates Interest in Government Affairs to socioeconomic status. Those in the higher classes, and those with more education, exhibit more open interest in government affairs than people in lower classes. Men, according to their own description, show more interest than women. Among persons with the same educational background, about eight per cent more of the men are at the highest level of interest, while about eight per cent fewer are at the lowest level. Men tend to show more interest than women engaged in the same type of occupation. In part, this sex difference is real, but most of it reflects differences in education.

Table 27 relates interest in government affairs to knowledge of government involvement. As the level of interest rises, the level of knowledge also rises. This is especially true when those with the least knowledge are compared with the other groups. The least knowledgeable are much more likely to be bored by government matters.

This table suggests that any attempt to reach the least informed group needs to presume that they will show little interest in acquiring more information. Apathy is common in areas where a person expects or experiences little chance

Table 27

Interest in Government Affairs and Knowledge of Government Involvement

Knowledge of Government Involvement				
Interest in Government Affairs				
	Low	Fairly Low	Medium	Fairly High
Low	38%	26%	20%	16%
Fairly low	26	8	6	5
Moderate	22	32	31	30
High	14	34	43	49
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,097	5,541	3,059	3,255

of success, and the degree of the apathetic reaction often depends on the depth of the experiences of inadequacy.

Table 28 shows that those with more interest in government affairs describe their relationships with federal officials in more positive terms. Interested people are less likely to feel nervous when dealing with the Federal Government, and less likely to find officials cold and unhelpful.

The results of this section form a consistent pattern, which is confirmed in other sections. Those who are middle class are more likely to be interested in government affairs; more likely to be knowledgeable about federal and provincial involvement; more likely to use several sources of information about government programmes; and more likely to describe their relationships with federal officials in positive terms. Conversely, lower class families tend to be less interested, to use available sources less, to know less, and to describe their relationships in more negative terms.

These attitudes are related, but the correlations are only moderate. Those who are most interested are not invariably

Table 26

Social Class and Interest in Government Affairs

Socio-Economic Status, as assessed by Interviewer

Interest in Government Affairs					
	Upper	Upper Middle	Middle	Lower Middle	Lower
Low	10%	20%	23%	25%	29%
Fairly low	9	7	8	8	11
Moderate	25	27	31	33	30
High	56	46	38	34	30
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	625	3,361	3,823	4,169	974

the most knowledgeable, and they are not always the most favourable to federal officials, although this is usually the case. There are some who describe themselves as very interested in government affairs, but who know relatively little and who think that federal officials are cold and unco-operative.

There may be a number of reasons why middle-class families have more knowledge, more interest and more favourable attitudes. The middle class probably contains a higher proportion of public servants than other classes. The middle-class worker's job is more likely to involve contacts with public servants, and knowledge of government activities is more likely to be an asset to him. Middle-class people are often better equipped educationally to follow political developments and to take action as individuals or as members of organizations. They are more likely to be aware that interest and knowledge are necessary for successful political activity. Finally, the middle-class person is better able to be responsive and knowledgeable in dealing with public servants.

The relationship is more pleasant and co-operative than it might be between public servants and lower-class people.

7. Desire for Expanded Government Services

The final attitude index, the desire for expanded government services, consists of answers to Question 1. This question asked whether "the government" should be doing certain things. In some cases, such as low-income housing, the question asked, in effect, whether these services should be continued or terminated. In others, the question asked whether existing services should be expanded. Those with the highest and lowest scores definitely favour expansion or contraction, respectively, of existing services. Those in the middle include persons with no opinion, those who are

inconsistent, those who favour very cautious expansion, and those who favour the status quo.

Neither the question nor the context explicitly referred to the Federal Government. In this respect, Question 1 differed from nearly all subsequent questions. Answers may relate to expansion of federal, provincial and/or local services.

The highest proportion of respondents favour little or no expansion. More people favour definite expansion than contraction. The purpose in asking this question was to examine a further aspect of attitudes toward government: does the respondent view either increased or reduced government activity as an effective way to introduce desirable social change? The question is not without relevance since federal information services devote a great deal of time and energy trying to explain federal legislation and policy associated with social change.

Table 29 shows some differences between the provinces in desire for expanded government services. In the Prairies and Alberta, there is more desire for contraction than for clear expansion, although here, as in most other provinces, the largest numbers prefer to see little major change. Ontario, B.C. and the Maritimes come close to the national average on this index. The desire for expanded government services is much stronger in Quebec, where those desiring substantial expansion are the largest group numerically, and where contraction is favoured by relatively few. This is partly a regional difference, and partly related to the language difference.

The least knowledgeable either have no opinion or are inclined to prefer a contraction of government services. This finding underlines the comment earlier that special steps will be needed if the least informed are to be more involved in governmental affairs than they are now. Their ignorance is reinforced by signs of resistance to expanded government influence over their lives.

Table 28

Interest in Government Affairs and Quality of Relationships with Federal Officials

Quality of Relationships with Federal Government Officials

Interest in Government Affairs

	Cold, Strained	Somewhat Cold	Neutral	Somewhat Warm	Co-operative
Low	34%	26%	25%	17%	15%
Fairly low	12	6	8	5	6
Moderate	29	31	31	34	29
High	25	37	36	44	50
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	3,785	2,059	957	2,238	3,913

There is no tendency for those who are more exposed to federal advertising to be more favourable to government expansion. This discounts any suggestion that exposure to federal advertising clearly stimulates a desire for more services from all governments. Those who desire expansion of government services in general show above average interest in the expansion of federal information services.

Those who favour curbing government expansion are as interested, as knowledgeable in most cases, and as favourable in their attitudes toward dealings with the government as those who favour government expansion. Earlier in this report it was noted that, of the people described as fairly knowledgeable about government, 38 per cent would like some expansion of government services, and 22 per cent favour some contraction.

Attitudes to Federal Officials

There were two indices that focussed on federal officials. The first asks about the citizen's feelings when transacting

business in a government office. The second asks about the qualities that public servants typically possess.

1. Quality of Relationships with Government Officials

Thirty per cent of Canadians describe their dealings with federal officials as usually cold and impersonal, conducted in an atmosphere of nervousness and strain. Another 30 per cent describe their dealings as marked by warmth, co-operation and a feeling of confidence. Confidence may not always lead to friendly co-operation but, for this analysis, the two have been combined.

In most instances where a citizen is in contact with a public servant the citizen has a significantly stronger stake in the outcome than the official has. Although most say that the relationship should be unemotional, and strictly a business matter, about half judge the relationship in emotional terms because the outcome is important to them.

Table 30 shows the quality of relationships with government officials to be most cold and strained in Alberta, and

Table 29

Regional Variations in the Desire for Expanded Government Services

Region or Province

Desires

	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Saskatchewan, Manitoba	Alberta	B.C.	All Regions
Some contraction	23%	17%	25%	36%	35%	22%	23%
Little net change, some expansion	48	38	46	42	46	49	44
Expansion	29	45	29	22	19	29	33
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	981	3,045	3,778	1,099	679	1,012	10,594

Note: Number of replies is smaller because recent immigrants and those aged 15-20 were excluded.

Table 30

Regional Variations in Quality of Relationships With Government Officials

Region or Province

Quality of Relationship with Government Officials

	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba, Saskatchewan	Alberta	B.C.	All Regions
Cold, strained	29%	28%	28%	33%	37%	30%	30%
Somewhat cold	13	19	15	15	10	14	16
Neutral, somewhat warm	25	27	25	24	23	22	24
Warm, co-operative	33	26	32	28	30	34	30
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,214	3,733	4,592	1,313	847	1,253	12,952

somewhat colder than average in Quebec.

Middle-class persons score higher on this index than working-class persons. They feel more confident in their contacts with public servants. Again, however, they do not describe officials as more helpful than do working-class respondents. Non-employed housewives and students are the most likely to feel nervous and to lack confidence when dealing with federal public servants. Professionals and managers of both sexes feel most self-assured.

2. Attitudes to the Federal Public Service

The second index relating to federal officials asked respondents to indicate certain adjectives that, in their opinion, aptly describe public servants. On the whole, Canadians have a positive image of their public servants. Eleven per cent are quite favourable, and another 47 per cent somewhat favourable. Thirteen per cent are somewhat unfavourable; less than one per cent are very unfavourable. The picture of the public servant that emerges is interesting: over 60 per cent think of most public servants as courteous, intelligent, and well-respected; 40-50 per cent think of most public servants as hard-working, efficient, enterprising and paid appropriately for the work they do; 33 per cent consider most public servants to be interested in people's problems. Twenty per cent judge that most public servants are able to redirect or otherwise assist people who come to the wrong department.

Although most public servants are seen as intelligent and courteous, only a minority are seen as interested in the individual's problems. Interest in the people's problems may be vital to success in some federal agencies.

Table 31 shows no significant differences among the predominantly English-speaking provinces in attitudes toward the public service. Quebec residents, however, are somewhat

less favourable than those in other provinces. Similarly, French-speaking Canadians are a little less favourable to the public service than English-speaking Canadians.

Attitudes to the public service are not related to age, to length of residence, to social class, or to knowledge of government involvement; but those who feel that citizens are able to influence the government are more likely than others to have a favourable image of public servants.

Among regional differences, the most prominent finding is that Quebec is unique. Its distinct quality, however, does not follow a simple pattern. Residents of Quebec are the least likely to expect prompt service from the Federal Government. They believe it to be less efficient than others do, and they are least likely to feel that the Federal Government is responsive to their suggestions. Quebecers are also somewhat less favourable than others toward the federal public service, and report colder than average relationships with federal officials. They are most provincial in orientation; they are, as we have seen, most likely to take a problem to their provincial government rather than to the Federal Government.

Quebec residents, however, also have the greatest faith in the dependability of the Federal Government.* They show an unusually high interest in government affairs and, more than any other province, they favour expansion of government services. (In neither of the latter instances, however, did the question specify a level of government.)

It may be helpful to recall that Quebec residents not only rate high in knowledge of government involvement, but they also rate high in uncertainty about it. They frankly acknowledge their areas of ignorance. Quebec respondents are more likely than other Canadians to favour dealing with the Government information. They are more exposed to Federal

* This study did not ask about the dependability of provincial governments.

Table 31

Regional Variations in Attitudes to the Federal Public Service

Region or Province

Attitudes to the Federal Public Service

	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba, Saskatchewan	Alberta	B.C.
Somewhat unfavourable	10%	16%	11%	12%	11%	10%
Neutral	30	30	29	26	31	27
Somewhat favourable	46	46	47	47	47	48
Quite favourable	14	8	12	15	11	15
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of replies	1,214	3,733	4,592	1,313	847	1,253

Government information through television and friends than are respondents in other provinces. Finally, they are less likely than other Canadians to favour dealing with the Federal Government in future through their MPs or through their municipal governments.

It is difficult to draw conclusions about this composite picture of the Province of Quebec. It may be suggested, however, that Quebec residents seem dissatisfied with many aspects of the present political system but have not, as a whole, lost faith in the possibility of making it work in ways more satisfying to themselves. They are relatively knowledgeable about government and interested in increasing their knowledge of it, and their interest includes relative open-mindedness about areas of which they know little. They are critical of both the fairness and the promptness of the Federal Government; but even though they do not always approve of its policies, they believe that it is trustworthy.

Alberta residents are less likely than most to feel that the Federal Government is responsive to their suggestions; they expect less promptness from the Federal Government, and report the coldest relationships with federal officials. They also have the least faith in the dependability of the Federal Government, and they are more inclined than other areas, except for the Prairies, to favour contraction of government services.

Nevertheless, respondents in Alberta are more likely than average to rely on federal sources for both information and help with problems. They have relatively high knowledge of government involvement, are high in certainty about government involvement, and attach more importance to federal elections than most other areas do. Alberta respondents are average in their satisfaction with the quality and quantity of government information, and in their exposure to most kinds of federal advertising, though they are somewhat high in exposure to radio. In considering future ways of dealing with the Federal Government, they are a little more likely than others to favour communication through their provincial and municipal governments, and most likely (along with B.C.) to favour local federal agents.

Ontario is somewhat more favourable to the Federal Government in a variety of ways, especially in expecting fair treatment and being least provincial in orientation. In interest in government and in knowledge of government involvement, Ontario ranks lowest among the provinces. Ontario's limited use of existing information sources is probably related to its poor showing on knowledge. Ontario residents are the most likely of all Canadians to favour

dealing with the Federal Government in future through their MPs.

The Prairies tend to be more negative than other areas toward the Federal Government. They have the least faith in it and most likely to think it inefficient. They favour contraction, if anything, of government services, including federal information. Compared with other provinces, they are less exposed to federal information through friends, and least in favour of future communication with the Federal Government by a free telephone line.

British Columbia residents have favourable attitudes toward public servants, high interest in government affairs, more knowledge and certainty about government involvement, and desire an increase in federal information more than any other province. They think federal elections more important than provincial or local elections, and they are more likely than others to rely on the Federal Government in dealing with a general problem. Like Albertans, they are a little more likely than other Canadians to favour dealing with the Federal Government in future through their provincial and municipal governments, and they are most in favour of having local federal agents.

Finally, residents of the Maritimes also have very favourable attitudes toward the Federal Government. They are more likely than others to think it prompt, fair and efficient, and are more likely to go to it with a problem. However, they are more politically provincial, think provincial elections relatively more important than Federal and they have a low level of interest in government affairs. They are average in their knowledge of government involvement and their exposure to federal advertisements. In future dealings with the Federal Government, they are least in favour of local federal agents, and along with the Prairies, least in favour of free telephone lines to Ottawa.

In the Maritimes, the image of the Federal Government seems to be that it is good as far as it goes, but not as important nor as vital as some other provincial populations think it is. In some cases it appears that those provinces most interested in the Federal Government are also either sceptical or critical of it.

The findings about provinces and regions clearly require interpretation in the light of local political history, and of the economic and social conditions that are unique to each area. This is especially true of Quebec. It may be that government publications issued in French to French speakers are evaluated differently from those offered in English to English speakers. Quebec's provincial and local governments, and its systems of law and education, are unique in Canada.

The phrases "Federal Government" and "Federal-provincial relations" have special overtones. "Provincialism" has connotations that vary as one moves from the Maritimes to Quebec, the Prairies or British Columbia.

It is not the object of this report to enlarge upon these points; they serve only as a caution to the reader that regional variations require judicious interpretation in the light of socio-cultural conditions.

With regard to language differences, the replies of French speakers in Quebec are generally so similar to those for the province as a whole that it is not necessary to repeat them here. Since 87 per cent of the Quebec sample here are French-speaking there are virtually no significant differences between the findings for the Province of Quebec, just described, and the Quebec French. A separate analysis was made for English-speaking Quebec residents in only a few respects. They were found to have had more education, on the average, than French-speaking residents, but to have been less exposed to federal advertising. They are less well-informed on government involvement than French-speaking Quebecers with the same amount of education, but better informed than English-speaking Canadians in most other provinces.

The replies of French-speaking Canadians outside Quebec are often quite different from those of French-speakers in Quebec. Instead of being highest in knowledge of government, the non-Quebec French have less knowledge than either the French-speaking in Quebec or the English-speaking Canadians. French-speaking Canadians outside Quebec show the least interest in government affairs and have the lowest exposure to federal advertising through papers and magazines. This probably reflects the handicap of being a language minority. Both French-speaking groups are a little low in exposure to government publications. French-speaking Canadians outside Quebec are the most likely to be exposed to government information through friends, and to go to friends with a general problem. Although they have little belief in their power to influence government, they are almost effusive in their enthusiasm in many areas. They have most faith in the Federal Government, believe most in its efficiency, and report the warmest relations with federal officials. However, only five per cent of this group, in contrast to 13 per cent of all respondents, recall ever having taken a problem to the Federal Government; and they have the least desire among Canadians for more government services.

One of the most interesting characteristics of French speakers outside Quebec is their enthusiasm for a number of means of dealing with the Federal Government in future.

They are most in favour of communication through their provincial governments, by far the most in favour of communication through their municipal governments, most in favour of local federal agents, and most in favour even of recorded messages. It is difficult to reconcile this enthusiasm with other indications of their lack of interest in government. The extreme fluctuations in their responses give the impression of a somewhat alienated group, in some ways eager to achieve communication by almost any means. This pattern broadly resembles that for respondents whose mother tongue is neither English nor French, and for the French-speaking respondents in the Ontario Survey. It would seem to be fairly representative of minority language groups in Canada.

Social Differences

The survey measured social-class position in three ways. First, the working population was divided into five groups to obtain a measure of occupational status. Second, there was a measure of educational attainment, which is fairly closely related to social-class position. And third, there were the interviewers' ratings of the socio-economic status of respondents. In general, these measures all give similar results though, in a few instances, there are discrepancies.

Respondents from the higher social classes are found to be more knowledgeable about federal-provincial involvement than others, and more interested in government affairs. They feel more confident in personal dealings with federal officials, and make wider use of existing sources of information about federal programmes. Middle-class people appear to be less politically provincial than others but they do not regard federal elections as more important than others do. Social-class differences are not clearly related to variations in political attitudes: faith in the Federal Government, feeling of political efficacy, attitudes to the federal public service, expectations of fair and prompt treatment, or beliefs that the Federal Government is efficient and responsive to suggestions. The absence of social-class differences in these respects deserves some comment. One might have suspected bias among public servants toward middle-class citizens, and consequently a more favourable assessment of the Federal Government from those classes which receive better treatment. In many respects, this does not occur. Two explanations suggest themselves: First, the absence of social-class differences may be taken at face value. Possibly federal officials do not discriminate in their treatment of citizens from different social backgrounds. Possibly the rules are applied fairly and differences occur only in the atmosphere in which

decisions are taken. Possibly most contacts with federal officials are routine in nature, involving such things as the purchase of postage stamps. In such situations discrimination would be unlikely.

Or second, the absence of social-class differences may mean that middle-class persons do actually receive better treatment, but that attitude surveys of this type cannot reveal this fact. Possibly, real differences in treatment are offset by a more critical attitude among middle-class persons. If each class is treated in the way it expects, no class is likely to be more satisfied than another – even though some may be deceived with sympathy and help, while others experience discourtesy or even callousness.

Upper- and middle-class Canadians tend to be more satisfied than others with the service they receive from MPs and in their correspondence with federal officials.

In one instance – the desire for additional information about federal programmes – the measures produce different results. In this case working-class employees desire more government information, while the less educated, working-class housewives and retirees do not. As a result, occupation is linked to the desire for more information, whereas education and socio-economic status are not. Again, this underlines the greater importance of federal information for those who are in the labour market.

The analysis of sex differences has linked them with education and the fact of employment. Although the results are not easily summarized, it was found in general that education is strongly related to knowledge of government involvement, while sex and employment have some effect. Among employed persons with similar educational backgrounds, eight to 12 per cent more of the men than the women are in the best-informed category. The differences are somewhat greater if men are compared to non-employed women with a similar education. The difference according to sex is slightly greater among the most highly educated than it is among the least educated: women who are not employed are less likely to have learned about government programmes from newspapers, government publications or associations. They are also less likely to recall seeing any federal advertisement.

No evidence of differences by sex is found in relation to political provincialism, but women are slightly more inclined than men to think federal officials helpful. On the other hand women, especially those not in the labour-market, are more likely to describe themselves as nervous and not very confident in their dealings with federal public servants. The limited findings so far suggest that women rate lower than men in knowledge, interest and exposure to federal informa-

tion, especially if they are not in labour-market. The sexes, however, may not differ clearly in attitudes toward the government.

The only differences which are related to age distinguish the under-21's and the over-65's from the adults of working age. In general, the age-related differences are as expected. The young have less knowledge than others, desire more information, and feel less content with traditional methods of communications with the Federal Government. In addition, the young are less politically provincial, and describe their relationships with federal officials in less favourable terms than do adults of working age.

The elderly, by contrast, have less knowledge of government involvement, see fewer federal advertisements, and are less sure where to go for information than people between 21 and 65. They describe themselves as more content with the quality of the information that they do receive.

These differences may be direct results of age, and the changes in social life which accompany it. They may also be due to other characteristics of older citizens, such as their lower average level of education or their experiences in times when government activity was much more limited than it is now. In the latter case, the differences would not be due to age itself, but to the effects of growing up in a particular historical period.

A few differences are found between native-born Canadians and immigrants, especially immigrants whose mother tongue is neither French nor English. Immigrants from English-speaking countries generally expect fair and prompt treatment from the Federal Government. Indeed, they are more likely than native-born Canadians to expect officials to be prompt and fair. Immigrants from Italy and Eastern Europe are less sure of the reception they would receive from federal officials, although few are negative.

When immigrants as a whole are compared with native Canadians, the differences are quite consistent. Immigrants are less informed than native Canadians, less exposed to federal advertising, and less sure where to go for information. These differences are more marked among recent arrivals than they are among established immigrants. The differences in attitudes between immigrants and native-born Canadians almost always follow the same pattern.

Only one exception to this pattern was found: when the question about faith in government was asked, more of the immigrants had no opinion. But among those who did have an opinion, immigrants had more faith in the Canadian Government than had native-born Canadians.

Neither knowledge nor attitudes show any direct relation-

ship to the size of the city, town or village where the respondent lives. Differences between the urban and rural populations are few in number—scarcely more than one would expect from chance alone. Rural families appear to be more exposed to federal advertisements, to government publications, and to news about the government on the radio. Other sources are about as widely used in towns as in the countryside, although the urban poor in the four largest cities are in less contact with the Federal Government than are the poor in middle-sized cities or in rural areas. Farmers are more likely than other occupational groups to believe that the Federal Government is inefficient. Finally, MPs are regarded as most satisfactory by those living in small towns, and as slightly less satisfactory by those living in cities or rural areas.

Conclusions

Canadians are generally ill-informed on the responsibilities of their provincial and Federal governments; and a majority of the public want more information than they are now receiving. Working-class employees and students are the groups most likely to desire more information about the Federal Government. In many instances, they are willing to see the government increase spending to supply more information about its programmes than it supplies now.

In general, knowledge of government responsibilities and use of existing sources of government information are most common among the better educated, employed males. They are least common among the less educated, and among housewives, students, the retired and the unemployed. Thus, those who have the most need of government services are often the least likely to know about available programmes and least sure where to go for information or advice. They may be seriously handicapped in making full use of their rights as citizens.

A sizeable percentage of Canadians are totally unaware of the division of responsibilities between the Federal and the provincial governments, even on relatively straightforward matters such as Foreign Affairs. These persons stand apart from the majority of their compatriots in a number of ways. They have very few opinions about the Federal Government. They are not interested in government affairs. They have little or no contact with the Federal Government, and very little information about its programmes. Moreover, they tend to be reluctant to increase their contact with the government or to find out more about it. They are outside the mainstream of information about the structure and activities

of the Canadian Government. These people are not concentrated in any region or province. Our data indicates that they constitute more than eight per cent of the Canadian population interviewed and perhaps as much as 11 per cent. Half of them are housewives; some are unskilled workers some are immigrants; some are elderly. Few of them are in the labour force. Few of them have much education.

Another 43 per cent of those interviewed have very limited knowledge; they share, to a less marked degree, the characteristics of the former group.

A majority of Canadians were unable to recall having seen any federal advertisements. Exposure to federal advertising is related to knowledge of government involvement. Those with the least knowledge recall no federal advertisements. Among those with the most knowledge, half are widely exposed and half are narrowly exposed to federal advertisements.

Exposure may generate knowledge of government involvement; or knowledge may enable one to remember advertisements better. The explanation for the relationship may be indirect: middle-class people are more knowledgeable than others, more exposed to federal advertising, more educated, and more interested in government affairs. They may be more likely to watch the programmes in which government advertisements are placed. It is plausible to suggest that, for all but the most ignorant, knowledge of government could probably be increased by more extensive use of publicity.

Exposure to federal advertising and use of available information sources do not seem to influence attitudes that might favour the Federal Government. Those who remember seeing federal advertisements are not predisposed to be more favourable toward the government; nor does their exposure apparently make them more favourable. This may be accounted for in part by some indications from the regional data that distrust or dislike of the Federal Government may lead to seeking information, while those who have confidence in it may be more apathetic.

The middle-class makes use of more sources of government information, finds officials more friendly, and expresses more interest in government affairs. These attitudes form a consistent pattern.

Relatively few are aware that responsibility is often shared between the Federal and provincial governments. Most Canadians tend to exaggerate the authority that the Federal Government has: 46 per cent think that all income tax is federal, 42 per cent that the Trans-Canada Highway is an all-federal project, 41 per cent that the Federal Government is solely responsible for maintaining farm prices. As a result,

increasing public knowledge will often involve correcting misconceptions rather than replacing ignorance or uncertainty of knowledge.

We asked about "faith in government." Do most people believe that the Federal Government lives up to its promises, and that its information is credible? In general, we interpret the results to mean that Canadians are sceptical but loyal; they think that the government usually does the right thing, but that often it needs to be watched closely.

The main differences in attitudes and regions are between Quebec and the predominantly English-speaking provinces. Residents of Quebec tend to be more critical of the government in most respects; they assign greater importance to their provincial government. At the same time, they describe themselves as more interested in government affairs, want more federal information and express faith in the Federal Government. French-speaking Canadians and Quebec residents thus emerge as more dissatisfied with the performance of the Federal Government, but basically hopeful of reform within the present system.

While there are minor regional differences in the media by which Canadians receive their information, (Quebec being higher on the use of TV, B.C. on print, Alberta on radio, etc.) the overwhelming majority of the population depends on television but not to the exclusion of radio and print. Information from the government to the public flows mainly through the public service, or indirectly through the mass media. Information from the public to the government flows mainly through their elected representatives.

We have not attempted to go beyond these conclusions at this stage of our study, or to make specific recommendations that arise from the surveys. Later papers in this Report deal more comprehensively with the main topics and findings of our survey research.

Annex

Section AC About Government Information and Services

Ask Everyone 15 years and Over

7-3

Introduction:

Now we want to talk about government information and services – those that are aimed to help you with your personal problems – NOT taxes, mail, etc.

For Office Use Only

Q.1	Q.2	Q.4	Q.5	Q.6	Q.9
10	12	14	16	17	19
11	13	15		18	20

1. I am going to read a list of things that some people have said governments ought or ought not to be doing. What do you think?

		Should Be Doing	Should not Be Doing	No Opinion
a	Trying to even out differences in wealth	21-2	0	1
b	Guaranteeing an annual minimum wage	22-2	0	1
c	Reducing foreign ownership of Canadian industry	23-2	0	1
d	Forcing industry to bear the costs of stopping air and water pollution	24-2	0	1
e	Increasing economic aid to poorer countries	25-2	0	1
f	Providing free university education for all who have good marks	26-2	0	1
g	Providing public housing for low income earners	27-2	0	1
h	Increasing social welfare payments and programmes	28-2	0	1

2. Now I am going to read a list of different things which Governments do in Canada. Some may be done by the Federal Government in Ottawa, some by the Provincial Government. Some of these activities are much less known than others and you may not know about them – please feel free to say so.

As I mention each kind of activity will you please give me your own opinion as to which Government is involved in it – the Federal Government in Ottawa, the Provincial Government or whether both are involved.

(Alternate Order. First Interview a-q, Second Interview q-a)

	What about:	Federal	Provincial	Both	Don't Know
a	Foreign policy?	29-5	0	1	2
b	National Medicare?	30-2	3	5	0
c	Public schools and high schools?	31-0	5	1	2
d	ARDA – that is – Agricultural Rehabilitation & Development Act?	32-2	3	5	0
e	Looking after homeless children (adoptions, foster homes, etc.)?	33-0	5	1	2
f	Retraining unemployed?	34-3	2	5	0
g	Colleges and universities?	35-0	5	1	2
h	Scientific research?	36-3	2	5	0
i	Unemployment insurance?	37-5	0	1	2
j	Old Age Pension Plan?	38-3	2	5	0

Annex continued

2. continued

What about:	Federal	Provincial	Both	Don't Know
k Hospital Insurance?	39-2	3	5	0
l Public housing?	40-2	3	5	0
m Income tax?	41-3	2	5	0
n Protection of language and culture?	42-3	2	5	0
o Transcanada highway?	43-2	3	5	0
p Maintaining price levels of farm products?	44-3	2	5	0
q Sending experts to underdeveloped countries?	45-3	2	5	0

3. While most people think it is important to vote in all elections it isn't always possible to do so. If it were necessary to make a choice, in which kind of election would you say it was most important to vote – federal elections, provincial elections, or municipal elections.

Federal Elections	47-1
Provincial Elections	2
Municipal Elections	3
All Equally Important	4
None Is Important	5
Don't Know, No Answer	6

4-a Have you ever heard or seen an advertisement put out by the Federal Government either in print, radio or television?

Yes	48-1	No	2
-----	------	----	---

4-b Were any of these advertisements about Federal activities in: (Read Each)

Yes 48-1	Yes Sure	Not Sure	No
Agriculture?	49-2	1	0
Housing?	50-2	1	0
Taxes and bonds?	51-2	1	0
Guaranteed annual wage?	52-0	1	2
Labour?	53-2	1	0
Pension benefits?	54-2	1	0
Government assistance to industry?	55-2	1	0

5. Here are some opinions about Government activities. For each one please tell me whether you agree or disagree. (Read Each)

	Agree	Disagree
a Government activities are usually interesting to me	56-3	0 1
b I guess my interest in Government activities is about average	57-2	1 1
c I am often bored with what Governments do	58-0	3 1

Annex continued

6. People learn about services the Government offers in many ways. In the past year, have you learned about any Federal Government service: (Read Each)

	Yes	No
Through personal contact with a member of the government or a civil servant?	59-3	0
From newspapers and magazines?	60-1	0
From Government publications?	61-3	0
From radio?	62-2	0
From tv?	63-2	0
From any association to which you belong?	64-1	0
From friends and relatives?	65-1	0

7-a Suppose you wanted to bring a general problem to the attention of Government, where would you go first? (Do Not Read List)

Association (Trade Union, Church, Etc.)	7
Friend or Relative	8
Other Community Person (Employer, Librarian, Etc.)	9
Try To Find The Right Office In The Telephone Book	67-1
Any Other Not Covered Above	2
Don't Know	3
Federal Government	
Probe Whom:	
Member of Parliament	66-1
Other Official	2 3
Provincial Government	
Probe Whom:	
Member of Provincial Parliament	4
Other Official	5 6

7-b Have you ever had an occasion to bring a problem to Government?

Yes	No	68-1
-----	----	------

7-c How satisfied were you with the response you got?

Very Satisfied	2
Fairly Satisfied	3
Somewhat Dissatisfied	4
Very Dissatisfied	5 6

8-a Suppose there were some problem that you had to take to a Federal Government office. Do you think you would be treated fairly (Read List)

Would be treated:	
Most fairly	69-1
Reasonably fairly	2
Just so-so	3
Somewhat unfairly	4
Most unfairly	5
	6

Annex continued

-b And how promptly would you be treated?

Would be treated:	
Very promptly	70-1
Reasonably promptly	2
Just so-so	3
Somewhat slowly	4
Very slowly	5
	6

9. Now here are a number of statements about how people might feel when they have dealings with the Federal Government. (Hand Card 3 - Side "A") Please read them over and then for each one tell me whether that is the way you feel.

	Yes	No
a I am usually fairly confident when I am dealing with the Federal Government	71-3	0 1
b The relationship usually seems very cold and impersonal	72-0	3 1
c I don't feel any particular way - it's a straight matter of business	73-1	2 1
d I usually get nervous when I am dealing with the Federal Government	74-0	3 1
e I usually have the feeling they are really trying to help me	75-3	0 1

For Office use Only

Q.10	Q.11	Q.13	Q.14
10	12	15	17
11	13	16	18
	14		

10. Here are some more statements about people in the Federal Government. This time would you please tell me for each one, whether you agree strongly, agree, disagree or disagree strongly? (Hand Card 3 - Side "B")

	Agree Strongly	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree Strongly
a People like me do have some say about what the Government does	19-5	4	2	1 3
b Public officials do not care what people like me think	20-1	2	4	5 3
c Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the Federal Government runs things	21-5	4	2	1 3
d When you walk into a Government office you become a number; only the system counts	22-1	2	4	5 3

Annex continued

11. Sometimes it is difficult to know where to go for information on a particular problem. Which level of Government would you go to *first* for information about each of the following? (Read Each. Alternate Order: First Interview a-r - Second Interview r-a Etc.)

What about:	Federal	Provincial	Don't Know
a Foreign policy	23-1	2	3
b Medicare	24-1	2	3
c Public and high schools	25-1	2	3
d ARDA - that is - Agricultural Rehabilitation & Development Act	26-1	2	3
e Looking after homeless children (adoptions, foster homes, etc.)	28-1	2	3
f Retraining unemployed	29-1	2	3
g Colleges and universities	30-1	2	3
h Scientific research	31-1	2	3
i Unemployment insurance	32-1	2	3
j Old Age Pension	33-1	2	3
k Hospital Insurance	34-1	2	3
l Public housing	35-1	2	3
m Income tax	36-1	2	3
n Protection of language and culture	37-1	2	3
o Transcanada highway	38-1	2	3
p Maintaining price levels of farm products	39-1	2	3
q Sending experts to under- developed countries	40-1	2	3

12. (Hand Card 4 - Side "A") Now here are some more statements about the Federal Government. For these also please tell me whether you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly.

	Agree Strongly	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree Strongly
a The Federal Government should spend more to tell us more about what it is doing	41-1	2	4	5 3
b The Federal Government usually keeps us well informed about its programmes	42-5	4	2	1 3
c I would like to receive more information directly from the Federal Government	43-1	2	4	5 3
d I think the Federal Government information is especially well suited to a person like me	44-5	4	2	1 3
e In general, the Federal Government really tries to get our ideas about things	45-5	4	2	1 3

Annex continued

12. continued

		Agree Strongly	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree Strongly
f	The Federal Government usually ignores our suggestions and complaints	46-1	2	4	5 3
g	The Federal Government usually lives up to its promises	47-5	4	2	1 3
h	You usually know where you stand with the Federal Government	48-5	4	2	1 3
i	The Federal Government usually operates efficiently and smoothly	49-5	4	2	1 3
j	The Federal Government keeps putting things off, and just lets things ride	50-1	2	4	5 3

13. We've talked about politicians (M.P.'s etc.). Let's talk for a moment about federal civil servants, employed by the Government. (Hand Card 4 - Side "B") Here is a card with some terms that might describe how you feel about them. For each description please tell me to how many of our civil servants you think it applies, if any?

		Most of Them	Many of Them	Some of Them	Few of Them	None of Them
a	Lazy	51-0	1	2	3	4
b	Intelligent	52-4	3	2	1	0
c	Interested in your problems	53-4	3	2	1	0
d	Inefficient	54-0	1	2	3	4
e	Well respected	55-4	3	2	1	0
f	Overpaid	56-0	1	2	3	4
g	Courteous	57-4	3	2	1	0
h	Know only their own jobs	58-0	1	2	3	4
i	No initiative	59-0	1	2	3	4

14. (Hand Card 5 - Side "A") Now, here is a last card with statements about the Federal Government. Again, please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each one.

		Agree Strongly	Mildly Agree	Mildly Disagree	Disagree Strongly
a	Compared with other provinces we in..... (Name Province) get little attention from the Federal Government	60-1	2	4	5 3
b	The Federal Government does a poor job of handling complaints from people around here	61-1	2	4	5 3
c	The Federal Government has taken too much power away from our Provincial Government	62-1	2	4	5 3
d	There aren't many problems nowadays that a Provincial Government can handle alone	63-5	4	2	1 3

Annex continued

15. (Hand Card 5 – Side “B”) On this card we have a number of ways of dealing with the Government. As I read each to you, please tell me if you would like to deal with the Government in the future in that way. Give Time to Read Over, Then Read)

	Yes	No	Don't Know
Deal:			
through my local M.P.	64-1	2	3
through an office of my Provincial Government	65-1	2	3
through an office of my local Government	66-1	2	3
through a local information officer of the Federal Government	67-1	2	3
through a phone line to a recorded message on specific questions	68-1	2	3
through a free phone line to an information officer in Ottawa	69-1	2	3
by mail	70-1	2	3

16. What language do you mainly speak in your home?

English	71-1
French (Quebec Interview)	2
French (Non-Quebec Interview)	3
Other (Circle Code and Specify)	4

17-a In what country were you born? What about your mother? What about your father?

	Self	Mother	Father
Canada	72-1	73-1	74-1
U.S.A.	2	2	2
England Scotland Wales			
Northern Ireland	3	3	3
Southern Ireland	4	4	4
France	5	5	5
Germany, Austria Norway, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Finland	6	6	6
Italy	7	7	7
Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Hungary	8	8	8
Asia	9	9	9
Any Other Country	0	0	0

17-b (If Respondent Not Born In Canada) How long have you lived in Canada?

Less than 1 Year	75-1
1 – 4 Years	2
5 – 14 Years	3
15 Years or Longer	4

The first section of this paper contains observations about government information services by people either within the federal administration or associated with it. Their advice, based on their experience in matters relating to government information, was helpful to the Task Force in its attempt to reach an understanding of the problems in the federal information services as seen from their viewpoint, and of the kind of solutions they propose.

The second section contains views about the current information services, as well as suggestions for their improvement, expressed by a substantial number of Canadians who have deep and specific interests in the information process or who are directly affected by government information in their work.

Part I: The Official Community

The "community," for our purposes, consisted of a number of officials and Parliamentarians in Ottawa who offered their candid and confidential opinions to the Task Force. They fell into three groups:

- a) The information service officers, as represented by two recently formed professional associations which made formal submissions to the Task Force: The Information Services Management Institute (ISMI), consisting of senior information officers in the Federal Public Service; and the "operating unit" of information officers (those at a more junior level), of the Information Services Group (ISG).
- b) A number of senior public servants, including a score of Deputy Ministers of federal departments or agencies; and
- c) A highly political group, Members of Parliament, from all parties; former or present officials of the Privy Council and Prime Minister's Office; and former or present executive assistants to Cabinet Ministers.

The Information Officers

In the summer of 1968, the senior information officers of the Federal Public Service organized themselves into the Information Services Management Institute. The ISMI submitted a study paper and brief to the Task Force to offer "the facts and the opinions and the recommendations" of the Institute "on public information policy, programmes and standards." The group declared its interest in improving the "quality and effectiveness of communication between all Canadians and their central government."

The submission pointed out that, at the present time, there is "no official comprehensive public information policy

statement" of the Government of Canada. There is no information policy that requires the adherence of all "managers of the public service and the departments they may serve." There is no policy that provides the operational structures essential to attaining "precise public information objectives in Canada and abroad." The ISMI urged "that a central authority for public information be established within the public service." Its chief functions would be to interpret established information policy; to ensure the proper application of the policy in all departments and, when necessary, to recommend its review; to ensure the fulfilment of public information needs through clearly defined programmes and to submit recommendations on the human and financial resources provided for the programme; and to establish criteria for improving the standards of performance of information service officers.

Another submission was received from federal information officers, the Information Services Group that describes itself as an "operating unit" of information officers (as defined by the Public Service Staff Relations Board).

It offers valuable insights into government information practices and, in addition, a commentary on the earlier submission of ISMI, as seen "by those who in most cases" claim to be "the direct contact with the press and public." The ISG also recommended that a "central information authority" be established as a new department of government answerable to Cabinet. It would cut across the current lines of the departmental information services to enunciate and enforce government policies. Moreover, it would be responsible for assessing the calibre of all the existing information services staff and for screening the future information staff employed by the government. The Group also urged that an individual's experience, ability and knowledge of the duties required be the basis for such assessment and screening, and that the government should reassign people who are classified as Information Services Officers but are not performing true information functions.

The ISMI presumed the central authority would be established within either the Treasury Board or the Privy Council Office, and it believed that "operational rôles of the central authority should be confined to meeting the information needs of the agency within which it is established, and to co-ordinating information activities and programmes involving more than one federal department or agency or more than one government in Canada." The ISG declared that there should be no conflict of interest on objectives between the departmental information services and the central information authority. They felt that the government should

reinforce the departmental services in both quality and quantity of staff so that they might complement and strengthen the central authority.

The ISG also thought the central information authority should:

"a) Act as public relations counsel to Cabinet through its Minister, and b) establish a review board composed of the highest calibre of information and public relations specialists...empowered to authorize lateral transfers and promotions based on an unbiased assessment of the individual's experience, capabilities and knowledge of his information function."

Both groups of information officers acknowledged the need to improve staff qualifications, and urged that the Public Service Commission arrange courses in the development of skills for information officers. For senior staff, the courses might include university studies in economics, psychology and sociology.

The two groups also agreed that the failure to develop a central information policy lay behind the inadequacies of federal information efforts in connection with federal-provincial grant-sharing programmes and federal-provincial conferences. These inadequacies often arose from the piecemeal manner in which individual departments announced shared programmes.

The ISMI recommended that – in connection with shared-grants programmes, when more than one department and level of government are involved – the central authority for public information should co-ordinate the various governmental information efforts. They also felt that, in the provinces or regions, this co-ordination should be achieved by some overall federal information presence. At the same time, they recommended that each department retain its departmental responsibility for communicating with its own special public.

The ISMI also recommended that the central authority be responsible for co-ordinating information activities that arise from federal-provincial conferences; and that a small staff, headed by a senior information officer, work to conform with whatever regional or provincial structures may be contemplated. This staff, which would be under the direction of the central authority for information, would also co-ordinate information activities that involve more than one department. The ISMI felt the staff should be recruited from the existing information services, and should not involve an increase in government information officers. Finally, the ISMI indicated that current practices tend to restrict effective federal information with regard to joint programmes and they recom-

mended that these be reviewed, at the policy level, with a view to establishing ground rules to achieve recognition of federal participation.

The ISG, in this connection held that the matter of federal-provincial relations properly fell within "the province of the new central information authority," and that the establishment of guidelines for federal-provincial programmes should occur only after a "study in depth."

Both groups were vitally concerned with the duties and status of information service officers and their directors, within the public service. The ISMI Study declared: "Granted excellent training, high selection and classification standards, and information directors highly qualified in management and information skills, the effectiveness of the Information Services still will depend upon the manner in which the director is employed, and the extent to which he is permitted to participate in the management function of the whole department." The ISMI would have "Director of Information report directly to the Deputy Minister or his equivalent" and be a member of the Deputy Minister's Management Committee. He would "participate in the development of recommendations submitted for policy considerations to the Minister or Deputy Minister."

The ISG, the "operating unit" of information officers, disagreed: "Information Service Officers must not be policy makers, they should be privy to the policy-making plans of government management only so that they may contribute their specialized knowledge on the best way...to inform the public of executive decisions." The ISG accepts responsibility for developing information programmes to contribute to the success of government policies, but they argue that information staff must have "detailed guidelines of operation and complete access to whatever information is necessary for an informed public."

The ISMI had some specific recommendations in connection with the central agencies that already exist in government information work. They urged the National Film Board to resolve the apparent conflict of interest between the production initiated by the Board itself – which is "strongly artistic and cultural in character" – and film production that is sponsored by government departments. The ISMI also hoped for improvements in the former Department of Public Printing and Stationery, particularly in its procedures of estimating, tendering, requisitioning print production, artwork, graphic arts services, and the routing of materials for approval. The ISMI also argued that a central authority, empowered to establish programme priorities for exhibits that are "federal rather than departmental in character,"

might strengthen the federal impact of the Canadian sectional exhibits of the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission.

With respect to Canadian information efforts abroad, the ISG urged that they "become a responsibility of the central information authority which would work with government departments having special knowledge and requirements of foreign based operations." The ISMI, at the same time, was content to advocate "that a professional Information Service of adequate proportions be established at the Ottawa headquarters of the Department of External Affairs."

The Senior Public Service

Since there is no Government of Canada policy on information, and since there is a great range of departmental interests, objectives and operations, it is not surprising that the attitude towards government information, among the Deputy Ministers that the Task Force interviewed, should vary greatly. More than one Deputy Minister defined the information rôle as one of limited value, or admitted that his department had never defined the objectives of its information services. Other Deputy Ministers frankly acknowledged that the key-note of their relations with information media was circumspection; their departments reacted defensively to queries "after the facts." Two deputy heads said their departments had never had strong information divisions. In one case, the Deputy Minister said this was because his department was rather similar to the Holy Roman Empire in that each departmental entity jealously guarded its own prerogatives. In the other, the problem was that the department's spheres of responsibility were steadily growing so complicated that their interpretation lay within the competence only of management and programme specialists. Other departmental heads had little general appreciation of the potential in information services, and more than one felt the job of communicating with the public might best be left exclusively in the hands of a commercial advertising agency.

The public servants at the level of Deputy Ministers who did express strong interest in the rôle of government information were generally those whose departments either shared federal legislative jurisdictions, or involved federal-provincial co-operation. The most enthusiastic of all, about the potential contribution of the information services, were the Deputy Ministers of what might be called the social ministries. Increasingly, during recent years, these departments have demonstrated their acceptance of the democratic obligation to use the various media to create and nurture two-way

communication between the government and such special publics as the consumer, management groups, and trade union organizations.

Two or three Deputy Ministers, however, argued that Canada should not have a government information policy. They felt that any general or national purpose in government information must inevitably lead to propaganda, and the danger of government shaping its information for "political purposes." One deputy head disagreed that the absence of a government policy on information might lead to ill-advised decisions concerning the government information services.

Deputy Ministers drew some fine distinctions between the methods and purpose of "policy information" and "departmental information." The distinctions arose particularly during discussions of fiscal and monetary matters, questions of defence, revenue and expenditure, and of foreign relations. The Deputy Ministers and senior levels of Finance and Revenue, for instance, recognized that the Prime Minister and the Privy Council are responsible for the determination of government policy generally, and particularly with regard to federal-provincial, constitutional, political, social or economic matters. These officials recalled that, only a few years ago, they had preferred to deal directly with the communications media in connection with public information related to fiscal and monetary policies, in the case of Finance, and taxation and excise policies in the case of Revenue. Their practice had been to leave the initiative for the seeking and dissemination of such information to people outside government. They now felt that perhaps the time had come to increase their efforts to educate the public in these matters; to explain, for example, the complicated taxation and pension systems, or the interplay between taxation and government policy. They recognized a need to augment the current efforts to explain policies that arise out of federal-provincial conferences and the more complex House of Commons debates.

One Deputy Minister elaborated on the division between senior managers of departmental services and the information officers over responsibility for informing the public. His department provided many services, and it was shortly to expand its staff and information operations at regional offices. Some departmental officials felt information officers should lead the expansion; others thought management executives might do the job better and believed that the government should recognize the positive public relations contribution that senior managers were capable of making. At the regional level, many staff who were neither regarded nor classified as information officers were in fact performing a great many information functions.

Several deputy heads mentioned how unsatisfactory it was that they must work along with low-paid information personnel. They remarked on the difficulty of getting suitable information officers at appropriate salaries, officers who might then have the right of access to the Deputy and his Minister. They thought this access might improve the climate concerning the significance of the information function, but they recognized that, in dealing with the central agencies of government, they were not always entirely free to determine levels and salaries.

The departmental heads of such social ministries as Labour, Manpower and Immigration and Consumer and Corporate Affairs agreed on the need for tight co-ordination of interdepartmental information activities. They believed that co-ordinating structures might prevent duplication in advertising and save money both in research and in reaching various "publics" through assorted media. Even the spokesman for the Department of Agriculture, which is experienced and self-sufficient in its information work, felt the Department might benefit from some central service for communication between government and citizens at the local level. The administrative heads of departments who are confronted with problems of joint- or mixed-jurisdictions were particularly anxious to have co-ordination served by a central agency that might not only focus administrative attention on the opportunities for interdepartmental co-ordination, but also provide the machinery for achieving it through print, radio, television and film. One deputy head thought a central agency might co-ordinate audio-visual productions of departmental information services. Those in the newer departments, and departments that have small information services, felt that a co-ordinating and central information service might help them in the production of brochures, promotional releases and exhibits, etc.

One of the senior Deputy Ministers expressed doubt about who would use a central service. He found the idea of a "clearing-house" more acceptable. Nevertheless, the collective responses of the departmental heads brought to light a surprisingly large number of information services that a central service might appropriately perform. Several mentioned the need for a central referral centre to assemble a government directory of information services, answer general enquiries, and refer other enquiries to the relevant agencies of government. They thought of a central service as a means of promoting the "federal presence" across the country, and of establishing regional offices as "citizens' advisory" centres and sources of local feed-back. There was a deep interest, as well, in the idea of a multi-media central

information agency with a "pool of information expertise" for the benefit of all departments.

The Canadian Government Exhibition Commission has excelled, among government agencies, in the exploitation of multi-media techniques for the creation of the one-time "integrated exhibit"; and its Director expressed an interest in a central and co-ordinating information structure that could bring a variety of media into play to support broad government information objectives.

Several Deputy Ministers hoped the Task Force would produce a draft for a government policy on information.

The Political Group

The political group consisting of eight MPs, representing all parties, nine former or present officials of the Privy Council and Prime Ministers offices, and six former or present executive assistants to Cabinet Ministers, expressed deep concern about various aspects of the Task Force inquiry, but two general themes appeared to dominate their concern: (1) "the right of the people to know" and the problem of keeping the public informed; and (2) "the means whereby the Canadian people as a whole may participate in their government."

Members of Parliament challenged the government's "right to withhold information" and stressed the problems they face in "keeping the people informed" of the work of government departments. They varied their comments in the light of their own experience; but, again and again, they stressed their inability, and the public's inability, to get information which the departments held to be "confidential". The MPs deplored the general unavailability of departmental research that bears directly on the formulation of legislative policies.

They felt that the officials of individual departments should not be the people who determine the government's right to withhold information. Our Privy Councillor claimed "at least 90 per cent of government papers and documents have no need to be restricted." The one way to correct the situation, the MPs agreed, was for the Government of Canada to declare a policy on government information, a policy that distinguished clearly between the material the government regards as secret, and the material to which people have automatic right of access. Members of the opposition parties said that they suspect government spokesmen of "sheltering behind confidentiality in the face of legitimate requests for information." They also blamed "the mystique of the public service" for making it harder for the Opposition "to know what is going on" than it is for the Government.

The executive assistants to Cabinet Ministers were equally concerned about the people's right to know: "It is the people's government," one of them said, "and only for very serious reasons should information be kept from them." They pointed out, however, that there are two quite different kinds of government information. First, information that relates to existing programmes and policies which may require departmental interpretation in answering citizens' enquiries; and second, information about new, contemplated or developing policies. This might be politically sensitive and might therefore be better transmitted by the publicly elected and responsible Cabinet Minister, or his political staff. But, even here, the public's right to know, automatically, was confirmed: "This does not mean that the public must rely solely on political spokesmen for its understanding of the factors involved in developing policy. There should be the fullest possible effort at informing the public of the factual data upon which policy is based."

There was a feeling in the political group that, in connection with information about departmental policies that already exist, departmental information officers were frequently poor at responding to inquiries from the press and general public. They were either preoccupied with administrative and production chores or, because of their lack of expertise in the affairs of their own department, were reluctant to talk freely. In any event, the unfortunate result was that the executive assistant must often extend his rôle to become the departmental spokesman "on existing policies and programmes." He may not know a great deal about those programmes that are not under current development. Moreover, he is "theoretically susceptible to withholding information which might reflect upon his Minister."

Members of the political group as a whole, but particularly the executive assistants, remarked on the doubtful quality of many departmental news releases, and expressed their concern for the relatively low departmental status of information officers, even senior ones: "It is of prime importance that the departmental information officer be better qualified . . . , have the intellectual capacity and the professional competence to gain the respect and confidence of Ministers and senior departmental officials; . . . that he be located within the departmental structure at a point where he can both contribute his view to policy and gain an insight into policy decisions in order to explain them to the media."

The group's opinion of departmental news releases, from the point of view of their use to the citizens, was invariably low. According to this group, the releases failed to include the background and the reasons for announcements. They

failed to deal with the arguments for and against proposals and projects, even though the background information was frequently almost as important as the announcement itself.

The status and competence of the information director assumed particular importance in view of what many members of the political group saw as the growth of an increasingly influential "power bloc" among the more competent newsmen who report and comment on public affairs. The parliamentarians and executive assistants who had a special knowledge of mass-media reporting were particularly concerned with the possibility that Ottawa Press Gallery reporting might become a consensus that denies the public the variety of opinion that ensures constructive public debate of important national issues. Newspaper chains grow, broadcasting interests merge, and the number of highly qualified newsmen remains relatively small. One executive assistant pointed to the one- or two-man radio bureau that is responsible for covering the entire range of government services and political events for a potential audience of five or six million people. He also suggested that the more perceptive and better-informed members of the Press Gallery inevitably influence their colleagues' views. Another executive assistant said that the busy Ottawa staffs of most newspapers and of Canadian Press do not always transmit departmental news releases to the home offices of newspapers. He believed that the government should find a way to get its information quickly and directly to newspaper editorial offices across the country.

The Members of Parliament and executive assistants also felt that the lack of proper interviewing and broadcasting facilities within the Centre Block was a constant cause of irritation, not only to the media but to the Members as well. They felt that if news facilities were more centrally located, such as near the entrance to the Commons, broadcasters would be able to employ "a common feed." Such facilities would give the writing press a chance to obtain more than hurried corridor comments from Ministers, and give parliamentarians of all parties the opportunity when asked to make statements on any matter of public interest.

The Members of Parliament also raised the familiar question of whether or not television should be allowed to record the proceedings in the House of Commons. They agreed that Parliament must allow television into the House, but only under certain conditions. One MP would limit television coverage to committee sittings, "where everyone has a chance to participate." Others would restrict the coverage to 30 to 45 minutes of daily taping of parliamentary proceedings. Most suggested some sort of mandatory editing

organization, involving the Members themselves, the radio and TV stations, or perhaps one or two people who would be responsible to a committee of media representatives, MPs, and the Speaker of the House.

The political group's concern for the politics of participation expressed itself in suggestions for the encouragement of the "Federal presence" from coast to coast and the establishment of regional information offices, citizens' advisory centres, social surveys, and a central information service. The group was nearly unanimous in advocating that the government set up some system or network of offices for the distribution of all government information at the regional level. Some suggested these offices might serve as "citizen's advisory bureaux" or "drop-in centres" where people might find information on government programmes, citizenship rights and matters of consumer interest. At the same time, the regional offices might collect citizens' opinions of government programmes, channel them to a central office, and thereby perform as an agency of public feed-back and public participation in government affairs.

The group was divided on the matter of social surveys. One member thought surveys would be an ideal way to gather research to improve the government's communication with groups of citizens who had special problems of their own; another believed surveys were a legitimate way to assess the quality of a government service but that the surveys should not be carried out by a government body; a third thought social surveys would be legitimate if the government made their results available to everyone; and a fourth objected to surveying people to get "feed-back on programmes" on the grounds that all such feed-back should come through MPs and the regional staff of departments.

Most members of the political group inclined to the idea of some kind of an agency that might serve centrally the cause of good public information. One Member of the Opposition opposed it on the grounds that it could be turned into an organ of government propaganda, but the idea of a central information office that would have the "enemy rôle" of the Auditor General's Department appealed to him. Other MPs, as well as the executive assistants, thought a government information agency might perform several vital services: the compiling of a directory of government information services; the setting of standards of quality, format, and editorial treatment of all government publications; the indexing of departmental releases and publications, and the distribution of the index to libraries and the government's regional information offices; the establishment of a central clearing-house for all public enquiries by a free telecom-

munications system everywhere in Canada; the conducting of media research into methods of centralized communications and the development of computerized information services; and, finally, serving as a "watchdog on department efficiency." The same group felt strongly that co-ordination of government information services is essential to any rational system of effectively communicating with the people of Canada, and that such co-ordination would probably have to come from one of the senior and central levels of the federal government.

Part II: The Consumers of Federal Information

The Task Force held no public hearings and requested no official briefs. From the outset of its activities, however, it was determined to make contact with a wide range of people who would be capable of offering enlightened views on Federal Government information; and, without counting its consultations in such specific fields as government advertising or information abroad, the Task Force was able to gather the opinions of more than 300 people who might be considered leaders of Canadian opinion, or, at least, articulate consumers of Federal Government information. A third of these men and women were made up of journalists, editors, publishers, television directors, news editors, and others whose professional lives are devoted to the press, radio and television — people who have an obvious interest in the performance of the information services. The others were people who play an active rôle in voluntary associations or in intermediary bodies (Indians, new Canadians, Chambers of Commerce, educational and consumer associations, and so on); and selected individuals concerned with information for professional or personal reasons.

Time did not allow the Task Force to consult all Canadians who might have made substantial contributions to this study. For the same reason, the Task Force sought the personal opinions of leaders or officers rather than the formal opinions of groups. Many of these leaders, however, consulted with their organizations about our interests, and thereby enlarged the dimensions of this informal survey.

In the first place, the Task Force sought advice from people by letter, issuing a guide that indicated some of its main areas of concern (see Annex A at the end of this paper.) Two hundred and sixty-five letters, with the guide, were mailed to various areas of the country. There were 90 written replies. Some of these were short. Others amounted to detailed briefs. Almost all of them dealt with the essence of our concern. A few people wrote spontaneously to the

Task Force, and we took account of their opinions in this study.

In addition to carrying out this limited survey by mail, members of the Task Force visited Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Regina, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, Quebec and Halifax to undertake a total of 42 individual and group interviews. In Vancouver, Montreal and Halifax, the Task Force had the benefit of comments made during seminars held under the auspices of the Canadian Association of Adult Education and the *Institut Canadien d'éducation des adultes*. In all, the seminars brought together more than 175 people.

Finally, the Task Force sought advice from members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa. The Gallery, as such, declined to submit a formal brief, but some representatives did meet with the Task Force and roughly a dozen reporters were consulted. Moreover, at our request or on their own initiative, ten other Press Gallery reporters offered comments during private interviews. The Task Force also had the advantage of a large number of informal contacts.

Throughout this paper, for want of a better phrase, we have used the rather pretentious label of "opinion leaders" to describe those people who answered our questions and told us what they thought of the government information services. All the views expressed in this part of Paper v originate with one or more of these leaders but, obviously, they seldom represent the unanimous opinion of those consulted. The consultations did not lend themselves to statistical analysis, and the Task Force was therefore obliged to impose a certain order on a mass of opinions that might at first sight appear contradictory and incoherent. The Task Force attached the greatest significance to the complaints that were expressed most frequently but it also gave some weight to individual arguments which appeared to be particularly well-founded or to have been presented by a person or group with a very special knowledge of the circumstances. But, perhaps most important, certain opinions cropped up time and time again; and comparison and cross-checking confirmed that certain conclusions might be drawn from these.

The pages that follow are not an attempt at editorializing by the Task Force, but are an account of examination, of the opinions of others and, where possible, a summary or abstraction of their conclusions. In some cases, the opinions appear to be based on scant knowledge of the aims and methods of the official information services. This is perfectly understandable; even within the government, knowledge of the information services is limited. At the beginning of its own efforts, the Task Force was unable to find any description of the information services as a whole. At the

same time, regardless of how well – or poorly – informed people may be about the workings of the information services, the Task Force felt that the opinions of leading consumers of federal information did have a place in this report. We wanted to give them the floor, and hear what they had to say.

We were aware that our attempt to reproduce the words and feelings and impressions of several hundred Canadians about the government information services involved an inevitable risk that some of their statements would be unfair, inaccurate or both. It seemed to us, however, that some information services, in considering their relations with the public, might find it useful to know not only people's accurately based opinions about their performance but also people's misapprehensions.

One final point about the survey itself: many of the people we interviewed or surveyed regretted that the whole process of consulting them could not have been pursued in greater depth. The Task Force shares this regret. The people wished not only to be informed but also to be consulted and, in this way, to participate in the business of the country. The experience proved, if such proof were necessary, that there is a desire for a more regular dialogue between the government and the governed in Canada.

Information Policy

The problem of the "right to information" was foremost in the minds of a large number of those we consulted. They felt that, under present practice, the government all too frequently classifies the information it possesses as "secret." It allegedly abuses the security classifications of "confidential" or "secret" to the point where the taxpayer is often unaware of the government services he is paying for. (In this context, the Task Force was itself reproached for marking its letters to the opinion leaders as "personal and confidential.") These people drew attention to the danger in modern democracies that information may become the monopoly of a small number of politicians and bureaucrats. They felt that it is a government's duty not merely to advise the public but to give the people information in a form that everyone can understand. It was thought that the special emphasis in 1968, given the rule on Cabinet solidarity, however justifiable in some respects, had the effect of a call to silence at every level of government. The silence, they felt, prevails; and it should be dissipated. It was not sufficient for a government to be frank in its attitude towards information; it must also be seen to be frank.

Many felt that the government information services aim primarily to please the Ministers and to gild departmental escutcheons; that the public on occasion had to force information out of them; that the information was given in scraps and dribbles and, often, only when its release suited someone's idea of political expediency. Certain departments were said to deliberately withhold information of public interest if there was a chance it might tarnish the departmental image. It was argued that the failure of departments to reveal the flaws in their programmes could conceivably have the unfortunate effect of hiding from the government itself important changes in the very conditions under which such programmes were taking place. One group insisted there were cases in which departments had suppressed research because the results might have discredited previously enunciated departmental theories.

Government research which might be useful to industry was said to be difficult to obtain. It was pointed out that the government launches many inquiries and at considerable cost, and it asks the public and industry to contribute their opinions and briefs to these inquiries and then, in some cases it simply fails to let the public know the results. Some government research, it was concluded, is on occasion a crude synthesis of unprocessed information of the kind available normally to anyone and, yet, the government has been known to treat even this kind of material as confidential.

To summarize the leaders' opinions with respect to the availability of government information, the government, it was felt, is inclined to make unilateral decisions about who should have information and who should not; it is overly fond of public relations at the expense of spreading useful information; and in general, with respect to public information, the government is not democratic enough.

It was claimed that as a consequence of this situation those responsible for government information had neither the authority nor the autonomy necessary to do the work expected of them. Since their rank was often far from senior, the positions did not attract dynamic and ambitious candidates. Taken all in all, information officers who are capable of defying the cult of secrecy were said to be very rare. Journalists who may be pursuing valid information, frequently boycott information officers altogether. The information services had only a very weak organic link to the rest of the administrative machine, and they could give information only on the visible parts of the iceberg.

Some journalists thought that the government should take some practical notice of the increasing difficulty that the media are experiencing in the face of the growing volume

of different kinds of information. Statements, important discussions, conferences, seminars, assemblies and meetings are multiplying; in Parliament itself, the new importance attached to parliamentary committees is rapidly increasing the sources of official information. Canadian newspapers were said to be having difficulty in digesting this substantial increase in government information and, in any case, the limited extent of their market did not allow them to equip themselves with resources to cover complete information in all fields.

Moreover, the mass media were by and large commercial undertakings, and therefore likely to be governed by a need to serve customers who are more interested in politics than policies, in crises, rather than in public programmes. A prominent Canadian industrialist remarked that, for the mass media, "good news is no news."

This appeared to emphasize the expressed need for government information that is both complete and scrupulously objective. Many opinion leaders felt that the information services of the government require professionals who are able to render the media sensitive to social, economic and scientific problems.

The difficulty of making the information explosion comprehensible; the matter of qualified and properly ranked information staff; the question of objectivity and the integrity of government information; the frustrations faced by people who want certain government research, all came back to the opinion leaders' general interest in seeing the government make a complete change in its attitude regarding information. The desire for such a change was the main theme among the many submissions that people from the press and other "filters" made to the Task Force. Furthermore, the public right to information was sacred to them, a cornerstone of democracy which must be accepted at the highest levels of government and reaffirmed. Some cited Sweden, where the government's policy regarding information favours access by the citizen to public documents. Others cited New Zealand, where the government information services apparently have a broad latitude to give out facts, no matter what their political import. The general feeling was that it would not be enough for the government to declare openly a new policy; it would also be necessary to define precisely those restricted areas — such as national security and the budget — in which the government would have the right to impose secrecy.

The continuing proliferation of acts and regulations moved some opinion leaders to suggest that government must soon recognize ignorance of the law as a legitimate defence for having broken it. In the meantime, however, the idea that

nobody ought to be ignorant of the law imposes on the state an obligation to tell the citizens what the new laws are, and why they are necessary.

The leader of a large labour organization put the case for a new information policy in another way. He argued that if information grants power to those who have it, then it is up to the power in a democracy to make information serve the democracy more than it does in Canada at the present time. Thus, the government should publish the results of any research it conducts (excluding areas involving the national security). It should publish whatever documentation it may have to support its legislation.

The president of a large Canadian industrial association told us: "Today, the public's desire to know covers a much larger area than it did a decade or two ago. The greater public awareness of issues has come about because of higher educational levels and more complete and rapid communications. . . . At all ages, there is an increased desire to know and a government must recognize that this desire extends to its own processes. It can no longer decide without explanation, introduce programmes without defending them or adopt policies without justifying them."

It was asserted that what the public wants is not just information, but unvarnished information. The purpose of an information service in private industry is not just to inform but to persuade as well, but some people believe that a government information service should confine itself to informing. It was argued that, ideally, a government information service is not a ministerial or departmental instrument but the people's instrument. Its purpose was to honour the public's right to receive information, no matter how that information reflected on the performance of a Minister or his department; and to keep the government itself informed. At the very least, a government information service should, for these opinion leaders, demonstrate an intent by government to be clear and, consciously, to reject ambiguity.

According to these groups government, in addition to its duty to inform, should have an obligation to reveal its priorities in the field of information. The public should be able to express its opinion on these priorities. A specific priority should be the establishment of a communication system that works both ways between the government and the governed to promote national objectives and, to achieve these objectives, to encourage co-operation among all levels of government, and the general public as well.

Various people felt that, once the government has established a new philosophy on information, it should take specific steps to guarantee that the philosophy has practical

effect. Some suggested making an effort at education starting as early as grade school. Most agreed that the information officer must be given higher status than he now enjoys. He must be situated not on the periphery but at the heart of the administrative structure. This was felt to be essential for an information officer whose task it would be to speak in the name of his Minister. He would have to have the full confidence of his chief and of the press. It was also considered vital that no improvement in the government information services should lead the government to bypass the press; that the government should provide the press with all the information it has, including whatever it intends to give the rest of the public directly.

The Task Force frequently asked the opinion leaders if they wanted the government to furnish more than strictly government information. Should the government not place at the citizen's disposal all the available information in various fields of endeavour? The Task Force asked: *Do you think that the Federal Government should be in a position to collect information from the public at large, or a particular section of it, in order to provide services to you on a scale in detail and at a speed greater than is at present perhaps the case?*

The Task Force was not thinking of a news service, but some newspaper executives interpreted this question as a suggestion that the government go into direct competition with the media, and their response was on occasion extreme: "This is the most outrageous question we have ever read. It suggests that the government would establish information from myriad sources." Some of those with whom we talked wanted to know what was available in the submerged mass of information, but they did not want to have to absorb it all or store it all. Consequently, there was talk of a government data-bank. It would exploit current data-processing techniques to distribute and redistribute information, catalogue it, and even popularize it. The information might come not only from the Federal Government but from provincial and municipal governments as well, and from the universities and private enterprise. It was pointed out that one merit in the idea is that the data-bank would reduce the expensive incidence of overlapping research. Such a service might, for example, give fast replies on the number of zoos or paper plants there are in the country. It might collect, compare and publish information concerning such matters as the long-term demand for employment in certain occupations. It might tell, at a glance, all the current information concerning a large part of the public administration. It might furnish complete files on federal-provincial questions. The opinion

leaders who favoured the establishment of a fact-bank generally agreed that, even if the Federal Government were to provide most of the money, it should be an autonomous and non-partisan institution.

Co-ordination or Chaos?

The idea of centralizing the information services aroused a notion of a news service similar to the Canadian Press which would "feed out the information the government wanted to get across . . ." Or: "This suggestion smacks from the start of some kind of government news service. My reply is no. This is our job.

Other opinion leaders, most of them businessmen or press people, put a milder interpretation on the question; but, for various reasons, they too were flatly opposed to an extension of the government's responsibilities in the field of information. They maintained the government should not require taxpayers to finance services for areas of limited, rather than general, interest; that private companies have their own responsibilities in the field of information and, at the most, the state could share this responsibility with industry; that industry should not be asked to fill out even more government forms than it already does; and, in one case, simply that any further expansion of government activity was automatically wrong. Opinion leaders who represented neither business nor the media but, rather, what might be called intermediary organizations in such areas as welfare and education, were distinctly more receptive to the idea of the government's playing a dynamic rôle in gathering and disseminating general information.

It is becoming increasingly difficult for individuals and organizations to digest the great flow of information of considerable interest. The serious lack of information co-ordination at the federal, federal-provincial and federal-provincial-municipal levels was generally deplored. At the federal level alone, several opinion leaders lamented the frequent difficulty of finding the right channel and authority in a search for information. It was claimed that many information services avoid answering questions by shuttling them over to departmental neighbours, and that some services tend to operate too independently. This made it virtually impossible to compile the sort of interdepartmental information that would provide one with an overall picture of certain major governmental activities. One organization told the Task Force: "We recommend a co-ordinating committee on information within the Federal Government . . . made up of technical officials and chaired by a senior public servant. The

committee would foster co-ordination of day to day information activities . . . but would still allow the maximum of freedom and imagination on the part of the different departments or sources. We would further recommend that the decisions of this committee be made available to public scrutiny."

So far as federal-provincial information efforts are concerned, opinion leaders believed there was a distressing amount of floundering. They felt, for one thing, that there is no justification for the Federal Government's current inclination to be reticent and embarrassed about publicizing its share of joint programmes. The agreements for federal-provincial programmes should stipulate that information programmes clearly define the responsibilities of each government and, once the agreement has been signed, each should be publicly candid about the other's part in the project. One opinion leader urged the creation of a permanent information office for federal-provincial co-operation in the development of information to benefit the individual citizen, and others suggested that permanent agencies of information co-operation might be attached to federal-provincial conferences.

There was said to be a serious failing, too, in the co-ordination of federal information and municipal information: "The municipal level of government is usually left out of the 'tri-alogue', and yet it is at the municipal level that the bulk of our fellow citizens live, and they tend to look locally for information. As municipal governments are also partners in shared programmes, greater attention should be paid to co-operation with the local levels of governments in providing information services."

The general conclusion of the opinion leaders appeared to be that information transcends the jurisdictions and boundaries of the different levels of government and that, therefore, it is incumbent upon the Federal Government to assume a very high degree of responsibility: "The Federal Government must assume responsibility for the total information picture in Canada . . . Only the Federal Government has the capability and authority to make information it possesses about one region of Canada available to the others."

One opinion leader out of four was opposed to centralization of the information services, either because it would create a "useless bureaucracy" or because there was "danger of propaganda." Some feared that the establishment of a central information office would not lead to a rational solution of the current problems but only to their centralization. It was further argued that centralization leads directly to standardization, that standardization is detrimental to the

use of good information and that, although it is easy to remedy the flaws in a decentralized system, centralization rapidly moves out of control. In brief, a central agency could merely add one more layer to the pyramid.

Others equated the centralization of information services with the danger of propaganda: "I do hope this will not lead to the suggestion that some sort of central information office be set up. While such an organism might be acceptable in wartime, its function at other times could easily be diverted to sinister ends . . . While the present government is obviously too virtuous to use a central information office to augment its political credit amongst the citizenry, we cannot count on governments of the future being able to withstand such temptations."

However, there were a few opinion leaders who favoured not only the centralization of some government information functions, but also the total concentration of all departmental information services in one organization. They believed that Canadian society has sufficient democratic strength to prevent whatever abuses the others feared a central office would bring about, and that the time had come to wipe out all duplicated effort and cut the high costs that result from the existence of separate departmental services.

The managing editor of a large daily newspaper said: "From the vast amount of releases received daily at the news desk, it appears quantity production is the sole aim of every department with never a thought to quality. . . . Over the years, the information service, in every government department, has been built into a giant octopus. If we have to put up with information services, what we need is a centralized government information service for all departments, staffed by a small corps of highly trained and competent news people."

Another opinion given to us was the following: "It seems evident that a central information agency, directing and co-ordinating all the information services, is a necessity. . . . In my opinion the only reason why the agency has not been formed is the fear of political repercussions. But in this era of electronics, the urgent need of catching up is such that it could surpass political considerations. Great countries — the USA, Great Britain and France — have recognized this necessity. Why not Canada? The agency could take the form of a Crown Corporation, so that its president could be semi-autonomous, reporting only periodically to Parliament. Such an agency could make maximum use of electronic communications in Ottawa, and from that vantage point communicate with the people of Canada, and, finally, with the whole

world. Such general direction given to the dissemination of information would take care of separating the wheat from the chaff, of distinguishing between banality and important information. As long as each department in Ottawa administers its own information service, such services will become more and more extensive, without for that reason becoming more effective. . . ."

Between the extremes of total centralization and no centralization, the Task Force heard a number of proposals, all aimed at the co-ordination of federal information. Some suggested an information office that would have a status similar to that of a Crown Corporation. Others suggested a "mixed enterprise" operation, a central information office supported financially by both private enterprise and the government. The idea behind this is that the office would have a degree of independence from government authority, and that it would function not as an instrument of the administration but as a service to the people. Still others believed that such a semi-autonomous institution should collect, check and disseminate extra-governmental information ranging from sports news to information on chamber music. There were also opinion leaders, however, who felt that a central information agency should be responsible for nothing more than the co-ordination, stock-piling and spreading of strictly governmental information. This sort of organization would be a routing centre for the public's information requests to the various government sources that already exist. It would be a clearing-house for federal information, and an agency for synchronizing federal news.

Within all the shades of meaning that the assorted opinion leaders gave the idea of a central government information service, one principle remained clear: no centralization should impede the free flow of information, suppress or distort facts, or impose censorship. Most of those who expressed an opinion on centralization affirmed the importance of maintaining the current variety of government information services, but they also welcomed the idea of a central body with functions of wide co-ordination. Whatever the structure of the central unit, its most important functions would be to co-ordinate departmental information efforts for the purpose of representing the government as a whole, to put forward an integrated federal image, and to reply to all governmental information requests from officials serving outside the Capital. It would deal with the public directly, and with that large and special subdivision of the public, the mass media. The press particularly seems to require some highly responsive institution that is capable of providing instant replies to such questions as, "How much has

Canada's aid to Biafra cost so far?"

The central information unit, however, might, according to this opinion, do more than answer questions speedily and collect, check and issue departmental information. It might also be a production centre for information that no single department or agency of government is currently capable of providing and might often be a government pool of technical equipment and expertise in information. Finally, it could review the effectiveness of the information services in the departments, and foster interdepartmental mobility, proper training and a career status for information service officers throughout government.

In connection with the relationship between centralization and working standards, a representative of one of Canada's biggest press agencies and a man who is particularly well-informed about the information services, recommended the establishment of a bureau that would be responsible for all federal information, including the size and budget of the departmental services. About the only independence he would leave the departmental services would be their responsibility for the content of their information. He suggests that, at the outset, the central office would have to draw a clear distinction between the documentary information, which the departments would produce, and the news: "In the central office could be an information (news) co-ordinator, a tough editor-in-chief located in the Parliament Buildings so that he could be in touch daily with Gallery and other reporters and be aware of their reaction to the day-to-day performance of information people. He needs to be a tough editor-in-chief with authority to crack the whip over departmental information branches. He should advise individual branches on the handling of major announcements or events and criticize information performance right down to the punctuation in a one-paragraph handout. He would need enough supporting staff to see that all groups operate efficiently and that the government gets its money's worth, police them so they use a common style, common guide and techniques, especially on the handling of major announcements."

Another newspaperman asked, "I wonder if a city desk and universal desk approach might work in government information service in centralized form with the departmental information officers acting as beat men and remote news bureaux."

Reaching the People

One of the chief complaints against the government information services was that they fail to sort out and define the people they should be trying to reach. They sometimes

appeared to be aiming at "the average Canadian"; but there are no average Canadians. Everyone has his own combination of culture, language, vocation, standard of living and home province, region, city or town. Everyone has his own pre-occupations and habits and characteristics but, if the government is interested in seeing the people truly informed, it must at least make a stab at the infinitely difficult task of understanding who they all are.

Information that is conceived with everyone in mind is information that is conceived with no one in mind; and, among all the suggestions and recommendations that the opinion leaders offered the Task Force, the one that came closest to being unanimous was the general urging that the Federal Government have some people in mind by bringing its information services down among the regions of the country where the people live. Opinion leaders suggested a great variety of ways by which the government might do this. One of the more obvious was that the movement about the country of Cabinet Ministers be given far more publicity than is now the case, and that they should allow themselves more time for discussion with local residents. The regional or provincial press should have a chance to acquaint themselves with governing officials, and to ask them questions that relate to local problems. The Ottawa Press Gallery should not be regarded as the only barometer of Canadian opinion about government.

One opinion leader suggested that regional authorities from the federal departments should distribute information at the local level. Others are skeptical. They argue that the regional divisions of departments are not the place where decisions are taken; that there is virtually no communication between Ottawa and its regional divisions; and that, therefore, even on federal matters of purely regional interest, people will always prefer to seek information at Ottawa.

A more popular idea was that the government should inspire new levels of co-operation among its own information services, the schools, public libraries, and assorted charitable, welfare, volunteer and service organizations. It is argued that Ottawa neglects the information channels offered by public libraries, that it should systematically collaborate with the libraries and give them appropriate subsidies. It is argued as well that private organizations and associations are another ideal channel for government information, but that the government has neglected them, too. The information services apparently prefer to concentrate on the powerful lobbies in the Capital. Service organizations and associations in Montreal showed the Task Force that, almost daily, they receive useful and impressive documentation from France, Great

Britain, the United States and even Communist China. The sources of this foreign information regularly ask these organizations what they think of the documentation, and what other information they require. From Ottawa, the organizations receive no comparable information or interest.

The funnelling of government information through citizen's organizations would lend status and credibility to the information and, in addition, the organizations might collaborate valuably in its popularization. Again, as in the case of the libraries, some opinion leaders thought the government might subsidize the collaboration. Finally, a great many argued for the creation of regional information offices of a general rather than a departmental nature.

Some saw such an office as a sort of ombudsman for those who have difficulty in their pursuit of government information. The offices could be highly accessible and genuinely hospitable. They would be sources of the text of Acts, regulations, official publications and any other official government information that anyone might require. The offices might operate in conjunction with the Queen's Printer's bookstores, or in co-operation with the information services of the provincial governments. "We need an information centre that would do more than collect and disseminate. There must be a place where a person can go with a problem and get advice as to where financial and technical assistance can be obtained. Provincial, federal and municipal information services should be tied in with this centre. For it often happens at present that federal information has no way of getting to the local level."

Despite all the responsibilities that might be given to the regional offices, however, the opinion leaders tended to feel that their information staffs should not be overburdened by administrative vexations and by paperwork. They should be alert and dynamic public servants who follow the daily news closely, and know how to react to it. They might rapidly become key personalities in the regional communities. (It is interesting that the strongest advocates of the sort of regional information office that would exceed the traditional limits of information work were neither press people nor businessmen but members of voluntary or professional organizations that concern themselves with social problems.)

But, these critics went on, with or without regional offices, the government information services should abandon their splendid isolation in Ottawa, and begin to function not merely as distributors of information but also as receivers of information from people all over the country. "The new rôle of government in our society demands that its information officers make greater effort to find out first-hand what

is going on outside the Capital." According to this school of thought, the government must not just declare a policy on information, it must also have a plan to inspire dialogue. Thus, government information officers should leave the confines of government circles to explain policies and programmes, and to invite constructive criticism. Otherwise, the participation in participatory democracy will be a democracy of mandarins, a State that serves the interests of a few high priests. "Participation is not just a matter of conveying facts and decisions but a two-way process. Citizens are not receivers or consumers of information but users and generators. In confrontation, in the process itself, information is generated."

For those expressing concern in this area, there is a danger that, even after a government has accepted the principle of two-way communication, it may tend to pursue only the kind of information that would meet with approval, to invite only the participation of those who approve of the government. According to them, this spurious sort of participation could be more dangerous than none at all. If the government is not really serious about participation, it should not allow the public to entertain false hopes. The effects of such behaviour is liable to be far more damaging than no discussion about participation. "Participation must not become a trap for the people; it is not a matter of using them to confirm decisions already made."

It is not enough for a government to talk about communication; it is essential that it arrange for a two-way flow from the very beginning. In Parliament, they maintain, the Member ought to be the foremost instrument of feed-back to the government, and he should represent his electors more fully than he does now. He should be encouraged to become more independent of party lines than he is now, and the government should make greater use of the new parliamentary committees. It was suggested, too, that Senate committees might serve as institutions for the hearing of citizen's opinions. If the government could establish antennae for regularly hearing the population, it would no longer have to pursue the seemingly endless business of setting up royal commissions and task forces.

While the opinion leaders as a whole felt that Parliament was the main channel for public feed-back on government policy the many welfare, educational and the other voluntary organizations, associations and groups that concern themselves with social problems ought to be used more than at present. Up to a point, they could serve almost as a continuous source of citizen information employing polls and surveys. Our own survey indicated that these organizations are inter-

ested in playing this rôle. They did, however, have certain understandable reservations: "When they are consulted, they must be given time to reply. The organizations must be able to refuse to provide information asked for if such information has nothing to do with their own concerns, or with their field of endeavour. There must be a proportion observed between the effort required of organizations to provide the information, on the one hand, and the results on the other hand. The government must clearly define the usefulness of the information requested and the policies related to it."

Some business leaders, too, found fault with the current level of the government's consultation with the public: "Our system of responsible government provides at a pinch some flow of information from the individual taxpayer through elected representatives, but adequate channels are not provided for the major contributor of tax revenues — the corporate taxpayer. As a major contributor of public funds, the corporate taxpayer should be entitled to an expression of opinion as to both how revenues are obtained and how expenditures are made. Present procedures do not provide for expressions of opinions before decisions are reached and lead only to a policy of toleration of complaints in a rather narrow framework."

Or, again: "If participatory democracy is to become reality, public discussion before the event is essential. Many departments do not give prior warning about impending changes in the legislation or adequate information about the impact or implication of legislation."

Some of our opinion leaders asserted, for example, that in the matter of Canada's participation in NATO, the government had failed to give the public a full explanation of the various courses that might be taken, and what their consequences would be. Others cited the recent increase in postal rates as a prime example of a government's imposing legislation without first consulting with the public likely to be most adversely affected.

A public relations specialist told the Task Force that it is a mistake to confuse the feed-back from organized groups with general public feed-back. The two do not necessarily coincide and, to reach the public as a whole, it is necessary to use certain "political" methods. More and more, anachronistic as this may sound, the government should resort to personal encounter, to seminars, briefings, unofficial talks, information evenings.

Many opinion leaders favoured the establishment of advisory committees of representatives of the media, of the organizations and associations, and of the general public. These committees would tell the government what govern-

ment information they felt their public needed. Others argued that committees of this kind soon lose their value because they soon become bureaucratic and virtually a part of the government administration.

There was a warning, too, against government by survey, against the temptation to confuse participation with surveys of public opinion. If the public merely answers questions, and is not free to ask some of its own, it can hardly be described as participating. One of our correspondents pointed out that simply answering our letter did not make him feel that he had been consulted.

This led to the question of exactly how far the government should go to inform itself systematically of the people's reactions. Those interviewed were frequently puzzled by certain proposals until the precise mechanisms were explained. There was a wide-spread fear that governments might use overly powerful machinery to feel the pulse of public opinion. Others disagreed, and without our asking for advice on opinion surveys, offered comments, such as the following from a labour leader: "The government should assume more responsibility for the gathering and publishing of information on public attitudes. . . . Consumers interests, employment and manpower policies, composition and attitudes of various sectors of the labour force, the deterrent effect of fees introduced in the Saskatchewan Medicare programme, consumer habits of old age recipients, etc. . . . these are the types of surveys in which the government might engage."

The Task Force had a chance to explain to some opinion leaders the uses of social surveys in the United Kingdom and, in these cases, the idea was often received well. There was general agreement that such inquiries should deal with laws already in force and that a government should make the results public as soon as it has completed a survey. The Task Force heard suggestions for the installation of suggestion or complaint boxes in public places, and for the establishment of a review committee for legislation. Among its other duties, such a committee would note the public's comments on the anomalies and shortcomings of laws, since it was asserted that at present, there is no effective outlet for such comment.

With regard to the outward flow of government information, some people were concerned not only with the failures in co-ordination and the question of centralization but also with the related fact that a great many Canadians are simply not aware of the government information services that do exist. The services need to publicize both themselves and the availability of the information in their keeping. Few citizens are familiar with the organization of the government, with what the various departments and corporations and agencies

of government are meant to do. The increasing use of initials to stand for the names of government agencies only confuses people further and, even if one has a fairly firm knowledge of the administrative structure, it may still be difficult to reach competent sources of information: "Only the knowledgeable know how to go about acquiring what they need." Many of those we consulted felt there was need for a manual to describe the precise responsibilities of each government service. Similarly, the Task Force heard many requests for the publication of lists of federal information people who could provide information in each department or agency, not only in the Capital but also in regions across the country. It was the expressed view of many of our correspondents that there is a difficulty in trying to discover what information is available. The government frequently publishes excellent brochures; the public does not know they exist. One proposed answer was a catalogue of all federal publications – and it might also include provincial publications – and a daily bulletin of each department's and agency's publications.

In short, opinion leaders want more government information on government information.

Although opinion leaders insisted on the need to find ways to improve the dissemination and co-ordination of government information, the majority also felt that the improvement should involve neither an increase in staff nor an increase in budgets. Most of them wanted better information services than they are getting now, for the same money:

"Some departments are overstaffed."

"Too many people are involved in information services."

"Decrease in all government personnel is long overdue."

Some asserted that improvement will require a systematic comparison of the benefits of information programmes with their costs. Still others felt that the nature of information services justified greater budgetary flexibility than one would find in other fields of government endeavour. In any case, there was firm and near-unanimous agreement that the root of the current trouble lies not in a shortage of staff but in a shortage of quality:

"One good man in information is better than a dozen mediocre."

"Fewer but better people. . . ."

"Too many have fallen into the job by accident."

"The government should not try to turn competent plumbers into information officers."

The government would itself have to ensure that it obtains information officers of high quality, and the following suggestions were made:

"To ensure a continuous supply of high-calibre people for this kind of work, the government should endow a properly-constituted school, at a suitable university, that would be devoted to the craft of information-gathering and dissemination."

"If the government really wished to improve the quality of public information in Canada, its most subtly pervasive task would be to adopt attitudes that raise the prestige of the information profession. The latter would then attract candidates of high calibre, drawn by higher salaries than those now in force."

Finally, it was deplored that the administrative rank of the information officer should depend in large degree on the number of personnel he supervises.

Press, Radio and Television

Among press, radio and television people whom the Task Force consulted there was a general and strong resistance to what was described as the daily invasion of news releases that the departments and agencies of the Federal Government put out. Representatives of the media expressed something close to horror over the apparent waste of public funds that the news releases demonstrate. Many of the releases, they claimed, are received too late for useful publication. The departments and agencies mail them on the day of their publication in Ottawa so that, even if a release is newsworthy, by the time it arrives at an editor's desk, the Ottawa Press Gallery and Canadian Press will have sent the message across the country hours and perhaps days before. The Ottawa newspapers find the situation particularly absurd. They receive copies of news releases by hand on the day the releases are published and, a few days later, they get more copies of the same releases by mail. Some newspapers claim they sometimes get six copies of the same release. Papers that publish morning and evening editions receive separate sets of releases for each edition. No one in government appears to revise the mailing lists; releases continue to be sent to defunct publications and to journalists who died years ago. "Once a name is on a mailing list it seems impossible to have it withdrawn."

Departments, according to this group, frequently produce news releases with purely local or regional interest and send them right across the country. It was pointed out, for instance, that a release dealing with East Coast fisheries was of very limited interest to a Prairie newspaper. There were further examples of waste provided. Many releases are said to have no justification in the first place because they lack

interest, fail to provoke curiosity, fail to provide local colour, or simply because their language is so bureaucratic that they are often incomprehensible. There is waste, too, because there are too many of them. According to these media professionals, the more numerous they are the greater the likelihood that they will go straight to the waste-basket. They complained too, that there is waste because the paper is often of unnecessarily luxurious quality, and the packaging is excessive.

There was an extraordinary protest against the avalanche of useless news releases but, apart from the obvious need to keep distribution lists up to date, there was no real unanimity about how to stop it. A few, however, recommended the establishment of a teletype for the simultaneous transmission of federal information throughout the country; and others, with whom we raised the idea, received it favourably. The following was one of the more eloquent of these suggestions: "The United Kingdom and the United States find it technically possible to produce on my desk all major governmental statements from whatever source, from whatever global location, within 24 hours of utterance. Obviously they don't rely on the postal service. In Canada, it takes three to four days to get a minister's speech in Ottawa; but if the Minister makes the speech outside Ottawa, it will be a week or more because apparently even such rudimentary transmission facilities as exist are not set in motion until that Minister's physical return to the Capital. . . . The Economic Council of Canada manage to land voluminous reports in this office within 24 or 48 hours of their release in Ottawa. The Bank of Canada once a year demonstrates it can actually plant a document in cities across the country for simultaneous release. This, or at least full transmission within 24 hours at the absolute most, should be the goal of the government unless it wants to leave the local newspaperman entirely dependent for information upon the Ottawa Press Gallery. . . ."

"Canada is a big country, but the challenge of federalism is surely to overcome distances and not to be defeated by them. Given the general state of electronic technology plus the various leased wires already possessed by the government, it is quite possible for a federal information service to lay down in all parts of the country simultaneously the exact text of matters of government policy. This should apply to all important reports and documents of whatever origin so long as they are presented to the federal authorities, or put out by the latter."

The Task Force was told that a teletype service would be particularly efficient for the fast distribution of important

official texts. Some opinion leaders felt the service should be free of charge; others were not sure; still others insisted that the service should not be provided at government expense. A spokesman for a large Quebec newspaper felt that the private agency Telbec – whose facilities are used by the Information and Publicity Bureau of Quebec to transmit its news releases – had become more valuable to the newspaper than the French service of the Canadian Press. One eminent journalist hoped the government might establish a teletype network to transmit the text of the important parts of the question and answer period in the House of Commons. Other journalists were fiercely opposed: "The Quebec Government has an information service called Telbec, which is a wire service. This is merely a propaganda outlet. . . . The government shouldn't bypass Gallery reporters."

Some newspapers which at first stated that they never used Telbec, were obliged to concede later that they did in fact use it quite extensively. Other newspaper executives started out by insisting to the Task Force that, from their point of view, a federal service would be useless but, in response to continuing questioning and elaboration of how such a service might work, they admitted that the idea had some practical merit. There is, however, a certain paradox in the idea of channelling yet another stream of information into newspaper editorial rooms. The editor of a large daily paper told the Task Force that the flood was already increasing so rapidly that he had had to delegate more and more authority to his reporters and, particularly, to those in Ottawa. He was not eager to see a teletype, connected to the federal information services, increasing still further the daily amount of raw information that his editing staff must digest.

The press, radio and television were almost unanimous in their desire to deal directly with information service officers who could answer questions quickly, fully and openly. At the present time, apparently, many information officers fail to reply to media questions on the spot, or even on the same day. These officers were not sure of themselves, and seemed more concerned with putting out brochures. In this connection, somebody recommended the creation of a central filing system in which reporters could find information that is relevant to legislation, events in government, and politicians' statements. It was felt that such an agency might go a long way toward meeting the acknowledged need for precision in media reporting.

Many journalists urged that some information officers be freed of administrative problems so that they might concentrate on the media. They want to consult information

officers who are up to the minute on current events, who can talk knowledgeably about more than one department, and who are capable of intelligent discussion with them.

There was fairly severe criticism of the information services' failure to understand the varying needs of the different media. The managing editor of a large urban daily said: "One of the major short-comings of the information services is that they are geared to serve the lowest common denominator, the small provincial daily or even weekly publications. By and large, no attempt is made to direct to us the kind of material that is of specific interest to us."

Opinion leaders, as a whole, deplored the inadequacies of the information services' current efforts at briefing documentation but, among the press, this was a particularly strong grievance. The press would like to see the information services produce periodic summaries on such vital matters as the government's social policies. It was pointed out that the information services had produced nothing on the policy revisions that are underway in almost all departments. The public will perhaps experience a shock in suddenly learning of the results."

Opinion leaders wanted briefs that clearly explain and summarize the significance of events; briefs that might serve as a basis for public debate. These could be recapitulations and documentation that might go not only to the media but to schools, libraries, organizations, service associations and volunteer groups as well. "One of the great faults of the federal administration is its ignorance of itself and its own laws. It is very difficult to find someone capable of informing us rapidly and fully on an Act or collection of Acts."

The journalists among the opinion leaders generally wanted an increase in the number of news briefings. They cited the example of Washington where briefings go on for several days to enable the media to become truly familiar with aspects of government policy.

"The object must be to develop deeper understanding amongst the media representatives who can absorb and transmit it. The dangers of managed news or preferential treatment will just have to be faced."

The Press Gallery has a particular and rather specific concern for press briefings situated as it is in Ottawa, where it is perhaps the country's most significant filter for government information. But, its interests would appear to be limited. One of its more prominent members defined the limitations in the following way: "Although the Gallery is an important channel for information on government activities, it probably makes the least use of such information itself. The Gallery's interest in government information is

spasmodic. The real users are fishermen, exporters, and others. The Gallery is only interested in news of a political nature."

Understandably then, Gallery reporters are not overly interested in administrative information, nor in the more prosaic day-to-day releases. Again it was indicated to the Task Force that newsmen want to be able to rely upon information services that can provide a fast answer to any question about government that arises. They would welcome information officers who had a broad view of the government and an extended field of responsibility. It was thought that special links might be forged between such information officers and the major cabinet committees. As we have seen, many newsmen felt that information officers are too engrossed in drafting tasks, or that they are too timid:

"Sometimes we wonder if information officers read newspapers at all."

"Some of them faint or drop the phone when called by a representative of the press."

The Task Force was told that not long ago there was a senior information officer who was not aware even of the location of the Gallery's working newsroom near the Commons Chamber. Gallery Members considered that one solution to their problem might be the appointment, in every department, of an officer whose sole responsibility would be relations with the media. He would not be responsible for producing brochures or preparing budgets. He would have access to information at the highest level, working in close co-operation with his Deputy Minister and Minister and he would be ready to answer the wide range of questions that media personnel naturally raise.

From most reporters' point of view, the appointment of such officers would be sound. Others however, feel there is a limit to how far the government can go in expecting hitherto anonymous employees to play a highly active role in media relations. In any event, it was made clear that Gallery members always prefer to consult political sources, the Minister and his own assistants, freely.

Gallery reporters stressed that they also required advance information on the daily schedule of the Prime Minister and his Ministerial colleagues. Ministers often receive delegations about which virtually no one hears; and yet, in the long run, the meetings that a particular Minister has agreed to attend can in themselves be significant indications of trends in government thinking on policy. It was stressed that, in Washington, for example, ministerial and presidential itineraries were already being made available daily and even amended in the course of the day. Again, Gallery reporters were strong

in their emphasis on the shortage of good background documentation, which is indispensable to cover major political events. In this respect, they were not dissatisfied with documentation at some of the federal provincial conferences, but with the timing of such releases which did not enable them to digest them sufficiently before the event.

With regard to briefings, it was stated that there would be no objection to daily briefings at, say, 11:30 a.m. There was criticism of the current practice, by which the sources of government information make their own selection of the reporters who should attend a briefing. In principle, the gallery personnel who expressed their views to the Task Force felt that briefings should be open to everyone. In practice, only those reporters who were directly interested in a subject would continue to attend the relevant briefings anyway. In the long run, the results might not differ from what they are now, except that government information sources would no longer nurture their Gallery favourites.

Certain media representatives also had specific complaints about the way the information services operate in the fields of still photography and the audio-visual media. One told the Task Force that a fundamental ignorance of the photographic art causes the information services to neglect or abuse photographic illustration. He thought Canada should produce a photographic magazine for overseas distribution. Another suggested: "Picture material and features service should be expanded: more art, photos, line drawings and maps—even if it involves amending of the National Film Board Act to break NFB's vested grip on departmental photography. . . . There are certainly departmental pictures to be taken that would improve the quality of releases. . . . Here again, decentralization would be advisable, with the appointment of regional officers."

Radio and television personnel were equally severe in their criticism. They argued that government information officers have little knowledge of the techniques and special problems of audio-visual production, and generally tend to overlook them. They claim that since information staff think in terms of print and are, indeed, frequently former newspaper reporters, it is often necessary to rewrite their releases to suit the requirements of radio and television. One correspondent found it shocking that the information services still talk about "press releases" rather than "news releases."

"Government should use television on a much broader scale and put less emphasis on the printed word."

Radio and television newsmen need to know about events well before they happen. So do those who work in print but, in the case of radio and television, they argue that the

need is more imperative. They are seldom very interested in merely narrating an event; they want to reproduce it in sound and pictures. They do not want a "press release" that tells them they have just missed the departure for Cyprus of a fresh contingent of Canadian soldiers. They want to be at the airport, with their equipment in place, at the moment the soldiers are departing. Many government information officers fail to appreciate this consideration. Radio and television newsmen also lamented the hesitation of government officials to grant interviews to radio and television. Some thought the Prime Minister's Press or Principal Secretary should be in a position to authorize quotes in the Prime Minister's name, considering that the Prime Minister cannot always be interviewed on radio and television. Others thought that information officers (not to mention MPs) should make themselves more expert in the art of television including the area of personal performance. There was some feeling, too, particularly among small stations and those with no regular network connections, that the information services should themselves cover events for radio and television and promptly send the tapes and films to the stations:

"If the Prime Minister or Ministers give informal interviews or participate in informal 'dialogues' with students or groups, reports on tape . . . would be very helpful."

"More information should be released via television, radio and press in the form of advertisements, shorts and trailers."

It was even suggested that the government should have its own television channel to transmit its information.

"We do not want to receive filmed and taped government handouts, as these are always regarded with a certain degree of healthy suspicion. We want the Minister or the key government officials concerned in the story to be made available for interview by our reporters, bearing in mind the need for spokesmen in both French and English."

The weekly press of Canada has grievances of its own. The weeklies complain that although they devote a great deal of their editorial space to government information, they do not receive their fair share of government advertising. In Quebec particularly, the federal government is misleading itself if it considers that placing notices in daily newspapers and their week-end magazines reaches most people in the province. The weeklies claim that their combined circulation is bigger than the dailies. In many rural districts, the only paper that anyone reads is a weekly. Many of the representatives of weeklies believe that the government should use more advertising in weeklies to compensate for the difficulties that the recent increase in postal rates has created.

The so-called "ethnic press" had complaints that were

similar to those of the weeklies. One editor maintained that these papers should get a share of the government's advertising pie that is proportional to the share received by the English and French-language papers. As a rule, the foreign-language newspapers had the impression that the Federal government considers them too unimportant to justify much effort in their direction. They feel this is short-sighted: Twenty-eight per cent of the Canadian population depends on the ethnic press, partly or totally, for information which will help them to become more integrated into Canadian life."

The government it was felt, should hire regular readers from the ethnic press. It should initiate special programmes for these papers. It should publish brochures, and foreign-language telephone directories of its information services. It was pointed out that Ontario publishes domestic information in 13 languages. The government needs not only specially trained information officers to serve the interests of foreign-language newspapers, but also information centres geared to provide useful information from several departments to recent immigrants.

So far as the representatives of the media as a whole were concerned, their interest in government information rarely extended beyond their own professional needs. Few expressed much interest in the more general problems of social communications in Canada.

The French Language in the Information Services

Among those we consulted who spoke French, there was recognition of the Federal Government's considerable effort to extend bilingualism in the information services but there were also a number of serious complaints concerning the results of this effort. They deplored the fact that some government texts are still available only in English and, even when texts are available in both languages, the government frequently sends only the English versions to bilingual organizations. Delays in translation are still irritatingly frequent, they reported, and this puts French-language journalists at a serious disadvantage. While French-speaking reporters waste precious time doing their own translation of some important announcement, their English-speaking rivals can rush to the telephone and dictate it directly to their editors. Days later, when the official translation finally arrives, the French-speaking reporters tend to regard it as a cynical affront. Some translations are poor; others may be technically accurate but, due to a failure to capture idiom and nuance and the spirit of the French language, they often remain almost incompre-

hensible. One English-speaking opinion leader proposed detailed research into the effects of cultural and linguistic differences on the whole concept of information: "We know very little about cultural differences that influence the approach to writing."

Some texts are fairly simple to translate. Others, however, may involve sociological, political or even emotional nuances and, in such cases, translation alone may not be sufficient to convey the full conceptual reality of the words: "It is regrettable that federal information is mostly thought out in English. The presence of two cultures in Canada means two sets of requirements, two concepts of information needs." "English and French-speaking persons should be on an equal footing in the government information services."

One of the more crucial problems in the matter of bilingualism in the information services is the great difficulty in attracting skilled French-language officers to Ottawa. French writers enjoy a seller's market, and the better ones are often loath to leave Quebec to "go into exile" at the federal capital. There is a danger, too, it was pointed out, that, among the French-speaking officers who come to Ottawa, the longer they stay the more likely they are to lose the quality of the subtle skill for which they were hired. It might be necessary to send them "home" to Quebec periodically to preserve their initial ability, it was suggested.

Another problem was raised in connection with the use of French in the federal information services. It was driven home to the Task Force and, in some ways, it goes beyond language facility to the whole complexity of federal-provincial relations. Leaders of associations and organizations in Quebec complained that Ottawa fails to recognize them because they are provincial. The suspicion is that the federal information services feel that once they have reached the national organizations they have done their duty. They do not apparently bother to maintain relations with regional organizations. The flaw in this attitude, it was stated, was that certain provincial associations are frequently far more important at the local level than the provincial branches of similar national organizations; and, in Quebec, many movements have nothing at all to do with what might superficially appear to be their national counterparts. While Ottawa ignores such movements, foreign countries do not. The information services of other countries, it was revealed, pay them considerable attention.

Leaders of the agricultural community in Quebec were convinced that Ottawa is more attentive to English-speaking farmers than it is to French-speaking farmers. The criticisms went something like this: The federal representatives at

national conferences are senior to those who attend provincial agricultural conferences in Quebec. Since the federal information services could not invent information on matters that were of little concern to them, federal farm information tended to reflect the Department of Agriculture's preoccupation with the West. It was indicative of the "division of power" within the Department, where French-speaking officers were not in an influential position. This, it was alleged, is the reason why there are few federal experimental farms in Quebec, and why few federal laboratories do research of interest to the Quebec farmer. It was claimed that, in the information service of the Department of Agriculture, only one in ten writers is fluent in the French language. These leaders felt remote from Ottawa and they believed this was regrettable because, in some respects, Ottawa's rôle in agricultural development was more important to them than anything undertaken by their provincial government.

How Not to Reach Canadian Indians

An Indian leader argued that English was not necessarily the language of his people in Quebec and that Indians should receive Federal Government information in French. More generally, opinion leaders felt that one prime cause of Indian problems was inadequate communication. The reason for this derived chiefly from a language problem. The federal official has his language, the Indian has his language, and neither understands the other.

The absence of useful research to resolve this problem was deplored—research that might be entrusted to the Indians themselves, since they have first-hand knowledge of the difficulties. The Indians argue that the only federal information they get comes from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Like other Canadians, they wanted access to all sources of government information. This was particularly necessary because, as one authority on Indians put it to us: "The information officers of the Department of Indian Affairs are very poorly informed, and accordingly a mediocre source of information."

It was asserted that some Indians are so poorly informed they are not aware of the laws to which they are subject, and that government officers responsible for policies affecting Indians tend to feel a greater sense of loyalty toward their department than to Indians. Finally, Indians believe that government information as a whole was far too general. The government, according to this view, appeared to proceed from the assumption that Indians were all the same, from band to band, reserve to reserve, and from one province

to another. This complaint is similar to one of the major grievances expressed by a majority of opinion leaders: that federal information is too general, and fails to reach the special publics in various regions of the country.

Consumer Information

A number of opinion leaders expressed their dissatisfaction with some of the information that the recently formed Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs distributes. The Task Force was told of cases in which it was not possible to get all the documentation that the Department put out on a given subject. According to these people, reminders to the Department were unproductive; to get the information, it was necessary to send the Department highly specific requests and it was clearly not always possible to be specific. Aside from this the general criticism was voiced that most departments were too preoccupied with the media and failed to take a strong and direct interest in the public as consumers. Several departments and agencies carried out tests on consumer goods but, even when they had information services, the public rarely heard of the results. The government should publish more than it does now on such subjects as health, household problems, and cooking. The editor of a magazine that specializes in consumer matters told the Task Force that: "The Federal Government information is generally unsatisfactory. To begin with, we rarely hear from a Federal Government department unless we take the initiative. No one has ever come to us with an idea for an article or an angle on a story. . . . From the point of view of consumers, also, services are unsatisfactory. There are many worthwhile publications which the government has printed but the public has no idea that they exist. Publications should be brought to the attention of editors by advertisements to the public at large. We do try to publicize government booklets whenever possible but this leads to complications quite often because the government departments then become concerned that they have not got sufficient copies to satisfy the demand. Much of the information we receive is useless or repetitive."

Where the Queen's Printer Fails

Opinion leaders were vigorous in their complaints about the information failings of the Queen's Printer. To many of them, it seemed incredible that the Federal Government did not fully exploit the Queen's Printer's bookstores to spread information of all kinds. The government, it was felt, rather than limiting the stores to the sale of certain documents,

might use them to distribute the free information that is put out by various departments. They suggested that the number of stores should be increased and that there should be at least one in every large centre across the country. It was pointed out that the Queen's Printer's current advertising budget was far too small. There were complaints, too, about inexcusable delays in production — some documents take weeks to arrive at the stores — and also about the red tape in ordering books. The fact that profits from sales reverted to the Queen's Printer rather than to the departments meant that departmental information directors could not rely on the sale of their own productions to replenish their budgets. And, with regard to prices of Queen's Printer publications, an important non-governmental agency had the following comments in a brief to the Task Force:

"The function of the Queen's Printer with respect to documents of general information — e.g. proposed legislation, Reports of Royal Commissions — needs to be re-examined. While the general principle of not competing unfairly with commercial publishers with respect to specialized publications of the Federal Government seems reasonable, we see no reason why price should act as an inhibitor when documents of a general nature are concerned. For example, it does not seem reasonable to us that, having contributed considerable public money to a Royal Commission examining a matter of general public interest, the individual citizen should be prevented from discovering the details of that advice by a price beyond his means. The price of such items should be established in relation to the cost of production and worked out in such a way as to cover handling charges while avoiding all waste."

Finally, an established Canadian publisher believed that the government should simply abandon the publication of insignificant pamphlets, and leave the publication of certain books to private enterprise.

Businessmen, and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics

We have already mentioned that among the 20 per cent of opinion leaders in our survey who were generally satisfied with government information there was a notable number of businessmen. One reason for this may be that since Chambers of Commerce and large businesses are vitally interested in being well-informed, they make special efforts to inform themselves. They neither expect, nor wait for, the government to provide them with well-prepared official information to meet their every information need. But since businessmen and business institutions are relatively well-

informed, they are also capable of making highly specific suggestions for the improvement of information distribution in Canada: "Special services should be established to provide specific information answering the specific needs of various industrial and commercial sectors, perhaps making sufficient charge to cover costs."

Some argued that government information services should prepare themselves for the inevitable arrival of dramatic and technologically induced peaks in certain industries (e.g. the new technology in aeronautics). Such peaks would certainly inspire powerful demands for relevant information. Others asserted the need for technical information to promote foreign trade.

The chief priority, however, appeared to be economic information. Businessmen and manufacturers wanted the government to release more information to enable them to foresee economic developments. They argued that the only material of this nature currently available were the forecasts made when the budget was introduced.

More particularly, improvements in economic information meant improvements in the services of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. DBS is a basic and highly-regarded Federal institution but, at the same time, among those that the Task Force consulted in this informal survey, it was singled out for criticism more often than any other agency.

The businessmen argued that DBS production delays frequently render its statistics useless and that, when the data call only for mathematical treatment rather than analysis, the delays are particularly hard to follow or excuse. DBS works so slowly, according to a well-known financial reporter that he claimed he could often get the information he needed from other sources, after which, he would write in his column that, "DBS confirmed yesterday. . . ." He maintained that DBS failed to publish its quarterly reports until the end of the following quarter whereas, in the United States, such reports were available one week after the relevant quarter has ended. Another reporter told the Task Force: "In common with the Economic Council of Canada, the Bank of Canada and the business community, we are much concerned about the slowness of DBS reports on the economy. . . . DBS only produced second-quarter GNP figures in the last week of September, whereas in the U.S. similar third-quarter figures were released by the third week of October."

Businessmen deplored DBS slowness in a variety of other fields of statistical research. One respondent submitted a document, prepared in August 1968, that listed a number of DBS statistical series which were lagging behind the previous published series; nine series with a delay of under three

months; 15 series with a delay of three months to a year; ten series with a delay of a year to two years; and 13 series with a delay of two years or more. Many opinion leaders also felt that DBS takes an excessively long time to answer specific questions. Reporters found it particularly annoying that they are often unable to get answers to questions on the day they ask them.

The second main grievance against DBS concerned its field of research. There was a feeling that DBS either disregarded many useful areas of research, in which case Canadians were found to turn to American statistics that may not be relevant to Canadian experience; or it failed to analyze deeply enough the raw data that it did have. The Task Force received a list of complaints that included the following. In relation to primary industry, DBS does a poor job for the manufacturing industry; its work in consumer credit is inadequate; it is weak on the costs of advertising and even on the number of houses in the country, the number of houses that are heated by gas or oil, the movement of capital, the number of poor families in Canada, the automobile industry, the use and price of various sources of energy by province, and so on.

"The Education Division of DBS has been without a director for almost two years. . . . Reports (on education) are limited in number and often of historic rather than current interest."

"DBS collects no information in the cultural field. It should set up a section which would collect systematically, store and analyse the measurable factors of Canada's cultural life."

A group from the Maritimes sent the Task Force an analysis it had made of the work of DBS. The group reported it regarded DBS information weak in the fields of employment, trade movements, demography, manufacturing, the "service" sector, consumption expenditures, tourism, investments, corporate profits, interest and dividends.

Opinion leaders also lamented DBS's lack of statistics drawn up on a provincial, regional or municipal basis:

"There is a terrible shortage of statistics on a provincial basis. It is impossible to learn the amount of the savings taken in by chartered banks, trust companies, mortgage loan companies, etc., in each province."

"Apart from Census years, information is only available on a federal or provincial basis."

"Not enough information on the movement of commodities between provinces. Canada falls short of the U.S. in providing regional statistics."

With regard to the regional information that DBS does provide, opinion leaders thought its distribution should be more selective than it is now, and that it should be con-

solidated by periodical revision.

The lack of co-ordination among the various federal and other bodies that collect statistics was said to lead to duplication, contradictions, and a situation that prevents useful comparisons. The lack of co-ordination also annoyed business concerns which feel that they are bogged down with forms to fill out for statistical purposes, and that the gathering of all such information should be centralized within DBS.

Finally, although DBS enjoys a high reputation for accuracy, there were those who questioned even this. They suggested that DBS's inaccuracy has been the root of certain errors of judgment in the Department of Finance.

"GNP figures should not be amended so often."

"Estimates of expenditures on consumer goods produced by the DBS on a quarterly basis (detailed breakdown) are unreliable; estimates of the distribution of income are blown up artificially because they are based, except for decennial census years, on taxation statistics which omit families and individuals not earning enough to declare."

The opinion leaders were not totally negative in their criticism of DBS, or indifferent to its problems. They stressed the importance of increasing the Bureau's budget, staff and training facilities. Some felt DBS had not yet recovered from government-imposed cut-backs of almost ten years ago, when DBS was said to have lost some of its more competent personnel. At census time, the Task Force was told, DBS is obliged to increase staff and, though some of the new staff may have only questionable competence, the Bureau is obliged to retain them.

"Delays in obtaining replies from the public are nothing when compared with the staffing problem of the Bureau."

It was also suggested that DBS could increase its effectiveness by some systematic method of consultation with the people who use its material: "DBS must be responsive to what is wanted by its users. To this end, there should be regular discussions with users, and it should undertake market studies to allow it to gauge the usefulness, the relevance and the format of material."

According to some of the regular consumers of DBS material, the Bureau was not fully aware of how some of its surveys were put to use. It was suggested that if industry were consulted regularly it would not object to helping to pay for the collection of information; but this raised the difficulty of defining where the government's responsibility for the collection of business information should end: "This is a very complicated subject that both government and industry should study in order to reach agreed guide-lines. Thereafter, both sides should agree on priority subjects and

on a division of responsibilities regarding them.”

In this connection, one of our opinion leaders argued that statistics dealing with one sector of industry only – the telephone, for example – should not be DBS’s responsibility, or at least that DBS should not provide them free of charge.

Canadian Information Abroad

Few opinion leaders offered the Task Force their views on the information that Canada supplies to foreign countries, but those that did had some fairly harsh things to say. One teacher, however, was almost complimentary:

“In discussing government information, there is one preliminary distinction to be made, based on the whereabouts of the ‘target’. Is the potential audience outside or inside the country? If it is outside, we are essentially in the realm of public relations, the aim presumably being the presentation of the best side, not only of the government, but of the country as a whole. This involves a defence of general policies, a portrayal of the country and its evolution, a description of its internal achievements, and of its official foreign aid, as well as an account of its cultural activities at home and abroad. The objective, again presumably, is to attract tourists, investment and favourable attention from others. In principle, if not in detailed application, this field of activities is non-controversial and fairly straightforward. From the experience of several years abroad, my sole comment would be that within the limits imposed by personnel and finance the results in the few areas I have seen have been good from a standpoint of public relations.”

Others agreed on the distinction between information for consumption within the country and information destined for abroad, but they were not so satisfied with the way the government was handling either body of information. The Task Force was told that the government does not adequately inform Canadians of its activities abroad, of its participation in international agencies (Colombo Plan, UNESCO, United Nations, etc.), or of its policies regarding such vital matters as the OAS and Vietnam. This inadequacy was attributed to Canada’s allegedly meagre participation in the work of international bodies and in promoting the employment of Canadians in these organizations. The Department of External Affairs came in for some vigorous criticism concerning the whole programme of official information abroad. In view of the need for effective co-ordination, one person suggested the establishment of an information office to serve foreign countries:

“I think it is desirable – one might even say imperative –

that an agency be set up to disseminate Canadian information abroad. And this agency should be completely autonomous from the Department of External Affairs. . . . The men who run our 100-odd missions abroad may be unexcelled in the arts of diplomacy, but when it comes to public information they have neither the training nor the stomach for it. After all, the publicist is the very antithesis of the diplomat, who seems to regard information as an unglamorous chore of marginal importance. If one is to judge by the indifference they bring to bear when doing this chore, young External Affairs officers must regard information as a very unimportant rung in their career ladders. In terms of future advancement, it would be much more important to get involved in, say, the delicate negotiations leading up to a Mutual Indifference Treaty with the Republic of San Salvador. . . . Judging by the misinformation about Canada that is prevalent abroad, I suspect that External’s limitations in this field are not confined to films, but extend to relations with the foreign press, television, and radio. Of course it could be argued that it is of little real consequence what the ordinary people of foreign countries – as opposed to the elite in the diplomatic circles – think of Canada. If this argument is accepted, then dissemination of information might well be left to External, which can be counted on to provide a safe and boring picture of Canada, replete with national parks and happy, sanitary Eskimos. But if we consider information abroad important to trade, tourism and immigration, we had better entrust it to a Canadian International Information Agency, which would recruit its staff from the ranks of newspapermen, specialists in foreign relations, broadcasters and film people.”

One man said that it was time the government informed its embassies of the existence, purpose and activities of professional bodies and volunteer associations in Canada. This might encourage exchange visits and lead to the provision of accurate information to both foreigners and Canadians abroad. It might also improve the reception that, for example, immigrant doctors get in Canada.

Some opinion leaders claimed that Canadians who were travelling abroad, whether for business or pleasure, received very little useful help from Canadian embassies:

“If you travel abroad, as I have, your embassy is, or should be, both a point of contact and the source of useful information if you are on business. This was not the case. Each embassy should have had some sort of public relations service, but it was my experience that not one did. On the rare occasions when there was a diplomat responsible for press relations, this diplomat either fulfilled other duties at

the same time or else felt that he was marking time in his career by filling a post which had no importance for him. . . . None of them had had the slightest training as journalists or information officers, nor, in many cases, had they the slightest idea of what their work should be. One of the reasons for this is inherent in the diplomatic career itself. In many countries there are parallel careers for cultural attachés and press attachés, who are detached from other departments and who have had appropriate training for their duties."

Other opinions about Canadian information abroad: "In too many cases, Canadian journalists have to depend on the good offices of British or American diplomatic staff. . . ." "Canadian journalists attending international conferences should be given more effective briefings. . . ." "Our trade commissioners are thought to be depending to a great extent on American information services."

Finally, it was stated, many Canadians abroad are starved for information on what is going on in their own country. It is futile for them to go to their embassies for such information; Canadian diplomatic staff are often equally ignorant of current events at home.

Related Questions

Some opinion leaders volunteered comments that did not relate directly to any government information service that currently exists but which did concern both government and information. They were particularly interested in such matters as the status of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, the general situation of the media and its relations with government, and the recent increase in postal rates.

The Task Force survey occurred at the time the new Post Office Act was being passed, and shortly thereafter; and many respondents remarked on the apparent contradiction between this legislation and the motives for establishing the Task Force. They emphasized that the new postal rates were harmful to the distribution of publications and were therefore in conflict with an historic Canadian government policy. From 1867 down to the Sixties, Canadian governments had always encouraged communication, be it through railways, radio, air lines, television, the Trans-Canada Highway, or satellites. The new postal rates only served to increase the difficulties that Canadian publications must endure by comparison with publications that are posted to Canada from the United States. The new rates were blamed for killing off several journals that had been put out by Canadian non-profit associations, and for jeopardizing the survival of others. The blow to weekly newspapers was said to be severe, since

they depend on the post for most of their distribution.

The increase was all the more unpopular because many people felt the government had informed those most affected by it only at a very late date, and then only partially. No attention had been paid to the objections raised by taxpayers. "Government is obviously not well informed. The misleading statements made and the lack of basic understanding shown in the recent matter of second-class mailing rates are prime examples."

Several opinion leaders also raised the question of the status of the Parliamentary Press Gallery. They felt that if a government recognized the citizen's right to information, then it must also recognize that, for the press, attending Parliament was not a privilege but a right. Parliament was one of the more important sources of government information, and the right should extend not merely to a restricted category of reporters but to everyone who is involved in the business of news. According to some, there was no reason why the public affairs reporters for radio and television should not have access to the Press Gallery.

Some of the opinion leaders who advocated an open Press Gallery also felt there were certain weaknesses in the private mass media, and urged that the government make greater public use of the CBC and the National Film Board than it has in the past.

Two people put forward the idea of a "national" newspaper — a sort of CBC in print. Both felt that the reason why the government should produce a national publication of one sort or another was that private enterprise had allegedly failed to do it. One believed that this failure stemmed not from the resignation or apathy of the people but, rather, from ignorance and irresponsibility on the part of the commercial press.

Canadians were flooded with foreign reviews, magazines and books, they said, not to mention the influence of American radio and television. Even within Canadian press services, the sources of information on international politics were largely foreign. On top of this, the press in Canada had become so thoroughly commercial that its primary editorial preoccupation was the cheap production of information. They cited, as proof of this, the low salaries paid to Canadian Press reporters in Ottawa, and the great quantity and diversity of these reporters' daily assignments. They mentioned, as well, what they described as the stereotyped character of the newspapers in the Thomson chain, and their tendency to rely for their government news and comment on Canadian press and a few men in Ottawa. The concentration of the press had the effect of considerably reducing the number

of journalists giving much thought to government information. In Canada, it was suggested, the CBC alone had opened its doors to influences of social change, encouraging Canadian initiative in gathering and commenting on international events and, both at home and abroad, actually sending correspondents to check-out stories for themselves.

"A daring step must be attempted at the federal level. A government press must be established alongside the private press. The Government must found a CBC in print."

Conclusions to Paper V

The survey was extensive and informal. It was inevitable that, among all those we consulted by mail or interview, there would be some whose opinions were based either on inaccurate information or, perhaps, on so limited an experience as a single but memorably unsatisfactory incident involving one of the government information services. A few of the opinions may therefore appear to some as unfair. We felt, however, that in the interests of the public relations efforts of the information services concerned, they should at least know that such misapprehensions exist.

Several of the consumers of government information that the Task Force interviewed across the country, or surveyed by questionnaire, acknowledged that the government's information services enjoyed a certain measure of success, and others said they were simply unable to make any overall judgement. The proportion who were generally satisfied with federal information was 20 per cent, and the people who made up this 20 per cent were mostly businessmen and newsmen. This is not to say that most businessmen and media staff were satisfied — they were not — but only that the minority who were satisfied with the federal information services turned out to be mostly members of these two occupational groups. The satisfied group contained virtually no one from, for example, the welfare organizations.

As a rule, if we may generalize from our findings, the members of the public who are currently most aware of the federal information services are distinctly unhappy with these services. They express their dissatisfaction in many ways, but it is possible to reduce what they see as the chief shortcomings of federal information to five:

First, they reproach the information services for failing to distinguish among the different types of users of federal information, for failing properly to help the press, radio and television to meet the specific information requirements of all the assorted organizations and publics that have interests of their own in all the various regions of Canada.

Second, there is dissatisfaction with what many opinion leaders regard as the propensity of the information services for secrecy. There is a feeling that they are preoccupied with public relations at the expense of information; and that they lend themselves too easily to the private interests of the politicians or the narrow interests of departmental self-promotion, to the detriment of the voter's right to government information.

Third, some consumers of federal information recognized a disparity among the information services in both the quantity and quality of production. This disparity, these critics argued, suggest confusion and probably duplication of effort as well. They suspect a lack of interdepartmental co-ordination on the one hand and, on the other, an inevitable and consequent lack of co-ordination among the Federal Government and the provincial and municipal levels in their information efforts.

Fourth, the opinion leaders generally deplored the superficial and fragmentary quality of much federal information. They complained about the fact that government research is frequently unavailable, particularly the research that underlies new policies and programmes. They lamented the absence of simple, timely documentary information that goes to the heart of a matter.

Fifth, there was the problem of the absence of what might be called information on information. This failing keeps the public unaware of the information divisions' publications and the other tools of information that have already been established precisely to serve them.

In Part I of this paper, there was a parallel recognition of some of these shortcomings among those who are closely associated with government. The Members of Parliament, information officers, executive assistants and other former and current officials who gave their opinions to the Task Force indicated a certain amount of agreement about both the inadequacies of the current situation in government information, and the need for a general policy on information and new structures. There was not a great deal of agreement on specific solutions to the problems, but there was a clear call for some sort of change.

These people acknowledged the need for the highest level of government to enunciate a policy on public information that would apply to all departments and agencies of the government. They also acknowledged the problems in the co-ordination of information activities among federal departments themselves; and, in connection with joint programmes, between the federal administration and the provinces. There was general agreement that the government should establish

both a network of regional information offices and a central agency of information service. The suggestion for a central service ranged from a "clearing-house" operation to the forthright proposition that the government establish a "Central Information Authority" as a government department that would be answerable to Cabinet and authorized to cross the existing departmental lines. Among the politicians and some of the senior public servants, there appeared to be a fresh awareness that the information services are an essential part of government, and that their future effectiveness will depend on the recruitment of staff who are skilled in the uses of the various media, knowledgeable in the affairs of their departments, and authorized to participate in management.

Annex A

Guide to Reply sent to various opinion leaders

1. Given your particular interest in Federal Government information, do you believe that the services rendered are satisfactory?
 2. If not, where (in order of importance) does the service fall short of your expectation?
 3. What are the most important improvements you would like to see undertaken by the Federal Government?
 4. If improvements are to be introduced, which kind do you feel should have priority given your special needs:
 - improved specialization of personnel
 - and/or increased or decreased numbers of personnel
 - new institutions with which you would prefer to work or which would facilitate your work
 - new technical facilities not at present available
 - other structural changes.
 5. Do you believe the Canadian Government is sufficiently well-informed in areas of special interest to you?
 6. Is the Canadian Government, in your opinion, at present in a position to inform itself satisfactorily in your fields of interest?
 7. Do you think that the Federal Government should be in a position to collect information from the public at large or a particular section of it, in order to provide services to you on a scale in detail and at a speed greater than is at present perhaps the case?
 8. What limitations, if any, should government be bound by in its efforts to improve federal information services?
 9. Should you have any other comments you wish to add or indeed should you wish to set out your views in a format entirely different to the above guide, please do so.
-

Every modern industrial nation has groups of people that may be called Gatekeepers of information between the governed and those who govern. These include myriad voluntary associations, unions, class and ethnic groups, community and economic organizations, and the mass media. They are seldom mere distributors of information. They are more often leaders of opinion as well, and genuine influences on social and political behaviour. They may interpret social experience, and make both direct and indirect demands on government and on society as a whole. Such Gatekeepers often assume an important rôle in society. David Easton, in *A System's Analysis of Political Life* (1965), described this rôle in the following way:

"Within the limits of their positions and rôles, parties, opinion leaders, the intelligentsia – where they are a political force – and the mass media similarly may search out the wants of what may in this context appropriately be called the silent ones in the system, the less articulate. And, as in the case of interest groups, each of these units may also initiate demands as a reflection of their own independently felt wants... hence, these members or organizations are critical 'Gatekeepers' standing at the boundary of the system and controlling the initiation of demands."

The Task Force considered several of these groups of Gatekeepers involved in the social communication of the country but the one that emerged as the most important and obvious influence on the flow of Federal Government information was the mass media, and the journalists who work in print, radio and television. One example of how the mass media gets its information was extensively documented in some studies prepared in the summer of 1967 for the Department of External Affairs. The studies included a content analysis of coverage of several international events in Canadian newspapers: The Middle East crisis, Vietnam, a NATO ministerial meeting in Luxembourg, the Kosygin-Johnson meeting, the Nigerian situation, and the Canadian-U.S. consultations in Montreal. The results indicated that although Canadian newspapers give extensive space to international news, particularly in critical times, they rely very heavily on foreign news services. This was true of both English and French language papers. Roughly half of all the news and interpretation concerning the six issues came directly from foreign news agencies. Canadian staff accounted for fewer than two out of five stories.

Canadian Press served newspapers in both French and English. United Press International served some papers in each language group. Associated Press and Reuters, however, served English-language papers almost exclusively, and

the French-language papers of Canada appeared to be heavily reliant for their international news on only one source, and that was *Agence France Presse*.

The CBC has correspondents abroad. Canadian Press, and a handful of newspapers, have correspondents in other countries, as well. And occasionally Canadian statesmen take Canadian journalists along with them on foreign trips. But, as a rule, the Canadian media depend heavily on foreign reporters; and the Canadian people get the bulk of their international news through foreign filters. The mass media, as Gatekeepers of information, also have certain failings on the domestic scene, and some of the unpublished research undertaken for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism by Hawley Black offers an interesting illustration of the limitations on the reporting of national news. This research has its shortcomings – at least for our purposes. It is already somewhat dated and it addressed itself to questions that, while related, do not bear directly on certain areas that might have interested us most. It was completed in 1966, and even then it was not a thoroughly comprehensive study of Canadian reporting of the activities of Canadian Government. However, some of its findings are perhaps still relevant to an understanding of the way government information reaches people, or does not reach people, and we have considered these at some length. At the same time, there has been no fundamental change since 1966 in the principles that underlay the particular points we noted. We were able to gather other data and opinions from meetings with Gallery officers and from exchanges, written and oral, with other Gallery members. But, at no time did the Gallery as a professional group find it possible to meet with us or to submit a collective brief. We had no desire to investigate the Gallery when there was a piece of research already in existence, portions of which had a bearing on our subject. Besides, as referred to in Paper v, there were some interesting observations on the Gallery arising out of the questionnaire which we circulated to leading editors, columnists, etc.

Aside from the newspapers published in Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa, very few Canadian newspapers carry much staff-written material on national events. Most of them depend to a great degree on the Canadian Press wire agency and, even among those large papers that do have staff in Ottawa, the Ottawa service of Canadian Press appears to be a vital supplement. Only about 20 daily papers in Canada have their own men in the Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa and nearly half the newspapermen there are working for papers in Toronto, Montreal and

Ottawa. Even when you allow for the fact that Canadian Press is itself a creature of the vast bulk of Canadian newspapers, it is clear that the Press Gallery even today represents a fairly small group of men and institutions and that it is, at the same time, perhaps the most powerful Gatekeeper of Federal Government information. The Gallery is unquestionably the most important instrument of political communication in the country.

It is worth a closer look.¹ The Gallery, according to the Canadian Parliamentary Guide, is "a voluntary, self-governing body, subject to the authority of the Speaker in matters affecting House of Commons discipline and management." Unofficially, of course, it is much more than that. Its ethical standards are undefined. The legal position and the extra-gallery professional interests of its members are not well defined, but the rights and perquisites of membership are clear and significant. Gallery members have the exclusive right to take notes in the House of Commons and Senate Chambers, and the importance of this to anyone working for the mass media is obvious. Parliament provides members of the Gallery with certain benefits: working space, cabinets, desks, stationery, telephones, messengers, and free copies of some government publications. Members of the Gallery may also use the Government and Opposition lobbies, and the Parliamentary Restaurant and cafeterias. They, alone among the public, have the official right to information on budget and Throne speeches before these utterances are made in Parliament. In addition, Gallery members get some free travel. The Prime Minister, Cabinet Ministers and the Leaders of the Opposition are often accompanied on their forays by newsmen, mostly from the Gallery. Their air fares are sometimes paid out of the public purse.

As long ago as 1957, Wilfrid Eggleston wrote that "Membership in the Press Gallery in Ottawa is the top prize for the ambitious political reporter," and that is perhaps almost as true now as it was then, and as it was decades before. The prize, however, is not entirely one of status. (Speaking of status, a paper read to the Canadian Association of Sociology and Anthropology in June of 1966 indicated that Canadians regard journalists as roughly level with public relations men, grade-school teachers and draughtsmen. It is possible, however, that those surveyed were thinking only of ordinary journalists, and not members of the Gallery.) Aside from status, there is the matter of money. The Gallery, for its more ambitious and energetic denizens, is a mecca of moonlighting.

1. A broader examination of this and related questions is currently under way in the Senate.

An examination of all commentary shows on the CBC network, during a three-month period in 1966, found that 40 per cent of 265 English-language radio and television programmes originated in Ottawa, and so did 22 per cent of the 209 French-language shows in the study. The members of the Gallery – perhaps through their ability, or their near-monopoly on the collection of Federal Government news, or their availability and competence – tended to dominate the Ottawa segments of these shows. The newspapermen in the Gallery are hired, of course, to cover the federal scene for their employers. But because many of them not only appear on the CBC or private broadcasting stations but also serve as "stringers" for other newspapers, both their income and their zone of influence is larger than their home newspapers provide.

The rate of turnover in Gallery membership appears to be somewhat high. Of the 80 members at the time of the 1956 Pipeline Debate, 22 had left by 1958; there were 28 new members. By 1961, 47 of the Pipeline veterans remained, and a total of 69 new members had arrived. Some of the newcomers were members of the newer media. According to a 1969 Gallery list, 30 radio and television journalists cover Parliament, compared to 22 in 1966. As well, in this three-year period, the members representative of daily newspapers has gone up slightly, with Toronto newspapers accounting for most of the increase.

Most of the general reporting from the Gallery is left to the Canadian Press and, in addition, its stories are often used as the basis for stories by other Gallery men. It is the largest single group there (in 1966, it had fifteen English-speaking and two French-speaking reporters) and its Gallery staff covers more than a dozen federal beats. Southam News Service, which had four men in 1966, was serving about half a million readers. The Ottawa Citizen, alone among Southam dailies had its own men in the Gallery. The Sifton-Bell newspapers (Free Press Publications) had one correspondent accredited to the Gallery, though some of the papers in this chain had men of their own there as well. Only two men worked in the Gallery for all the Thomson newspapers in Canada. (A 1969 Gallery membership list showed 16 staffers with Canadian Press and two with La Presse Canadienne; the Southam Bureau had seven members – although the Citizen was still the only Southam daily with its own reporters in the Gallery; the F-P bureau had two members and the Thomson bureau still had two.)

Most of the work that these men do involves interpretative stories, inside material, corridor button-holing.

they tend to leave the vital daily coverage of what is going on in the House to Canadian Press. More than half of the 15,000 to 20,000 words that CP-Ottawa sends across the country every day relates directly to the activities of Parliament and, in this general connection, the comment of one of the Gallery's own prominent members was instructive. He told the Task Force:

"Although the most important, the Gallery is probably the smallest consumer of Government information. The interest in government information is spasmodic. The real consumers are fishermen, exporters, etc. The Gallery is concerned with political information, policies, political angles."

Perhaps it is at least partly because of this professional and understandable preoccupation with the drama of politics, as opposed to the mechanics of government, that our research indicates that, among Gallery men, public information officers are about as low on the list of sources for information and ideas as they could possibly be. This situation, however, is also a result of a failure in the government's system of information services. Gallery members told the Task Force that the information officers frequently fail to reply to questions immediately or even on the same day. Often, they just don't know anything that is useful to the reporter. Some information officers are plain timid. Only a few information officers had earned the respect of the Gallery members who spoke with us.

Some Gallery members said they would like to be able to consult information officers who would be able to provide instant answers, for a change, and who would be lofty enough in the government structure to do some informed speculation. We need people ready to participate in a dialogue with reporters, to brief them, to discuss with them. At the present time, reporters avoid the information officers like the plague. We consult them like we consult the *Canada Yearbook*."

The reporters in the Gallery prefer to rely for their news and knowledge, not on information officers but rather on Cabinet Ministers and the private staffs of Cabinet Ministers; on Deputy Ministers; on other officials who are more exalted in the administration than information officers; on MP's tips; and, perhaps to a degree no one can measure exactly, on relying on one another for information. In any event, 40 per cent of the Gallery journalists who were asked what level of government departments they usually used as source material, said the "ministerial" level, including the Minister's private staff. Thirty-five per cent chose "government officials", and only eight per cent information officers. As a rule, the English-speaking journalists had contacts at

more levels than the French-speaking, who appeared to be most dependent on sources at the political level.

Again, the 1966 survey indicated that 38 per cent of the journalists who cover federal affairs use their own colleagues as sources of story ideas. It is not impossible that exchanging carbon copies of stories, and fraternal conversation among journalists, are fairly significant sources of federal news. It makes one wonder about the "good many observers" and "some backbenchers" and the "many parliamentarians" to whom Ottawa stories are so frequently attributed.

In "The Truth About Parliament" (*Maclean's*, April 17, 1965), June Callwood, a writer whose opinions were unfettered by membership in the Gallery herself, had this to say:

"Many critics continue to clobber the Gallery for a variety of real or imagined faults, among them the technique of interviewing one another, a time-saver that results in stories stuffed with 'well-informed sources' . . . and may contribute to the frequent manifestation of the Gallery phenomenon of Identical Inspiration, in which essentially the same story appears simultaneously in thirty newspapers across the country."

(The phenomenon of "Identical Inspiration", appears to have influenced even some of the press comments on the study of the Gallery undertaken on behalf of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Most of these comments applied to other sections of the interview schedule, but those that appeared to reveal "Identical Inspiration" concerned the journalists' section. Three of the five Gallery men who commented on the interview schedule specifically recalled a question that had not been asked. Two more said they had checked with "experienced members of the Gallery" or their "colleagues.")

In 1964, it was stated in the proceedings of the Canadian Institute of Public Affairs that, "The Members of the Gallery drink together, they write together, they talk together . . . Do they not tend to have one general opinion and not one individual opinion?"

A senior editor of a large Canadian daily newspaper, which is something of a local monopoly, told the Task Force that the paper "... makes a conscious effort to balance on its editorial pages the occasional lemming-like tendencies of the Press Gallery, a place which often produces a singular unanimity of thought." The editor asked the Task Force not to interpret his thinking "as a polemic against those worthy people (in the Ottawa Press Gallery). Some of my best friends are in the Press Gallery, and I wouldn't object to my daughter marrying one. I do object though to leaving

my critical faculty almost exclusively dependent upon material Press Gallery members choose to transmit . . . In these days of monopoly journalism . . . it is essential that the determination of ideas not be left in the hands of any one group, however capable, be it the reporters on the city hall beat or the Press Gallery men in Ottawa . . ." Some of the MPs and executive assistants to Cabinet Ministers whom the Task Force interviewed regarded this unanimity as potentially unhealthy to the democratic life of the country. They referred to an increasingly influential "power bloc" among a few of the more competent members of the Gallery.

The correction of this situation, according to one submission to the Task Force, is a larger membership in the Gallery:

"The present control and construction of the Press Gallery in Ottawa is outmoded and inhibiting. Far too many agencies and responsible individuals are denied access to regular information by the exclusiveness of that control. Much greater legitimate access is necessary in order to fulfil the citizen's right to information. While some sort of accreditation is necessary the present basis must be substantially expanded."

It is tempting to criticize the Gallery members for coffee-break interviews among themselves, for trading carbons of their stories, and for presenting the country with a kind of Gallery consensus. It is also unfair and simplistic. These practices arise, when they do arise, because many Gallery members work under extraordinary pressure from their home offices to produce extravagant amounts of copy and, frequently, because these same home offices do not choose to send adequate numbers of staff to Ottawa.

Nor would we want to suggest that the Gallery members are themselves reprehensible because they some-times appear to be exclusively concerned with "political information, policies, political angles." Their business is, after all, news of the sort that the bulk of their newspapers' readers are prepared to pay to get, and the bulk of their television and radio audiences are willing to sit still to see and hear. Gallery members have little power of decision over how much of this news occurs. It happens. Politicians, and particularly those in power, can make it happen virtually at will, and the Gallery can hardly be expected not to record it. Gallery reporters are often the victims of certain elements of slavery to their profession or, at least, of circumstances they must acknowledge but cannot control. If it is wrong to shoot the bearer of bad tidings, it may also be wrong to shoot the bearer of trivial tidings.

In this general connection, the study of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism indicated that 29

per cent of Press Gallery journalists usually wrote for their editors or superiors. (Thirty-seven per cent wrote for "all readers equally," 11 per cent for policy-makers, and another 11 per cent for opinion leaders.) Half of them are clearly aware of their papers' policies on certain important areas of national news. This awareness, not surprisingly, may also work in reverse; reporters frequently give MPs what is supposed to be feed-back from the reporter's readers but what is, in fact, his editor's opinion.

A final note on language problems which, in the Gallery, must come to all men: forty per cent of the English-speaking Ottawa newsmen in 1966 said they had found some difficulty in getting information from Federal Government departments in their own writing language; all their French-speaking colleagues had the same problem. Two per cent of English-speaking Gallery members said they ran into this problem often; 57 per cent of the French-speaking reporters ran into it often. Twenty-six per cent of the English-speaking journalists said that, when they first came to the Gallery, they had trouble making contacts; 44 per cent of the French-speaking journalists had the same trouble. Clearly, the French-speaking Gatekeepers in the Gallery have a harder time than the English-speaking Gatekeepers.

Conclusions and Recommendations

For international news, the Canadian media rely heavily on foreign news agencies, chiefly American and French. For domestic news of federal government affairs, the Press Gallery in Ottawa is an especially important Gatekeeper. The Task Force did not conduct content analyses, or readership and audience research of its own concerning the Gallery and its output, but the data in this chapter draws some attention to the importance of the Ottawa press corps.

The Gallery is the major interpreter of the Federal Government to Canadians — not only in the stories its members write or broadcast for their own employers, but also in their considerable freelance efforts for CBC opinion shows and other written and broadcast outlets. It is not, however, fully representative of the country. Almost half of the newspaper reporters there work for Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa newspapers; and, even in urban areas, press coverage tends to be dominated by Canadian Press or bureaux serving large chains. Only about 20 daily papers have their own correspondents in the Gallery.

The situation is similar in broadcasting. Most radio stations rely on Canadian Press' Broadcast News for voice reports; or on Canadian broadcasting organizations that

provide services that are often allied to the major American broadcasting systems. Television stations tend to rely on CBC or CTV coverage.

Nearly a third of Canada is French-speaking. There are proportionately fewer newspapers in the French language than there are in English, but it is still regrettable that fewer than one-sixth of all the reporters in the Gallery who represent Canadian newspapers write in French.

Most Gallery members thrive on hard, political news. News from departments can be important to the Canadian public, but the Gallery tends to ignore the less colourful events at the administrative level of government. Media in the United States and Britain cover the news from government departments by assigning special reporters to departmental beats.

In its political reporting, the Gallery operates under severe handicaps. These include tight deadlines; high turnovers; limited access to information; small staffs (about a dozen dailies have Gallery staffs of more than one); and, in the case of French-Canadian reporters, the problem of getting information in their own language.

A government that wants to communicate fully with the Canadian public might consider a number of ways to improve the Gallery's ability to do its work. More frequent use of background papers, briefings and new ground rules on access to government information should assume fresh and major importance. The government needs bilingual information officers who are themselves well-briefed, and have access to all levels of the administration.

In addition to responding to the Gallery's needs, however, the government should appreciate that there are areas of interest that the Gallery cannot serve.

We recommend that :

1. The government give greater recognition to the function and requirements of the Ottawa Press Gallery, in particular, by facilitating access to official information, by improving existing channels of communication between the Public Service and the Gallery, and by making more background information available in the two official languages.
2. The government should also give greater recognition to its responsibility to ensure that official information reaches all sections of the Canadian public.

! & ?

Federal Information Services: Departments and Agencies

- vii Notes on the Historical Development of
Federal Information Services
- viii Finances, Structures and Personnel
- ix Specialized Information Activities
- x The Big Four
Department of Manpower and Immigration
Department of Agriculture
Queen's Printer
Dominion Bureau of Statistics
- xi Case Studies in the Current Information Process
- xii Canadian Information Abroad

VII Notes on the Historical Development of Federal Information Services

The information services of Canadian Government departments have left only a scant record of their activities during the past 100 years. Little has been sorted out, even less has been written down. For a service committed to communicate, this dearth of historical communication is curious if not extraordinary.

The notes that follow are based on scattered and sparse records, on the annual reports of departments, and on brief interviews with public servants and former public servants. This paper is therefore not an attempt at a comprehensive history of the information services of the Government of Canada. It is merely an introduction to that history, and an aid to understanding why the information services are the way they are today.

Familiar influences have shaped the pattern of the country's growth and, inevitably, they have also influenced the development of departments of government. These influences include our colonial past, our complex geography, our proximity to the United States, and our small and culturally diverse population. The pressures of regionalism and pluralism have been periodic and powerful and they, and the federalist response to these pressures, have contributed to the general restraint and caution that we bring to the major issues of our time. It is not surprising then to find that consecutive Federal Governments have reacted in conservative ways to the problem of information presentation; nor to find, on occasion, that the only official who felt strongly enough to break the conservatism and take some personal initiative to steer the course of information policy was the Prime Minister of the day.

The Good Old Days

Government information activity as we know it today is essentially a development of the years since the Second World War, but its origins are rooted in Canada's colonial past. The economic frustrations that resulted from Britain's repeal of its emigration laws in the middle Nineteenth Century prompted the colonies of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and the Province of Canada to initiate one of our earliest efforts at overseas self-promotion. The colonies determined to advertise themselves at the International Exhibition at London's Crystal Palace in 1851. They assembled furs and feathers, minerals, a cutter, stuffed wild-life heads, a painting of caribou, an exhibit of timber showing both rough-hewn and finished surfaces, and other familiar North American wares. Inevitably, they were competing with one another and, from the beginning, demonstrated the lack of co-ordination which would one day haunt

information services. They did agree, however, on the appointment of a commissioner and he reduced the exhibit entries to a mere 244. The Illustrated London News reported that 69 of them earned awards. It was a flamboyant effort for an unborn country.

Following Confederation, government information activities developed in step with the growth of the government departments concerned with economic expansion. The great emphasis in Canadian Government then was on settlement and development and, somewhat ponderously, the government turned to whatever information techniques were available to spread its message. Exhibitions continued to be very much in favour (in the history of the Canadian Government, the roots of Expo 67 are honourable and old). In 1876, Canada exhibited at Bryant Park, New York. In 1878, it displayed its wares at the Paris Exhibition. In addition to the federal activities, the provinces were still busily working to initiate, organize and ship exhibits, just as they had done before Confederation. By 1901, Canadian exhibition activity had become so considerable that the Prime Minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, decided to rationalize at least the federal arrangements. He established a single, federal agency – the Canadian Exhibition Commission – to co-ordinate all of Canada's national and international exhibitions. The establishment of the Canadian Exhibition Commission was probably the first time that a Canadian Prime Minister became so personally concerned about the confusion in government information activities that he felt impelled to impose on them some degree of co-ordination and efficiency. In March 1902, the government appointed the first full-time commissioner to the Exhibition Commission.

The Commission reported to the Department of Agriculture, and Agriculture may be regarded as the father of all official Canadian Government information efforts. In that distant time, no one bothered to define "information." Agriculture did not define its information staff, and it had little grasp of the scope and application of information techniques. Nevertheless, its first steps in what was in fact public information laid the foundation for what would become one of the largest, most ambitious and highly organized information divisions in the Federal Government. The Department of Agriculture rapidly became the pillar of government information. Until 1890, Immigration was under its jurisdiction. After 1873, "arts and manufacturers" were also among its responsibilities. Agriculture organized trade fairs, supported the first government publications, and it records probably the earliest departmental effort to publish public information in both English and French.

Government information, however, was far from being exclusively a departmental activity. At the political level, Cabinet Ministers were often directly involved in information. Indeed, one of Canada's earliest "promoters" was Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior in Laurier's Cabinet. Arthur Lower, in his book *Colony to Nation*, has described Sifton's promotional zeal: "By resorting to an intensive campaign of advertising and soliciting, by inducements to steamship companies, by a most extraordinary system of European agents and others financially interested, he caught the attention first of people in Great Britain and then of more and more remote Europeans. He seems to have had an eye single to the task in hand, 'filling up the country', and to have been indifferent to the problems of assimilation, social, political and religious, that he was entailing on posterity." Apparently, Sifton's methods, assisted by the realities of the time, had considerable effect. Between 1892 and 1912, there were about 2,339,000 arrivals to Canada from the United States, Britain and continental Europe.

The relationship between the government's interest in economic expansion and the development of information services expressed itself tangibly in 1892 when the government founded the Trade and Commerce Department. The establishment of Trade and Commerce followed intensive lobbying by Canadian businessmen, and it soon became a major government instrument of information dispersal. It set up a broad network of trade commissioners to promote and publicize Canadian exports. The Department established a weekly bulletin, and distributed it widely. From the beginning, Trade and Commerce circulated material in both English and French and, indeed, with the exception of certain pamphlets designed for English areas, it issued all of its information publications in both languages.

One of the Canadian Government's oldest and most successful publications was the inspiration of a publicity-minded Trade and Commerce officer named F.C.T. O'Hara. O'Hara decided it would be useful to collect business statistics from the Customs Department (there was no Dominion Bureau of Statistics in those days) and publish them for businessmen who were trying to expand their markets. In addition, he published the reports of whatever trade commissioners had recently returned from overseas. O'Hara's efforts proved so useful that his idea grew into the first edition, in 1904, of "Foreign Trade." Today, "Foreign Trade" continues to advise Canadian businessmen on markets abroad.

An early information "medium" in Canadian Government information activity was the lecturer. As early as 1863 Agriculture had employed lecturers to boost immigration and

promote settlement. In 1908, Trade and Commerce hired 12 "outside service lecturers" to promote its first programme of Old Age Annuities. Richard Cartwright, Minister of Trade and Commerce, reported in a letter to Prime Minister Laurier that he was satisfied with the efforts of the 12 paid lecturers. A departmental report, however, published before the election of September 1911, was less enthusiastic. Despite the energetic publicity, it noted, the sale of Annuities by 1911 had amounted to only 1,709 contracts, valued at \$805,000. The cost of administering the programme, however, had been very high, and it was possible that the speakers' panel cost Trade and Commerce more than it received in contracts.

Throughout the years before the first World War the printed word was the one great medium of information. Newspaper editorials ran to two or three columns. Government departments were publishing pamphlets, leaflets, brochures and all manner of printed material in substantial quantities, and they were publishing them in both French and English. Some Departments, such as Trade and Commerce and Labour, produced bulletins and brochures in both languages for distribution at home and abroad. The Department of Agriculture distributed pamphlets across Canada to assist immigrant farmers. Pamphlets and brochures from Immigration flowed to Europe in 20 languages to encourage immigration and to advise immigrants how to earn a living once they had reached Canada.

In view of all this, it is not surprising to learn that the origins of the Queen's Printer are almost as old as Confederation itself. In 1869, the Federal Government decided to keep a close eye on its printing and binding contracts with private firms and, on June 22, royal assent was granted to the Bill that created a Queen's Printer. His job was to award all printing and binding contracts and to supervise all government printing, including the *Statutes of Canada*, the *Canada Gazette* and parliamentary and departmental documents. His salary was not to exceed \$2,000 annually. By 1886, printing requirements had grown so much that the government decided to expand the Queen's Printer operations to include a Department of Printing and Stationery, under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of State.

Many government departments, however, were extremely slow even to use print for information purposes, not because they distrusted print but because they had no great regard for the idea of spreading information. Finance and Justice, for instance, apparently thought that their affairs were too specialized for explanation by information staff, and did not develop public information services of any kind. Mackenzie

King, Deputy Minister of the newly-formed Department of Labour, in 1900, founded *The Labour Gazette*, which is the oldest continuing information publication in the government. The intention of Parliament was that the *Gazette* would be an objective, official organ to present statistical and legal information in the field of labour. But that was about all the public information the Department was allowed to publish. Indeed, the Labour Department postponed formal acknowledgement of information services until after the Second World War, more than four decades later.

Before 1914, government information efforts lacked both foresight and what we would now describe as professionalism. An Information and Editorial Service was set up in the Mines Department in 1907, but such developments were rare. The major activities continued to occur in two Departments – Agriculture and Trade and Commerce – where there was a direct relationship between information and, in the narrowest sense, national profit. There was no real conception of the need to develop expertise and specialization in information so that the government might explain to the people exactly what it was doing and why. Indeed, there was no general awareness that such explanations were even a responsibility of a democratic government. There was no thought in those days of using information to reflect to the country itself, and to other nations, the bicultural and pluralistic qualities of Canada. Nevertheless, in the years immediately before the First World War, the Departments of Trade and Commerce, Agriculture and External Affairs (which had been formed in 1907) did begin to move Canada further than it had ever gone before in overseas information activities.

The first mention of information services in a departmental annual report, that of Agriculture in 1912, is a reference to the international aspects of the Department's new Publications Branch. The Branch had been organized "for the purpose of dealing with the International Agriculture Institute." Canada was a member of the Institute, which had its headquarters in Rome; and, through Agriculture's Publications Branch, Canada contributed a continuous flow of data for use in the Institute's four monthly bulletins to the member nations.

The Publications Branch developed extensive mailing lists among the farming and business communities across Canada, numbering some 150,000 English and French names. Agriculture's annual report of 1912 also mentioned that the Branch, in addition to its dealings with the Institute, would be responsible for the general distribution of all the Department's publications. The annual report recorded the

Department's satisfaction with the new information service. Praise for the work of the Branch came from another quarter, the November 1, 1912, issue of *The Civilian*, which, for a time, was a curious and unique voice from the civil service. Occasionally it attacked what it regarded as the government's reprehensible attitude in information matters.

The Civilian began in May 1908, and its first issue declared it had been founded by four "energetic young" civil servants as a "journal devoted to the interests of the Civil Service of Canada." *The Civilian* of March 8, 1913 criticized the four-and-a-half year-old Civil Service Commission for its attitude towards providing information on its activities. It accused the Commission of hiding behind its rights of privilege, and the accusations prompted a printed debate about the Commission's approach in subsequent issues of the magazine.

The Civilian had a readership among Civil servants and those interested in government affairs both in Ottawa and across the country. It published articles on a broad range of topics but its references to information matters were fairly rare. A letter in an issue of 1911, however, does illustrate the difficulties that citizens encountered in pursuing government information. It was headed "Information Please" and was written by a student to a "leading government official." The student requested information on the following subjects: "the law and the latest regulations relating to the Canadian Navy; also the law on the subject of the Manitoba schools, and reports of the more important discussions in the House of Commons on these two subjects... a copy of the proposed law of reciprocity in natural products between Canada and the United States..." The "leading government official" felt the request most unreasonable: "It would take a week to collect the information... There ought to be some man to whom could be referred such letters as this, a man of wide knowledge and easy temper, and with a liking for work. He could establish good relations with all the departments and could soon learn the sources of much of the information correspondents ask for."

He was suggesting a one-man referral centre and central office for government information but, at the time and for decades to come, such ideas were purest wishful thinking. In the early nineteen hundreds, government departments were moving conservatively and reluctantly in information matters. Thus, *The Labour Gazette* – although it was attacked as Mackenzie King's personal information organ – was an unusual recognition of the demands of the new urbanization and industrialization. It was a virtually unprecedented government publication, a tangible effort in print

to take account of the changing social and economic conditions of the country in communicating to the people.

But, to whatever extent political motives had inspired King to found *The Labour Gazette*, the publication was not unusual at all. The fact that the departments generally failed to recognize the public service rôle of information did not mean that the politicians failed to recognize its importance. The politicians, the political parties and, in addition, many more or less objective and responsible citizens, all had a hand in spreading information about government policies.

The period 1910-12 provides an interesting illustration of how this information process worked. The major issues of the day involved trade reciprocity with the United States and legislating a new Naval Bill, and both figured largely in the election of 1911. The records of the Departments of Agriculture, Secretary of State, Mines, Labour, Trade and Commerce and the King's Printer might have been used to provide the public with information on government policy concerning these two issues, but they were not. The departmental reports for these years mentioned neither the Navy Bill nor the Reciprocity issue. The public record, however, was far from silent.

The chief publisher of pamphlets that defended the stand of Sir Robert Borden, the Prime Minister after the election in September 1911, was the Federal Press Agency of Ottawa – the “Central Publications and Distribution Office for the Liberal-Conservative Party of Canada.” The Federal Press Agency's efforts included “The Splendid Record of the Borden Government,” “Liberals and the Naval Emergency,” and a series on “Laurierism and the Empire.” Many of these pamphlets were heavily critical of the Naval policy of the Liberal Government under Laurier.

The Liberals, too, had their Central Information Office, and its job was to attack the Borden Government in such publications as “Canadian Defence and the Navy Question” and “*Le Bill de la Marine* – 1910,” which outlined the Navy issue for French language readers.

In both the French- and English-language press, editorial comment on the naval and reciprocity issues was constant throughout 1910-12, and so was the flow of material into Canada from Britain and the United States. In 1911, for example, Canadians were exposed to President Taft's documentation of the U.S. position on the reciprocity issue; and to “Tariff Relations of Canada,” which was written by a tariff expert in the U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor. The Washington Government Printing Office had projected both these missives to Canada.

Domestic publications ranged from the blatantly partisan to the fairly objective. The publisher of one domestic pamphlet on reciprocity – “Progress or Whitneyism: Which?” – said it had been compiled and edited by C. R. Mabey, who “has been a conservative all his life.” Another pamphlet, this one a reasonably objective discussion of the economic aspects of trade treaties, was entitled “Reciprocity – The Trade Treaty of 1854-66, between Canada and the United States – How it Came to be Negotiated and Why It Was Annulled.” Biggar-Wilson Limited of Toronto published it, and it sold for 10 cents a copy.

The significance of all this, in relation to the history of government information services, is that no part of the great volume of printed material on the naval and reciprocity issues was the product of any government department or combination of government departments. Agriculture might use information to assist settlers, Trade and Commerce might use information to promote Canadian sales abroad but, when it came to using information to explain to the people the great government issues of the time, the job was left to partisan interests.

Partisan and political considerations also crept, embarrassingly, into the operations of the King's Printer. The scandal concerned patronage, which has never been entirely exiled from the considerations of Canadian Governments. The granting of departmental printing contracts, during 1910 and 1911, apparently did not satisfy the scrutiny of the Opposition. In 1912, the new Borden Government dismissed several employees of the Government Printing Bureau on the grounds that they had been actively partisan in the election of 1911.

The outbreak of war, however, raised issues that overshadowed the political controversies of the moment. Provincial leaders – such as Ontario's Sir Oliver Mowat (1872-1897) and Quebec's Honoré Mercier (1887-1891) – had been able to attract considerable national attention in the decades after Confederation, but now even provincial sensitivities became secondary concerns. In Ottawa, at least, even the significant development of Quebec nationalism and anti-colonialism, appeared to have settled down. For the next four years, the war effort absorbed all major federal activity.

The First World War

In the years before and during the first war, annual reports and other departmental publications rarely referred specifically to anything called an information service or information division. In 1916, however, *The Civilian* issued

special war commemorative edition and it shed some light on information activities in the government. It noted, for example, that the war had already greatly increased information activity in the Department of the Secretary of State:

"There is in Canada, as in every other civilized country, an official Gazette in which government proclamations and all kinds of legally-required notices appear. Mistakes are often made in other newspapers and are overlooked by an indulgent public. But 'The Canada Gazette' is not allowed to make mistakes, for everybody is supposed to note what appears in its columns and to govern himself accordingly. This publication is the special business of the Secretary of State. With the growing population of the country, the multiplication of incorporated companies, the increase in the number of divorces, and other accompaniments of a hectic civilization, 'The Canada Gazette' even before the war, was rapidly increasing in size and in the importance and complexity of its contents. But when the war came on, the Gazette became at once a medium of commanding interest. Proclamation followed proclamation, many of them so vital to the public at large or to great sections of it that The Gazette has to issue extras, just like an evening paper when great news 'breaks' from the front."

The Department of the Secretary of State was also responsible for a Press Censorship Branch, which came into being as soon as Canada declared war, and continued until peacetime. Hector Charlesworth, in his book *More Candid Chronicles* (1928), recalled that the Chief Censor, Ernest Chambers, undertook his difficult office in a "broadminded and considerate" manner. Charlesworth also said that: "Unlike many Canadian newspapermen I was heartily in accord with the general spirit of war censorship... The principles inculcated by the censor and accepted by Canadian editors... enabled important matters to be carried on in secrecy without fear of disclosure."

Charlesworth's book, however, also indicates that some Canadians, such as Henri Bourassa, found censorship less than agreeable: "Moral suasion was sometimes rather 'thick', as when a group of Ontario editors were asked to refrain from criticism of... Henri Bourassa if the owners of *Le Devoir* would undertake to see that he remained silent for the remainder of the war."

For the most part, the period of censorship proceeded as an accepted necessity of war. "Press censorship," said the wartime commemorative issue of *The Civilian*, "is a voluntary renunciation by the publishers of Canada, for the time being, of rights which they have hitherto enjoyed." And Charlesworth recalled: "The only instance of a well-estab-

lished newspaper being confiscated and suppressed by Colonel Chambers was that of a weekly at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, conducted by an old and most amusing newspaper comrade of mine who had always been irresponsible... Charles Napoleon Smith."

The commemorative issue of *The Civilian* also cited the special wartime information work of the Census and Statistics Branch of Trade and Commerce: "Numerous inquiries as to resources and other matters concerning Canada have been answered from the vast fund of statistics available in this Branch. The Quinquennial Census of the western provinces, taken in 1916, afforded a valuable survey of conditions existing there in the second year of the war... A special industrial census of the Dominion has also been taken since the war began."

The October 26, 1917, issue of *The Civilian* recorded Parliament's growing concern over the cost of government publications. The Parliamentary Committee on Government Printing, expressed its alarm over the continuous rise in printing costs, and recommended stringent supervision of government publishing activities. The Committee felt the government should further develop such cost-saving measures as the printing of combined English-French publications, rather than separate editions. It also recommended the formation of a government editorial board to reduce the volume of government publishing. (One piece of non-government publishing that suffered absolute reduction a few years later was *The Civilian*. Its last issue was in May of 1921.)

The First World War changed Canada both economically and politically. At its end, agriculture still held its firm place in the economy but manufacturing, spurred by wartime demands and United States investment, had grown dramatically. With industrialization, came urbanization, and the myriad social problems that governments – and their information services – would one day be expected to help solve.

Between the Wars

The years between the First and Second World Wars were dominated, first, by the problems that arose from the post-war boom and dislocation of the Twenties; and, second, by the problems that came from The Depression. These two different eras worked their separate influences on government activity, the growth of departments and, to some extent, the status and function of government information.

The pressure of social needs weakened traditional political conservatism, and governments moved into broad fields

of social legislation. The Federal Government, with its financial resources and its national responsibilities, was compelled by circumstances to develop new policies and new legislation. Government departments grew, and so did their information services. Expanding national wealth, expanding educational facilities, increasing social tensions, these influences gave a fresh urgency to the need to spread information. The developing technology made information dispersal easier than it had ever been before. And yet, with rare exceptions, the information services of the Federal Government continued down an unimaginative and uncoordinated path.

The Civil Service Act of 1918, although it required that all public servants be hired through the Civil Service Commission, and no longer as political appointments, did not lead to the hiring of professional skills in information. Nor did it lead to a development in Canada of government information and publicity techniques already in use in Britain and the United States.

Information activities continued to receive scant mention in annual reports and other official publications. The second annual report of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, however, which covered 1918-19, did note that the Department had established a publicity bureau. The new bureau had a director of publicity at Ottawa, and a director of publicity, western division, based in Winnipeg. This was one of the earliest uses in Canadian Government of a regional title for an information officer. By 1921, according to an annual report to the Acting Deputy Minister, the publicity bureau had initiated such activities as "producing booklets and publications, lectures and motion pictures." The films were produced through the new government Motion Picture Bureau and, again, the reference was one of the first in government to departmental film activity. The publicity bureau of Immigration and Colonization was also able to report in 1921 that it had escorted groups of U.S. journalists through parts of the country on special trains.

In addition, Immigration's publicity staff conducted advertising campaigns - particularly in newspapers that circulated among American farmers - and published booklets such as "Eastern Canada." "Eastern Canada" came out in two editions, one for the U.S. (38,350 copies) and one for the UK (55,800 copies). In the UK, Immigration also printed 300,000 copies of the booklet "Canada, Where, When and How?" The Department co-operated with Trade and Commerce in 1921 to gather negatives for silent motion pictures which were screened in public halls across the United States. Occasionally, Immigration sent out its own photo-

grapher to cover special events and, in its efforts to encourage U.S. immigration, it sponsored lantern-slide shows throughout the States. During 1921-22, it distributed 737 still photos, many of which were used for wall displays. It would be pleasant to report that all these vigorous promotion efforts resulted in floods of highly qualified U.S. immigrants to Canada but the sad fact is that, in this period, Canada continued to suffer a net loss of people to the States.

In the years immediately following the war, Trade and Commerce's publicity and promotion work drew some effective attention to Canada in the U.S., Britain and several other countries. Its Commercial Intelligence Service had set up offices at home and abroad and was producing publications and films that dealt with various problems of export trade. It undertook this activity in association with the Bureau of Exhibits. By 1921, the Commercial Intelligence Service was releasing two films per month through Canadian theatres. It also distributed its films in China, South Africa, Cuba and France, with appropriate sub-titles. In 1922 the Service produced a film in French for distribution in French Canada.

Both at home and abroad, however, the important developments in Canada's government information efforts between the wars were the result not of departmental initiative but of prime ministerial concern. This was particularly true of the specialized agencies that grew up in those years. Prime Minister Borden established the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in 1918. Prime Minister Bennett set up the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission in 1932. Prime Minister King established the National Film Board in 1939. The establishment of these three great central agencies of information occurred during periods of national or international stress. It is possible that none of these agencies would have come into being without someone's inspiring a Prime Minister to act, and it is also possible that the Prime Minister could not have made his action bear fruit if the federal power did not happen to be riding high at the time. Once the Prime Minister's interest was clear, the Federal Government's pre-occupation with these central and major information developments, and its investment in them, may partly explain why it ignored the more pedestrian needs of the departmental information services for so many years.

The establishment of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics was the first important breakthrough in the uses of government information after the First World War, and the last for a good many years to come. It occurred in 1918 and, to some degree, it was the result of many years of internal lobbying by an extraordinarily dedicated public servant

named Robert H. Coats. Coats, as one of the editors of *The Labour Gazette*, had tried to develop a rudimentary statistical service within the Labour Department but he rapidly concluded that individual departmental services were an inefficient way of meeting all the statistical needs of the administration. In 1912, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, George Foster, appointed Coats to a six-man Commission to examine the official statistics of Canada. The Commission decided the country needed a central statistical office to avoid costly duplication of effort in all the assorted government departments. The decision to create this new institution, however, rested with neither the Commission nor George Foster but with Prime Minister Borden. Coats continued public and private lobbying to promote the idea. He published a pamphlet – “A National System of Statistics for Canada” – which stressed and documented the need for the service. Finally, his efforts inspired Borden to act, and Foster introduced Bill 32 in Parliament. He explained that its purpose was to create a central bureau to consolidate government statistical activities. Members of the Opposition challenged the idea of the new bureau. Nevertheless, when the Statistics Act was put to a vote in 1918, it passed. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics was born, and R. H. Coats became the first Dominion Statistician.

The Bureau's Terms of Reference required it to compile, analyse and publish statistical information on the economic and social life of Canada; and, at periodic intervals, to conduct a census of the Canadian population, housing, merchandising and agriculture. Coats, as head of the Bureau, was responsible for its policy and general direction. He reported to Parliament through the Department of Trade and Commerce.

From the beginning, one of the Bureau's major continuing publications was the *The Canada Year Book*. The *Year Book* had started as far back as 1867 as *The Year Book and Almanac of British North America*. Since 1905 it had been a regular publication of Trade and Commerce. In 1927, the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, DBS ordered an experimental printing of a small supplementary edition. Its text was more descriptive than the *Year Book's*, and it was illustrated as well. “The Canada Handbook,” as it was called, proved so popular that in 1930 it, too, became an annual publication of the Bureau.

As early as 1935, authors were relying on DBS statistics as the basis for their books. In 1935, DBS produced its own pamphlet on population growth in Canada. But the most important analytical work that the Bureau undertook between the wars was the publication in 1938 of nine census

monographs. They were based on data gathered in the Census of 1931. The time lag between gathering the raw data and publishing the scholarly analyses was indeed considerable but the monographs were a major and precocious attempt to use census statistics to indicate social trends. The monographs received little public recognition in Canada, but they made a strong impact on government and academic circles both at home and abroad. Since then, census analyses have continued as established publications of the Bureau.

As the Bureau's activities expanded, it gave priority to the fields with a high degree of public contact – the census, manufacturing, primary industries, and agriculture. Such matters as press relations and the development of publicity techniques were clearly secondary concerns. For many years, when DBS did undertake formal information activities, it did so without any specific planning, or budget or staff; and it took the Bureau until 1948 to formalize its publicity and information operations in an Information Services Division.

Another central institution of government that was formed in the inter-war years – in 1934 – was the Bank of Canada, and it soon became both an important user and supplier of DBS data. The central bank was created to regulate credit and currency; to control and protect the external value of the Canadian dollar; and to recommend monetary policies that might increase levels of production and employment and help stabilize prices.

The Bank of Canada set high standards of competence and objectivity for itself; these won it a good international reputation and, at home, rapidly earned the respect of people both inside and outside government. The Bank made no conscious attempt to interpret itself to the public as an information agency but politicians, academics, trade unions, the press, commercial and agricultural interests, and members of the rest of the banking community all turned to the Bank of Canada as a source of monetary information.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, on the other hand, was unquestionably a medium of information. Its origins lie in the early Twenties. The Federal Government's interest in radio coincided naturally with the tremendous technological progress of what, in the Twenties, was a burgeoning new instrument of communication. The potential of radio inspired considerable federal concern over the preservation of whatever national identity Canada had painfully managed to nurture for herself. Out of this concern, there eventually grew the highly specialized communications institution that we know as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

By 1928 the Federal Government was operating about 50 radio-telegraph stations for direction-finding. It was after that, between 1928 and 1936, that the pattern of development and control of Canadian broadcasting began to take shape. The effective beginning was the appointment in December 1928, of the Aird Commission on Broadcasting.

The call for a commission had partly arisen from the complaints of Canadian listeners about interference from the U.S. and about the intrusion of U.S. advertising, especially commercials for patent medicines. The British Broadcasting Corporation had already been operating since 1927, and the United States had organized a commission to regulate broadcasting.

The Aird Commission considered the classic characteristics of Canada: the geography, and the five time zones; the sparse population, and the limits of advertising revenue; bilingualism and biculturalism; and, finally the problem of how to develop a national identity when you live cheek-by-jowl with the wealthiest country in the world. The Aird Commission was the first broadcasting enquiry to ponder these ancient Canadian challenges. It would not be the last.

The Exhibition Commission, DBS, and now the development of a publicly-owned broadcasting system, were largely indebted for their very existence to the initiative of a Prime Minister. Prime Minister Bennett told the Commons: "No other scheme than that of public ownership . . . can ensure to the people of the country without regard to class or place, equal enjoyment of the benefits and pleasures of broadcasting."

The Aird Commission reported at the end of 1929, just after the full horror of the great stock market crash had dawned on North America; and, in 1932, as the Depression settled in, a special Parliamentary Committee that Bennett had appointed to consider the Aird report made its crucial broadcasting recommendation. It recommended the establishment of publicly-owned radio for Canada, with the Federal Government in control. This paved the way for the establishment of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission which functioned until the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was born in 1936.

CRBC broadcasting was limited to 18 hours per week on evenings and Sunday afternoons, and 30 hours on regional networks in English and French. The CRBC suffered from a shortage of funds, and its service was limited in scope. Its replacement by the CBC was generally greeted with favour in both English and French Canada.

The CBC sought to improve the linguistic balance in Canadian broadcasting and the quality of broadcasting

service in a number of ways. It worked to accommodate both regional and language interests. It designated Quebec and four other regions of the country as separate areas for production purposes. Developments in the CBC's French service and English service tended to move concurrently during this period and later, as the CBC developed one of the largest radio production facilities in the world.

The CBC's mandate made it independent of ministerial control, and the Corporation determined to make it possible for every Canadian to hear its programmes. In 1936, when the CBC was created, the national network served less than half of Canada's population. In 1939, when King George VI and Queen Elizabeth toured Canada, CBC facilities were reaching 90 per cent of the country. The radio coverage of the Royal Tour included daily broadcasts in French and English for the full 7,000 miles of the Royal journey and, at the time, it was biggest communications effort the CBC had undertaken.

Meanwhile, government sponsorship was bringing into being another central and potentially famous institution of communication. This was the National Film Board and its development was a result of dissatisfaction with the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau. The Department of Trade and Commerce had established the Bureau in 1921 to produce films about Canadian trade and travel, wildlife and nature, among other things. It was proving to be an unfortunate demonstration of the unco-ordinated use of information tools. In 1938, Ross McLean, who was Private Secretary to Canada's High Commissioner to London (Vincent Massey), reported to the commissioner on the inadequacies of the Bureau films. McLean's report arose from his personal concern for Canada's film industry. The result was that the High Commissioner asked Scottish documentary film-maker John Grierson to visit Canada and make a first-hand report to the government on its film-making. Grierson found, among a great many other puzzling things, that two film crews from Ottawa were busily filming away in Prince Edward Island, and neither of them knew the other one was there. Grierson ended his visit to Canada with a strongly-worded report to the Mackenzie King Government. It recommended the formation of a national film unit. Grierson's report impressed King, and the Prime Minister's direct interest in the matter resulted in the prompt introduction of a Bill to set up the National Film Board of Canada. Parliament passed the Bill in 1939, and John Grierson became the first director of the Board.

The new Board's terms of reference gave it full creative autonomy to produce films to further national interests and

national identity, and to interpret Canada not only to foreign audiences but to Canadians as well. It started in Ottawa with a small staff, some of them inherited from the old Motion Picture Bureau. The conception of the National Film Board as an instrument to promote the national identity led it into some early difficulties in Quebec. The Duplessis Government refused to allow it to show films to Quebec school students. By 1942, however, the Board had improved its relations with Quebec and had set up a French production staff. In its efforts to establish grass-roots contacts across the country, the Board met with considerable success in these early years. It functioned at many levels of community life and generally carried out what the National Film Act had described as its duty to produce and distribute "national films designed to help Canadians in all parts of Canada to understand the ways of living and the problems of Canadians in other parts."

The NFB was also required to develop liaison arrangements with government departments so that it might "co-ordinate and develop information services in connection with government film activities." NFB representatives were frequent observers, and even participants, at meetings of government departments and agencies. Indeed, one of the Board's earlier films was entitled "How to Run a Meeting" and it was distributed across the country.

In two other specialized information agencies of government – the King's Printer and the Exhibition Commission – changes took place in the inter-war years that were more confusing than they were creative. The Exhibition Commission had reported to Agriculture ever since its establishment in 1901 but, in 1919 the government decided it belonged in Immigration and Colonization and, in 1927, in Trade and Commerce. Since most exhibitions were taking place in Britain and Europe, its headquarters moved from Ottawa to London in 1928, and stayed there until 1941. In 1921, the government moved the King's Printer from the Department of the Secretary of State to the Department of Labour. In 1926, it moved the King's Printer back to the Secretary of State.

If any point is to be drawn from all this it is perhaps only that the government was keenly interested during these years in the establishment, expansion and proper location of what might be described as central information agencies. The routine information activities of mere individual departments failed to capture the imagination of the government as a whole or of the people.

Still, in the years between the wars, some departmental information efforts were moving ahead in a significant if

undramatic manner. A notable example of this relatively quiet work was the effort of the Natural Resources Intelligence Branch of the Department of the Interior to promote overseas interest in Canada's natural resources. As early as 1919, the Branch assisted departments with related interests, such as Fisheries and Agriculture, to investigate problems in the development of resources. The Federal Government created the Natural Resources Intelligence Branch primarily to serve the western provinces until their provincial governments were ready to assume their own responsibility for natural resources. The Branch assembled information for potential developers in Canada, England and the United States and used reports, press releases, feature articles, and lantern-slide lectures to publicize the potential glories of Canada's natural resources.

In 1930, when the western provinces became responsible for their natural resources, the Branch became known as the National Development Bureau. It continued to report to the Minister of the Interior. It had a staff of 76 permanent and 16 temporary employees. Only one member of the staff was identified to suggest he had anything to do with government information, and he was called a "publicity assistant." Between 1930 and 1936, the Branch carried out tourist promotion work and, at home and abroad, it publicized Canada's national parks. Its activities declined sharply after 1936. The Department of the Interior developed a division headed by a Director of Publicity, to deal solely with publicity for national parks. The new division used press releases, feature articles, publications, motion pictures, illustrated lectures and still photos to do its job.

Information divisions occasionally grew up by accident. The Post Office is a pleasant illustration of how this could happen. In 1922, the Postmaster General asked his Executive Assistant to design some pamphlets for him. The pamphlets were good and their designer, Walter J. Turnbull, asked for permission to work unofficially as an information officer and non-political public relations man for the Department. The Postmaster General agreed, and for the next 14 years, Turnbull carried on his "public relations" activities for the Post Office. Then, in 1936, the Post Office decided to establish an information section. (Turnbull, incidentally, was Deputy Postmaster General when he retired in 1958.)

Generally, in the years between the wars, information policy was the responsibility of the Deputy Minister of the department concerned. Policy guidelines and the approach to information tended to come from the Minister himself and sometimes a ministerial executive assistant, such as Turnbull, undertook public relations duties.

The rôle of the information services continued to be both comparatively limited and notably unadventurous in the Thirties. This is not to say that the public were ill-informed on politics and government. In the thirties, as in earlier eras, the political parties actively spread their versions of relevant information and, indeed, there were now some parties that in the days of Laurier and Borden had not yet been born. At the same time, the chaotic economic situation caused not only across-the-board cutbacks by private industry but a sharp curtailment of government information budgets. This could account for the fact that, even though tremendous advances in both private and public broadcasting were occurring, the government was slow to develop the use of radio for its own information purposes. With regard to radio, the departmental rôle appeared to be one of cautious experiment.

An exception to the rule, perhaps, was the \$350,000 that Trade and Commerce spent each year in England from 1936-38 on a radio programme called "Canada Calling". It was an attempt to encourage British merchants to stock Canadian products as a weekly sales gimmick. Despite "Canada Calling", Trade and Commerce continued to regard radio as a distinctly secondary medium. It relied chiefly on posters and the written word to bring Britons the message about Canadian products.

Great Britain was one area of Canadian Government information effort to survive the budgetary cuts of the Depression years. The British market appeared to offer the best hope for the sale of Canadian products, and the Departments of Trade and Commerce, Agriculture and Fisheries were all conducting their own separate promotional campaigns in the United Kingdom. Gradually, it became apparent that it would be of benefit to co-ordinate the three campaigns through the office of the Canadian High Commissioner.

In 1937, the High Commissioner organized an advisory committee to attempt co-ordination of all the substantial Canadian publicity activity in the UK. A few months later, in 1938, an Order in Council ruled that, in addition to the High Commissioner's committee, there should be an advisory committee on trade publicity. It included representatives of External Affairs, Trade and Commerce, Agriculture and Fisheries.

The relevant point about this activity in England is that, apart from Laurier's establishment of the Exhibition Commission almost four decades earlier, it was the Federal Government's first organized attempt to co-ordinate its departmental information activities abroad.

As a rule in the years between the wars, there was a striking absence of overall policy in government information activity, and this was particularly true and damaging at the departmental level. The imaginative developments that did occur were almost invariably the result of prime ministerial intervention, and almost invariably concerned not departmental information programmes as such but, rather, the establishment of central agencies. The lack of co-ordination among departments that had common interests often resulted in inefficient and unplanned financing of information efforts. Finances were infrequently reviewed. Information staff were often inexperienced and unprofessional. They were seldom able to bring to their work any special knowledge of the techniques of public relations or spreading information. There was little awareness of who, exactly, they were trying to reach with their information. What preoccupied government was not so much democracy as bureaucracy, and an atmosphere of near-secrecy still surrounded a great many government activities.

The Second World War

The Second World War primed the economy to an unprecedented degree. A by-product of this was a great increase in federal activity and federal control over the direction not only of the economy but also of all the other basic areas of national interest. The war was a challenge to direct the highest possible proportion of Canada's energies and resources into one effort; to make the most efficient use possible of manpower, material and production facilities. The way to meet the challenge lay through centralized federal planning and, inevitably, a confirmation of federal authority.

The government again enforced press censorship. The July 8, 1940 issue of *Hansard* listed the members of a Censorship Co-ordination Committee. They were the Ministers of National Defence and Transport, the Secretary of State and the Postmaster General. According to Wilfrid Eggleston – who served as press censor and, later, as Director of Censorship – the wartime restrictions were "generally accepted by the people as they had been during World War I," as a necessity of war. They may, indeed, have been generally accepted but they were not quite universally approved. On July 25, 1940, T. L. Church, the Member of Parliament for Broadview, expressed his dissatisfaction with the entrance into Canada of U.S. publications that he held to be subversive. He said in the Commons:

"We should go to work as Australia did when they excluded about five hundred of these United States publications

... Yet these are now coming into Canada and doing the work of the enemy, while our press censors and our useless information bureaux are asleep.... The government of the day would be well advised to change the system of censorship and put it up to our newspapers, because the censorship today is one of the agencies being used indirectly by these organizations to escape the rules and regulations."

Shortly after that, the Mayor of Montreal made a statement against national registration; the Montreal Gazette published the statement; the press censor ordered suppression of the entire edition of *The Gazette*; and the whole incident raised some basic debate about censorship. The Leader of the Opposition, R. B. Hanson, stressed that the action should be taken not against an individual paper but, rather, against the Mayor of Montreal and his defiance of the law. Hanson asked, "Is there any longer a free press in Canada?" Prime Minister King said that no paper should have published the Mayor's statement: "Certainly, I think it was quite correct that the censor should ask that the statement be censored." In any event, the censorship regulations applied in Canada until the Allied victory in 1945.

Long before that, however, conscription had again loomed as a threat to national unity. Premier Duplessis declared in the beginning that Quebec's participation in the war, Quebec's compliance with the Federal Government's wartime demands on the provinces, would infringe upon her autonomy. In the federal election of 1940, however, the Federal Government party won a clear majority and, in the process, took all but one of Quebec's seats. This was interpreted as weakening Duplessis' position but, at the same time, the delicacy of the situation inspired those responsible for Federal Government publicity to pay special attention to the sensitivities of the Quebec public. In radio broadcasts, posters and newspaper ads, the Federal Government's message in Quebec concerned the broad theme of peace. In the rest of the country, the word was victory. In 1941, a Prayer for Victory Sunday was designated, however, and the Prayer for Victory was heard in churches throughout Quebec.

The war inspired the establishment of two important agencies of government information policy. They were the Wartime Information Board and, later, the Canadian Information Service; and, neither before nor since, has there been anything quite like them in the administrative history of Canadian Government information.

The Wartime Information Board grew out of the pressures of war and the need to transmit clear and concise messages both to the people at home and to Canadian missions abroad. It involved the departments' first organized and

comprehensive attempt to co-ordinate their several information efforts for the sake of a cause that was greater than departmental ambition.

Again, prime ministerial initiative played an important part in the establishment of this important wartime information unit. Prime Minister King, according to J. W. Pickersgill's *The Mackenzie King Record* (Vol. 1), felt that "the Government was not itself getting the facts before the public, through the existing Bureau of Public Information in the Department of National War Services." King called in Charles Vining, "a recognized authority on public relations," and asked him to prepare a report. At King's invitation, Vining delivered his recommendations to the Cabinet and, shortly after that, King asked Vining to serve as chairman of the Wartime Information Board.

According to Pickersgill's book, the King Government regarded the Board as "the most important service in connection with Canada's war effort, next to the operations in the field of battle." An Order in Council of September 9, 1942, declared the new Board's function would be to ensure "an informed and intelligent understanding of the purposes and progress of the Canadian War effort." The WIB consisted of the Chairman, a Vice-chairman, and eight members. It was directly responsible to the Prime Minister as President of the Privy Council and as Chairman of the War Committee of the Cabinet. To carry out its work, the WIB had a general manager, and a staff of more than 400.

The WIB supervised and co-ordinated Canadian information services through its Ottawa headquarters and its offices abroad. It placed National Film Board war documentaries in Canadian and United States theatres, and it initiated stories that were favourable to Canada's war effort in Canadian and U.S. newspapers and magazines. It brought groups of American publishers and journalists to classified areas in Canada, briefed them, gave them press releases and publicity kits, and anticipated their returning home to write stories about the excellence of Canada's war effort.

The Board also provided radio stations with broadcast material on the war, and arranged speakers for local service clubs and women's groups. It developed a liaison not only with British and U.S. information bureaux, but with the resistance movement in France as well; and it produced recruitment pamphlets, advertising material and scores of posters.

The WIB, however, had little to do with publicity to promote wartime fund-raising. That was the Bank of Canada's responsibility. At times, the individualism of departmental or agency information efforts made it difficult

for the WIB to get the sort of co-operation it required to carry out its statutory obligations of interdepartmental co-ordination. Nevertheless, the WIB did develop into a highly organized interdepartmental information unit. Zacharia Chafee Jr. said in 1947, in Vol II of his *Government and Mass Communications*, that in the WIB, "unity of policy was achieved which was not equalled – and perhaps was not possible – in either Britain or the United States." (Zacharia Chafee Jr. also thought, however, that the Canadian approach did "not express the ideals of our Commission (The U.S. Commission on the Freedom of the Press) for government information in the United States." The U.S. Commission felt that "only the facts of war" could have justified the formation of so highly centralized a government information unit in a democratic country such as Canada.)

The Canadian Government press release of September 9, 1942, to announce the start of the WIB, was careful to emphasize that "the Board itself will not function as an administrative body but as a representative body establishing the interdepartmental character of the information services."

From the point of view of planning government information programmes, the most intriguing thing about the War-time Information Board was the fairly high degree of success it achieved in co-ordinating the public information services that already existed. It did this through frequent meetings, various methods of interdepartmental liaison, memoranda, and the issuing of departmental directives and general guidelines. The expediencies and pressures of war, of course, spurred the WIB's effort, and that of the departments as well. In recent times, the government has developed no comparable approach to federal information and, perhaps, the lesson of the WIB is not that the public and the departments should accept wartime controls and wartime methods in peacetime, but only that interdepartmental co-ordination of information activities has proved to be possible.

When the war ended Canada decided to end the domestic activities of the WIB, but to preserve its services abroad. Thus, the Canadian Information Service was set up by Order in Council, P.C. 6300, on September 8, 1945, under the War Measures Act; and it was continued by Order in Council, PC 7414, December 28, 1945, under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Health and Welfare, Brooke Claxton.

J. L. Ilsley, the acting Prime Minister at the time, told the Commons: "It is essential . . . that our people and country be known and understood abroad. . . . It will be the first duty of the new service to develop adequate reference and information services for all those Canadian representa-

tives abroad. For this reason it was considered advisable to retain an interdepartmental, rather than a purely departmental service."

The Opposition criticized the cost of such a service, and one MP termed the CIS an expensive luxury which should be abolished.

Geoffrey C. Andrew headed the CIS, and a committee of men from the major departments involved in information abroad directed it. The employees of the WIB transferred to the CIS in the fall of 1945. For some months, the Service continued to publish information on the work done by the Canadian Government at home but, gradually, it phased out such material. In 1947, Prime Minister King tabled in the House an Order in Council that transferred the functions of the CIS to the Department of External Affairs. He stated that the money which was provided for the CIS should be used for the "information services now to be controlled and directed by the Department of External Affairs." The result of this was that the level of co-ordination with domestic departments declined, and the stated emphasis of spreading and co-ordinating information abroad was developed through press, radio and films.

In addition to the WIB, and its immediate and short-lived descendant, the CIS, there was a third government information operation that began during the war. This was the CBC's International Service, which was created by Order in Council in 1942 to boost the Allied broadcasting effort. The International Service worked through the WIB. It beamed short-wave programmes not only to Canadian troops overseas but to European listeners as well and though its early broadcasts were in English, French and German only, by 1945 it was also broadcasting in Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese and Czechoslovakian.

The constitutional status of the International Service was somewhat ambiguous. It was a semi-autonomous organization loosely attached to the CBC, but the Department of External Affairs also exercised some direction and influence over its broad programme policy. From the start, the budget of the International Service was independent of CBC control. Parliament voted on it as a separate item. However, by Order in Council of April 1968, CBC took over its costs.

The war also inspired the establishment on January 1, 1941, of the CBC News Service. CBC set up central and regional newsrooms, with Toronto as headquarters for the English service and Montreal for the French.

During the war years, several federal departments set up information services for the first time. These included information divisions in Transport and Labour, and, in the

Pensions and National Health Department, an information branch to deal with veterans affairs. (The Department of Veterans Affairs was founded in 1945.)

The Department of National Health and Welfare made statutory provision for the establishment of an information services division in 1944. It had a staff of eight reporting to the Department's two Deputy Ministers. (Before 1944, the Publicity and Health Services Education Branch had directed the Department's information services.) The new information division had broad statutory responsibilities to collect all publicity material and distribute public information on the Department's activities. The Department's annual report of 1948 described the division's co-operative arrangements with the provinces to produce books, pamphlets, posters, displays, exhibits, films and film strips in the field of health education. Health and Welfare's Information Division worked closely with the National Film Board in the production of films and now, two decades later, some of these films are still in use. The Division also contracted film work to private film organizations. Organizationally, the new Information Division took a while to settle down; during the first 10 years of its existence it had six directors.

Boom Times in Government Information

After the Second World War, Canada was far more industrially mature than it had been when the war began and, at the same time, the Federal Government began to move into new areas of economic, social and cultural legislation. Inevitably, the information services of the Federal Government expanded. They took strides in organization and financing that would help to make fundamental changes in their scope and their approach towards getting information to the people. One of the first post-war, governmental recognitions of the fact that information personnel had a real and permanent and distinctive job to do, occurred in July 1946, when a Treasury Board minute approved the formal classification of information officers in the public service. There were to be six classifications of information officers, ranging from Level 1 (\$2,400 to \$3,000) to Level 4 (\$4,500 to \$5,400). (It is impossible to trace the earning levels of those engaged in government information work before 1946; the amount varied from department to department.)

In 1948, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics finally established an Information Division to supervise the output of its statistical information. The new Division was directly responsible to the Dominion Statistician, and it integrated

the monthly Statistical Review, the Press and Publicity Section, and the Publications Distribution Unit of the Administrative Division. In 1949, it took over supervision of the library and, in 1951, the *Canada Year Book* and *Canada Handbook*. Another central agency, the Canadian Exhibition Commission, had its name changed in 1946; it became the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission. And the National Film Board – which, during the war, had opened up important channels of communications with such domestic organizations as Junior Boards of Trade, Chambers of Commerce, libraries, YMCAs and women's groups – now began to concentrate on telling Canada's story outside the country as well as at home.

In the information services for the various departments, significant structural changes continued throughout the fifties and sixties. The RCMP acknowledged the information fact in 1952; it established a liaison branch in Ottawa, and gave it a staff of one to "act as an Information Office." The National Capital Planning Commission, (now the National Capital Commission), which was more than half a century old, set up its first Information Division in 1950. It was staffed by one information officer and one clerk. (In the winter of 1969, the NCC information services were undergoing organizational changes. By then, the Information Division had a public relations adviser – through whom the Division reported to the Secretary of the NCC – a chief of information, two information officers and a support staff of six. The NCC Information Division is perhaps not so typical of other government information divisions that one should draw sweeping generalizations from its history; nevertheless it is interesting that its total staff is now roughly five times as big as it was in 1950.)

The Department of Public Works, one of the oldest institutions in government, did not get around to establishing an information division until 1954. One year later, the Department of National Revenue hired its first information officer – in the Taxation Division – where a strong case may be made for good public relations. In 1957, Trade and Commerce refined its already well-staffed Information Services. It appointed a head of Trade Publicity to direct the Department's editorial and art services. In 1957, the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation enlarged the Information Division which had been set up with a staff of 10 in the year of CMHC's own establishment, 1946. In 1958, CMHC appointed its first head of information. In 1958, the Post Office finally acknowledged its information section as an official Information Division, and it became a special arm of the Deputy Postmaster General.

The Department of National Defence vigorously maintained the trend of expansion in government information divisions, so much that in the early sixties the Glassco Commission recommended an assessment of the scale and character of Defence information activities. The Glassco Commission criticized these activities on the grounds that they appeared to be designed essentially to win public approbation for the Department.

The Glassco Report, however, had something more general to say and, from the point of view of an examination of all the information services of the Federal Government, something that was far more important. Following the war, each department had gone alone down its own path of development, and the idea of interdepartmental liaison on information programmes had failed to take hold. The Glassco Report put the problem this way: "The picture that emerges of public information services in the government is one of a general blur of diffuse activity, with growing clusters of organization. Central planning, direction and co-ordination are lacking."

Since the highly centralized wartime information services had been dismantled "the departmental and agency services have developed and operated largely independently one of the other . . ." They were growing, to be sure, but there was a certain cancerous quality in the growth. The Glassco Report suggested that some sort of central encouragement and guidance might bring about co-ordination.

Following the war, federal information divisions at last began to pay some attention to the possible uses of radio. The Department of National Health and Welfare started "Your Health, Your Welfare" in 1949 and continued it as a ten-minute weekly programme and distributed it in French and English to 105 radio stations. The Departments of Labour, Agriculture, Transport and Finance also exploited radio with fillers, spot announcements and special project advertising. Finance, for example, sent 15-second spots on buying Canada savings bonds to radio stations in 1957-58. The Department hired an advertising agency to direct the campaign, and paid the CBC to run the spot announcements. Since 1957 the Department of Transport has sent spot announcements on water safety to private stations across Canada to supplement its annual spring campaign, "Safety Afloat." In March 1969, the Department of Agriculture became the first federal department to use a "Cartrex" system. "Cartrex" enables Agriculture to make short tapes of agricultural news available to CBC and private radio stations across the country.

So far as television is concerned, the departments as a

whole appear to have treated it in the fifties and sixties with much the same sort of cautious experimentation that they brought to the use of radio in the thirties and forties. Lately, as the information divisions have become increasingly aware of the need to reach diverse publics, there is some evidence that confidence is slowly replacing the caution. The National Film Board has assisted a number of departments with both French and English television campaigns, and has produced promotion spots for such Departments as National Health and Welfare, and Northern Affairs. Agriculture has been producing its own television spots since 1962. Manpower and Immigration, Trade and Commerce, and others, have made periodic use of television for specific information campaigns.

There is virtually no aspect of Canadian society that has not been changed by the extraordinary events and trends of the Sixties. The government has reacted to the challenges of the Sixties by reorganizing some departments and establishing new ones to serve the particular needs of particular people. In the cultural field alone, the recommendations of the Massey Commission of the Fifties and other influences have led to the extraordinary growth of government involvement in the arts in the Sixties (though not to a comparable commitment to the cause of cultural information). The government has created the Department of Industry (now part of Trade and Commerce), Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Communications, Manpower and Immigration, and Regional Economic Expansion to deal with changing problems, and developments in technology. And, at the same time, the specialized information agencies – the Exhibition Commission, the Queen's Printer, the NFB and the CBC – faced new problems of their own, or they faced accentuated old problems, and some of them developed and expanded their approach to their responsibilities. But there is a point where history becomes current events and, inevitably, the events of the Sixties in the information activities of the Federal Government are a considerable preoccupation of many of the other papers in this Report. And in the case of the CBC, for instance, there is no shortage of familiar documentation from the hearings and commissions of recent years. In this paper then, in discussing the work of some government information agencies in the Sixties, we have justification for brevity.

The contemporary history of the Queen's Printer, in all its complexity, is discussed in Paper x of this report. The National Film Board, and its sometimes difficult relation with the other government institutions is part of Paper ix. In the Sixties, the NFB continued to gain international recog-

nition for Canada. It has become one of the country's most effective overseas information agencies, and circulates more than 40,000 prints of its films in 35 languages and roughly 75 countries. Every year, millions of people in other countries see NFB films. In recent years, the NFB has produced feature films as well as documentaries. Its films have won more than 50 international awards, including a first award from the British Film Academy and a Hollywood "Oscar".

Another central agency, the Exhibition Commission, is also one of the specialized agencies considered in Paper IX of this Report. A Treasury Board minute of 1964 added to the Commission's responsibilities abroad the design and production of departmental and agency exhibits and displays required for use in Canada. The departments and agencies were to provide the funds for these presentations. The Commission started in 1901 with a staff of three; by 1965, it had a staff of 200 and, to cover its production and operation of all official Canadian Government exhibits abroad, a budget of \$2,600,000. (The estimated cost of Canada's pavilion at Expo '70 in Osaka is \$11,200,000.). On July 12 1968, the government decided to transfer the Commission to the jurisdiction of the Department of Public Works. Public Works now determines the Commission's budget, and an Assistant Deputy Minister of Design directs its activities.

The controversies that have plagued the CBC in recent years are familiar to a great many Canadians. In 1951, the brink of the television era, the government formed the Massey Commission to consider, among other problems, the challenges of the broadcasting situation then beginning to emerge. In 1953, the CBC inaugurated its national television network; in 1961, the private television network, CTV, began its operations; and now, in 1969, there is some discussion concerning a third network. The changing patterns and changing problems of Canadian broadcasting in recent years have inspired two extensive public inquiries, both under the chairmanship of Robert Fowler. In 1965, the second Fowler report recommended the creation of an independent agency to direct and control the country's broadcasting system and to be responsible for, among other things, "improving, explaining and defending" the system. The Broadcasting Act of March 1968, created the Canadian Radio-Television Commission. The Fowler Report of 1965 gave considerable attention to the ancient bogey of the United States cultural impact on Canada: "The Canadian broadcasting system must never become a mere agency for transmitting foreign programmes, however excellent they may be." The problem of Canadian broadcasting "is, and always will be, how to avoid being smothered by this friendly embrace which can-

not be rudely brushed off." Fowler called on private broadcasting to share with the CBC the responsibility for "development of a truly Canadian consciousness."

The CBC began colour broadcasting in 1966 with roughly 30 hours a week on the English network and 15 hours a week on the French network. By 1968, colour broadcasting in both languages had increased to about 90 per cent of the English network schedule and 80 per cent of the French. Through CBC and affiliated stations in 1968, French network television service was available to 89.6 per cent of French-speaking Canadians. French radio was available to 98 per cent of unilingual French Canadians, and to 88 per cent of bilingual French Canadians by 1965. In 1967, Vancouver received a French FM station, and French radio outlets reached from coast to coast.

The Sixties have also had an expansive effect on the activities of the CBC International Service. In 1969, the IS was transmitting regular broadcasts in 11 languages and was concentrating on what, for lack of a more original description, might be called the Canadian way of life and on promoting foreign trade for Canada. The operating budget of the IS in the Centennial year was \$3,700,000.

Aside, however, from the varied adventures of the government's specialized and central agencies of information there have been, in recent years, some notable developments of the departmental information services. Some of these developments are contemporary with the work of this Task Force, and they involve efforts to re-open the doors of inter-departmental communication that had remained closed since the crises of the Second World War. Since the election of June 1968, and since the present Prime Minister expressed his outspoken concern with the subject of government information, and particularly since the appointment of this Task Force in August of 1968, a number of significant changes have already occurred in the organization of the federal information services. As we have seen, if there is any tradition at all in the history of government information services it is that it takes the strong interest of the Prime Minister himself to bring about dramatic improvement or rationalization.

Among the recent developments is Treasury Board's establishment of a Communications Division, which has a three-man information section. The Division is trying to improve communications between Treasury Board and the government departments, and it is also working for the improvement of government information services. The Division's statement of duties requires its Director to function under the general direction of the Secretary of the Treasury

Board and to develop and implement standards, and monitor progress, in the organization, operation and administration of information services throughout the government. The Division is also expected to operate internal and external information programmes on the Board's behalf.

In addition to this, in the late summer of 1968, senior government information officers established the Information Services Management Institute of the Federal Institute of Management to explore ways to improve communications between the Public Service and government's multiplicity of publics. And in January 1969, Postmaster General Eric Kierans made a speech in which he suggested that Canada's more than 8,000 post offices be used as a "kind of communications centre at which people could collect information about the Federal Government and its operations."

Departments and agencies that have strong interests in information abroad are also examining new ways to communicate. Since last autumn, information officers have attended regular co-ordination meetings in Paris; and, as described in Paper XII of this Report, there have recently been a number of other meetings, reports and studies involving efforts to improve Canada's frequently ill-organized work in information abroad.

One of these efforts – the Department of External Affairs' "Canada and Europe: Report of the Special Task Force on Europe" – included studies of public information efforts and cultural relations. While any developments in the area of Canadian cultural information are welcome; they look curiously tardy besides the 20-year-old reporting of the Massey Commission. The late Vincent Massey said: "It is generally agreed by those competent to give informed views that there is room for the development of Canada's information and cultural activities abroad... (we) have been forced to the conclusion that our cultural exchanges are still in almost a non-existent stage."

Since then, Canada has failed to develop its cultural information domestically, and it has failed to develop a co-ordinated system for its development abroad. A number of meetings have been held. The Secretary of State, the Minister for External Affairs, and senior officials attended one only last May but, if the experience of the past two decades is any sort of barometer at all, meetings do not do much for the cause of Canadian cultural information.

Scientific and technical information has also been a subject of considerable government concern in recent years. A report by J. P. I. Tyas – one of a series of special studies that the Science Secretariat initiated and the Science Council of Canada has continued – recommends the government

set up a scientific and technical information agency. It would report directly to a Cabinet Minister.

Several other inquiries, surveys, and task forces on government structures and systems and services were concerning themselves with information matters during 1968-69. Manpower and Immigration recently completed a thorough study of its information services, and the Post Office has started a marketing study on public relations. Legislation to reorganize the National Library was recently before the Commons. Within the last year, there has been a series of internal task forces whose duties included reporting on aspects of the information function. Health and Welfare is expanding its information services. In the Privy Council Office a division has been established for cultural information. The information staff of the Prime Minister's Office has increased. And even the Department of Justice, which has long been perhaps the most reluctant of government departments to organize an information service recently asked to have an information officer on staff.

On April 17, 1969, the government inaugurated a computerized information-processing centre in Ottawa. The centre connects to six regional computer centres across the country; and the whole computer complex, linked by telephone to form a communications network, gathers information from government offices across Canada: at the system's inauguration, the Minister of Supply and Services at the time, Donald Jamieson, stated that: "The installation as it now exists is of a size pre-planned to satisfy only our immediate requirements. But careful selection has also enabled us to allow for its planned expansion by virtually 100 per cent over the next five years."

The newer changes reflect intensified thinking about government information, and the expressed intention of the government to reform the federal information services. The motives for all this sudden activity are understandable and certainly laudable, but it is possible they will prove to be a disappointing illustration of what can occur when disjointed action takes place before the setting of a general policy. In any case, government departments and agencies have begun to collide with one another in their attempts to report or implement their recently discovered views on information, and there is a distinct air of confusion in the field.

The energy and interest in government information may be fresh; the confusion, the lack of co-ordination, are not. The lesson in the history of the government information services is that expediency has generally determined their growth, and the growth has been uneven. Co-ordinated effort has occurred only in periods of domestic stress or inter-

national instability. The Federal Government has come to recognize the functions of government information only very slowly. Often, its efforts in the field have been misguided, poorly planned and badly timed. Less often, they have been imaginative and successful but, even in these cases, they have been the result of inspired work by officials acting on their own.

Government departments have been slow to grasp technological advances and to adapt them to changing information objectives or, for that matter, even to give serious thought to such objectives. Through the years and the decades, they have been reluctant to initiate structured approaches to information problems. They have viewed information services as activities that do not deserve priority. For generations, the only departments that received enough support to carry out adequate information programmes were those in which government information bore a clear and direct relationship to the economic expansion of the country. And, once established, information divisions have often functioned with only a most limited access to the senior policy makers of their own departments. These circumstances have combined to leave many information divisions short of the money, personnel and expertise they require to engage in what one Deputy Minister refers to as "preventive public relations." More important, perhaps, history has encouraged them to grow up as a sort of disjointed conglomerate that, as a whole, appears to be incapable of a fully efficient information effort. The result appears to be that the people of the country are not hearing or understanding a full and accurate version of the federal contribution to the affairs of the country.

! & ?

The previous paper was a consideration of the way the information services of the Federal Government have developed over several decades. Here, and in the four papers that follow, we examine the structures and performance of the information services as they are today. For the purposes of this paper, a group of researchers made up of public servants conducted their study of these services in three areas: 1) finances, including research into the existing information budgets (so far as these could be determined); 2) the structure of the information services in the various departments and agencies of government; and 3) the personnel engaged in information work within the Government of Canada. This paper is a summary of the principal findings of these studies and, more particularly, it is an attempt to define where the main problems lie.

Finances

The study on the cost of information services in government departments and agencies was set up to clarify the following:

- a) the identified and evaluated costs of information services in the departments and agencies, including the costs that are closely related to information functions;
- b) the trend of expenditure on information activities during recent years;
- c) the discrepancies and anomalies in departmental expenditures.

Both the Treasury Board and the Auditor-General were asked to furnish the figures for information costs but it proved impossible to get comprehensive total cost figures for information activities from the details that the Treasury Board and the Auditor-General's office could readily make available. The main problem lies in the fact that Treasury Board has not required departments to record their information costs separately. Indeed, there has been no definition by the Treasury Board of either information or information services; and the departments have therefore recorded information costs as they thought appropriate.

The main source of information on Federal Government costs is the annual book of *Estimates*. But under "costs of information", it reveals only the cost of publications, advertising, exhibitions, and similar items as strictly information costs. It includes the salaries of information officers, and other support costs (films, for example), under other standard headings of expenditure. It was clear to the Task Force, therefore, that if it was to prepare reasonably reliable figures as to likely expenditures in such information fields

and in addition to current budgetary estimates of them, it would have to make a direct approach to the departments and agencies of the Federal Government.

This approach took the form of a questionnaire, designed and presented by public servants knowledgeable in those fields to other public servants in information and related areas. The questionnaire asked the departments and agencies for the following information:

1. Details of information services budgets and actual costs for the years 1966-67, 1967-68, 1968-69, and proposed expenditures for 1969-70. These budgets were to be further analysed as follows:

- a) a breakdown between salaries and other costs associated with information;
- b) an indication of governmental information disseminated from regional offices or overseas offices, with figures on budgets and actual costs for each region and country — both divided between salaries and other costs associated directly with the information process;

- c) an indication of whether information programme budgeting was in effect and, if so, the amount allocated to each programme;

2. A breakdown of total information costs including salaries under the following headings: a) advertising; b) audio-visual aids; c) press relations; d) public relations; e) publishing; f) other media;

3. Notes on employees who were not information service officers but were engaged in information activities within each department or agency. These employees were to be listed together with their salaries and a percentage estimate of their time spent on information activities.

4. An estimate of the number of departmental services that give support to the information services division. These were to be listed and an estimate made of the cost of the proportion of their effort that related to information services.

Many departments and agencies had great difficulty in providing this information. The Task Force therefore found it necessary to work with those responsible for preparing these details within each department or agency. The financial people in the departments found it difficult to help without analysing large quantities of invoices, contracts, and other paper evidence. Frequently, and understandably, the departments could not spare the financial staff from their regular duties to undertake the analysis requested.

It may be helpful to mention some of the problems that the departments encountered in trying to furnish the information:

For most departmental information services, no budg-

Table 1
Analysis of Direct Costs of Information Services Division by Media

	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	1969-70
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Actual	Budget	Budget
Departments						
Advertising	6,519,372	4,490,253	6,260,166	4,051,733	4,375,081	4,732,829
Audio-Visual	1,479,998	1,530,445	2,017,253	1,868,653	2,273,691	2,521,377
Press Relations	538,466	561,431	815,831	918,918	911,920	938,233
Public Relations	462,411	476,928	754,301	768,667	856,888	965,996
Publications	9,493,443	8,901,925	11,043,631	9,988,818	13,966,434	15,358,710
Other media	4,518,823	4,802,155	6,027,399	5,677,190	6,678,942	8,052,284
	23,012,513	20,763,137	26,918,581	23,273,979	29,062,956	32,569,429
Agencies						
Advertising	5,628,834	5,599,380	5,018,388	4,154,913	4,712,811	4,917,119
Audio-Visual	4,142,540	3,945,279	4,897,247	4,440,749	4,661,304	1,632,798
Public Relations			36,500		40,000	116,416
Publications	2,777,933	2,463,273	3,198,047	2,702,454	3,619,708	3,458,033
Other media	5,868,758	6,311,421	7,257,192	8,096,652	8,869,560	10,318,498
	18,418,065	18,319,353	20,407,374	19,394,768	21,903,383	20,442,864
Total	41,430,578	39,082,490	47,325,955	42,668,747	50,966,339	53,012,293

N.B.

1. Other media include salaries and all other direct costs which the departments and agencies were not able to allocate to the media headings.

2. Publications include annual reports, scientific and technical publications and some regulatory or instructional publications which are for internal and external use.

ets were available for the years 1966-67 and 1967-68. The costs of information services usually formed part of the total administration budget. In these cases, there was no separate budget for information costs. Often it proved impossible to identify costs of information services as part of the total administration expense for those years, while it was possible in some cases to identify personnel costs for information divisions, it was not possible to obtain estimates of support and operational costs. There were many departments which found it impossible to furnish either the amount of salaries and other support expenses that applied to the various media headings within the information services, or to provide a breakdown of information expenses into advertising, audio-visual, publications, and so on. Some departments could not provide details of the information services they offered that were additional to the work of the information divisions.

Occasionally, it was necessary to estimate support costs in departments, and to note that in 1966-67 and 1967-68 the estimates included personnel costs. Generally speaking, the greatest effort was made to obtain illustrative budget figures for the years specified in the Task Force questionnaire. It

should be remembered, however, that it was impossible to provide a complete breakdown; consequently, detailed figures appear at times under "other media." All the figures finally furnished were, so far as possible, compared with the book of *Estimates* and the *Public Accounts of Canada*.

The information costs, as identified and evaluated by the departments and agencies, have been summarized by the Task Force under the following headings:

1. Information services divisions – *the cost of the divisions in each government department and agency*, with a further analysis of direct costs in terms of salaries and other costs. This information appears in Appendix "A".

2. Information services divisions – *analysis by media* give a breakdown of direct costs of information services division under media headings as shown. This information appears in Table 1.

3. Services and expenses *not forming part of the information services divisions' costs*, but which may be considered to be "information costs" in a general sense are shown in Table 2.

4. Overhead costs in Table 3 show the amounts spent on

Table 2

Schedule of Other 'Information Services' Costs in Departments and Agencies 1966-67 to 1969-70

	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	1969-70
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Actual	Budget	Budget
Departments						
Dominion Bureau of Stat.	30,555,541	28,763,409	27,095,562	25,711,212	31,227,360	37,641,585
Department of Public Printing and Stationery	3,933,013	2,771,366	3,406,196	2,827,074	3,104,189	3,010,132
Finance Department	1,050,000	1,616,038	1,044,000	1,265,311	1,485,000	1,250,000
Industry Trade and Commerce	5,121,927	4,908,909	5,956,202	5,643,778	6,484,770	7,321,056
External Affairs	4,990,732	4,990,732	7,052,741	7,052,741	6,819,306	7,454,073
Indian Affairs and Northern Development				35,948	923,350	609,350
Translation Bureau	322,697	314,883	351,485	350,306	448,139	510,756
	45,973,910	43,365,337	44,906,186	42,886,370	50,402,114	57,796,952
Agencies						
Atomic Energy of Can. Ltd.	683,000	683,000	799,000	799,000	829,000	997,000
Atomic Energy of Can. Ltd.	1,015,494	1,015,494	1,132,288	1,132,288	1,262,510	1,377,090
National Museum	725,000	725,000	910,000	910,000	1,072,000	1,102,000
National Gallery	362,745	402,908	660,230	599,912	662,989	488,058
Fisheries Research Board	117,717	117,717	178,960	178,960	193,000	203,000
National Research Council	734,000	734,000	844,000	844,000	953,000	1,069,000
World Exhibitions	49,200	49,200	469,000	426,774	2,344,000	4,979,000
Canadian Patents and Developments Ltd.	20,990	20,990	24,475	24,475	30,453	31,266
	3,708,146	3,748,309	5,017,953	4,915,409	7,346,952	10,246,414
Total	49,682,056	47,113,646	49,924,139	47,801,779	57,749,066	68,043,366

information services within the approximate total cost of major services not otherwise included in departmental estimates. These major services include: accommodation, accounting, cheque-issuing services, superannuation contributions, Canada Pension Plan contributions (and Quebec Pension Plan as applicable), employee surgical-medical insurance premiums, employee compensation payments and mail privileges.

Notes of further explanation regarding Table 2

certain services or centres — ones that the departments did not identify as information sources — are not in the table. These include, for example, the Canada Manpower Centres and the Canada Pension offices.

a) These figures represent the total cost of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics — less income from sales, etc., and less expenditures of the Bureau's Information Division.

b) These figures, likewise, represent the total cost of the Department of Public Printing and Stationery, after subtracting income from sales, and the outlay for information activities.

c) These represent the cost of sales promotion for new loans.

d) The figures cover 50 per cent of the cost of the Trade Commission Service (promoting Canadian exports).

e) These figures are 20 per cent of the total cost of overseas posts. The percentage is based on departmental estimates of information at several representative posts.

f) The cost of site exhibits, interpretative centres, and efforts to explain the National and Historic Parks and Wildlife Service to visitors. They include, for 1968-69, capital costs of \$455,000 and, for 1969-70, estimated capital costs of \$65,000.

g) These figures are seven and one-half per cent of the total cost of the Translation Bureau. The percentage is based

on the average of individual departmental figures. The figures varied from five per cent to 50 per cent, but most were under ten per cent.

The other lettered items cover: h) costs of the Technical Information Service; i) promotion costs, Commercial Products Division; j) cost of constructing exhibition displays, etc.; k) sundry services of an information nature; l) cost of editorial staff, Scientific Publications; m) costs of Technical Information Service; n) Osaka 70; o) promotion costs, Patents.

5. Information Services Overseas – most Canadian government expenditures on overseas information are absorbed by the Departments of External Affairs, of Industry, Trade and Commerce, and of Manpower and Immigration.

Appendix "B" gives information on the total expenditures of the Department of External Affairs at overseas posts, and through the following divisions at Headquarters: Information, Press Office, Cultural Affairs, Historical.

Appendix "C" provides similar figures for the information costs of the Trade Commissioner Service of the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce; and Appendix "D" shows the cost of the Canadian Government Travel Bureau.

Appendix "E" provides cost figures for the immigration programme of information in the Department of Manpower and Immigration.

Summary of costs

Finally, in Table 3, there are the information cost figures of all departments of the Canadian Government as they were furnished in response to the Task Force questionnaire and arose from the tables and annexes.

The advertising and information services costs in Crown Corporations, which appear in Table 3, are based on information provided by five important agencies and Crown Corporations (Air Canada, CN, NFB, CBC, and Polymer) to show the expenditures they require to run their information activities.

Table 3 consists of a summary of the "identified and evaluated costs of Information Services" in departments and agencies of the government, and a summary of the other costs closely related to information; and, taken together, these may be regarded as a total cost of departmental and agency information services. Depending upon the interpretation of the words "Information Services" and "Publics," the estimated costs of information services for the year 1968-69 may be set at a minimum of \$57,322,742, (the estimated budget for 1969-70 being \$60.6 million) but

could be as high or even higher than the total figure stated of \$115,071,808.

In addition, the estimated cost of Advertising and Information Services in the Crown Corporations was approximately \$20 million for the year. The estimated total cost of "Information Services" would then be \$135,000,000 for 1968-69. With the budget estimates for 1969-70, and the average annual percentage of increases in this field by Crown Corporations, the total figure would be approximately \$148,000,000.

From the figures shown in the budgets of department and agencies for identifiable information purposes in recent and current budget years, it is clear that the sums paid by the Canadian taxpayer for information services are substantial. Table 3 shows a summary analysis of direct cost of information services divisions in all government departments and agencies. Table 2 scheduled "other information services" costs in departments and agencies.

These summary figures reveal that the budgeted direct costs of information services divisions for the current fiscal year amount to \$60,614,376. To this must be added an estimated cost of some \$68,043,366, for "other information services" costs. The Task Force considers it essential to understand the extent of the expenditures by the Government of Canada in information. The large sums of public money alone would seem to justify the present examination of the government's information programmes.

But the imprecise nature of the data makes it difficult to indicate accurately spending trends, expenditures in various media, and comparisons among departments. Some tentative observations, however, can be drawn from the material in the tables and annexes:

a) The expenditures of information services in departments and agencies examined would appear to have risen from an actual figure of \$43,305,764 in 1966-67 to the \$60,614,376 budgeted for 1969-70, an increase of about 40 per cent.

b) There are differences of weight in terms of expenditures among departments and, on the surface at least, these differences are difficult to explain. The costs of information services in the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, for example, are only about one-seventh of the costs in a Department such as Manpower and Immigration. Agriculture has budgeted \$2,025,000 for 1969-70, compared to \$700,000 for the new Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs. The Department of National Defence has the largest departmental budget of those examined – \$4.9 million in 1969-70 – and, while this sum clearly covers more information

Table 3
Summary of Information Costs

	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69		1969-70	
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Actual	Budget		Budget	
Departments								
Information Division								
Salaries	4,168,763	4,298,435	5,702,983	5,680,664	6,587,986		7,362,037	
Other Costs	6,640,912	6,004,228	8,588,432	7,620,693	8,480,376		10,876,103	
	10,809,675	10,302,663	14,291,415	13,301,357	15,068,362		18,238,140	
Overhead	839,902	866,389	1,250,547	1,223,109	1,631,486		2,299,873	
	11,649,577	11,169,052	15,541,962	14,524,466	16,699,848		20,538,013	
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	12,202,838	10,460,473	12,627,166	9,972,622	13,994,594		14,331,289	
	23,852,415	21,629,525	28,169,128	24,497,088	30,694,442		34,869,302	
Agencies see schedule for details								
Information Division								
Salaries	3,584,994	3,707,903	4,290,870	4,671,464	5,131,225		5,648,098	
Other Costs	13,215,374	13,093,426	13,883,064	13,235,459	14,440,903		12,048,527	
	16,800,368	16,801,329	18,173,934	17,906,923	19,572,128		17,696,625	
Overhead	492,882	516,678	700,764	789,354	1,159,917		1,694,210	
	17,293,250	17,318,007	18,874,698	18,696,277	20,732,045		19,390,835	
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	1,617,697	1,518,024	2,233,440	1,487,845	2,331,255		2,746,239	
	18,910,947	18,836,031	21,108,138	20,184,122	23,063,300		22,137,074	
	42,763,362	40,465,556	49,277,266	44,681,210	53,757,742		57,006,376	
Canadian Broadcasting Corp.								
International Service	2,841,000	2,840,208	3,813,000	3,780,351	3,565,000		3,608,000	
	45,604,362	43,305,764	53,090,266	48,461,561	57,322,742		60,614,376	
Cost of Activities closely related to Information Services (see Appendix C)								
	49,682,056	47,113,646	49,924,139	47,801,779	57,749,066		68,043,366	
	95,286,418	90,419,410	103,014,405	96,263,340	115,071,808		128,657,742	

In addition to the above the estimated cost of advertising and information services in the Crown Corporations was approximately \$20 million for 1968/69.

activities than are normally accepted as being carried out by information services, it has risen fairly steadily over the past few years. The increase has occurred in spite of integration and information staff reductions. The Post Office has a bigger information budget in 1969-70 than the Department of Regional Economic Development. National Health and Welfare has a smaller information budget in that fiscal year than Fisheries and Forestry, and the Secretary of State, with its immense financial investment in the cultural life of the

country, has budgeted only slightly more than Veterans Affairs.

c) Labour spends 7.97 per cent of its departmental budget on information services; National Health and Welfare 0.92 per cent; External Affairs 3.14 per cent and Indian Affairs and Northern Development 0.63 per cent. Manpower and Immigration budgeted 1.04 per cent of its departmental spending on information services in 1966-67 and only 0.73 per cent in 1969-70. (In addition, Manpower and Immigra-

tion spent only roughly half its approved information budgets in the years 1966-67 and 1967-68).

d) The Canadian Government spends at least \$18.8 million on publications alone, and only \$4.2 million on audio-visual materials, despite the higher cost of audio-visual production.

e) Crown Corporations spend proportionately more on advertising and less on information services than do government departments. This situation, which is reviewed in a later discussion on advertising, raises the possibility that the non-competitive departments have tended not to take full advantage of the benefits of advertising.

The costs of information abroad – which make up a substantial amount of the direct and related costs of information – call for special attention and are discussed in a subsequent paper.

To measure the effectiveness of government information services in relation to costs, and to provide a consistent

basis for determining potential changes in expenditures, we recommend that:

1. The appropriate authorities define information services for accounting purposes and that all departments and agencies use the same definitions to identify information expenditures.

2. All information expenditures of departments and agencies be recorded in sufficient detail and in a consistent manner that readily permits comparisons.

3. Any expansion of information programmes be justified in accordance with policies to be established by the government. All information programmes and activities lacking an accepted high priority in relation to government policies be dropped or drastically curtailed.

Appendix A

Summary of Identified and Evaluated Information Services in Departments and Agencies

	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	1969-70
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Actual	Budget	Budget
Departments See schedule for details						
Information Division						
Salaries	4,168,763	4,298,435	5,702,983	5,680,664	6,587,986	7,362,037
Other Costs	6,640,912	6,004,228	8,588,432	7,620,693	8,480,376	10,876,103
	10,809,675	10,302,663	14,291,415	13,301,357	15,068,362	18,238,140
Overhead	839,902	866,389	1,250,547	1,223,109	1,631,486	2,299,873
	11,649,577	11,169,052	15,541,962	14,524,466	16,699,848	20,538,013
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	12,202,838	10,460,473	12,627,166	9,972,622	13,994,594	14,331,289
	23,852,415	21,629,525	28,169,128	24,497,088	30,694,442	34,869,302
Agencies See schedule for details						
Information Division						
Salaries	3,584,994	3,707,903	4,290,870	4,671,464	5,131,225	5,648,098
Other Costs	13,215,374	13,093,426	13,883,064	13,235,459	14,440,903	12,048,527
	16,800,368	16,801,329	18,173,934	17,906,923	19,572,128	17,696,625
Overhead	492,882	516,678	700,764	789,354	1,159,917	1,694,210
	17,293,250	17,318,007	18,874,698	18,696,277	20,732,045	19,390,835
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	1,617,697	1,518,024	2,233,440	1,487,845	2,331,255	2,746,239
	18,910,947	18,836,031	21,108,138	20,184,122	23,063,300	22,137,074
Total	42,763,362	40,465,556	49,277,266	44,681,210	53,757,742	57,006,376

Appendix A <i>Continued</i>	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	1969-70
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Actual	Budget	Budget
Agriculture						
Information Division						
Salaries	466,500	457,300	527,000	494,400	559,000	629,000
Other Costs	420,400	355,500	532,300	503,400	593,500	494,000
Direct Cost	886,900	812,800	1,059,300	997,800	1,152,500	1,123,000
Overhead	82,873	92,189	104,878	101,540	147,413	212,797
	969,773	904,989	1,164,178	1,099,340	1,299,913	1,335,797
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	624,193	539,024	646,022	719,488	697,150	689,601
	1,593,966	1,444,013	1,810,200	1,818,828	1,997,063	2,025,398
Manpower and Immigration						
Information Division						
Salaries	147,000	147,000	555,000	655,033	688,390	766,358
Other Costs			247,500	189,157	335,850	249,390
Direct Cost	147,000	147,000	802,500	844,190	1,024,240	1,015,738
Overhead	25,500	26,500	64,200	76,600	129,400	187,700
	172,500	173,500	866,700	920,790	1,153,640	1,203,438
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	3,893,000	2,011,439	3,215,916	1,344,379	2,162,946	2,146,741
	4,065,500	2,184,939	4,082,616	2,265,169	3,316,586	3,350,179
Dominion Bureau of Statistics						
Information Division						
Salaries	72,487	72,487	148,719	168,195	179,790	235,573
Other Costs	218,553	218,553	161,319	153,276	138,750	181,842
Direct Cost	291,040	291,040	310,038	321,471	318,540	417,415
Overhead	11,248	11,248	29,349	29,349	31,370	56,277
	302,288	302,288	339,387	350,820	349,810	473,692
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.						
	302,288	302,288	339,387	350,820	349,810	473,692
Public Printing & Stationery						
Information						
Salaries	25,234	25,234	27,509	27,509	28,364	31,128
Other Costs	124,079	124,079	162,905	162,905	117,000	117,000
Direct Cost	149,313	149,313	190,414	190,414	145,364	148,128
Overhead	8,874	8,874	10,564	10,564	13,647	14,940
	158,187	158,187	200,978	200,978	159,011	163,068
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.						
	158,187	158,187	200,978	200,978	159,011	163,068

Appendix A <i>Continued</i>	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	1969-70
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Actual	Budget	Budget
Consumer & Corporate Affairs						
Information Division						
Salaries			1,063	1,063	25,144	66,064
Other Costs			6,961	6,961	34,925	40,000
Direct Costs			8,024	8,024	60,069	106,064
Overhead			147	147	3,131	13,227
			8,171	8,171	63,200	119,291
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	234,252	234,252	344,206	344,206	478,910	580,845
	234,252	234,252	352,377	352,377	542,110	700,136
Energy Mines & Resources						
Information Division						
Salaries	203,700	203,700	255,000	252,010	327,000	499,900
Other Costs	146,300	146,300	183,000	180,000	258,000	216,100
Direct Costs	350,000	350,000	438,000	432,010	585,000	716,000
Overhead	40,200	40,200	58,600	57,900	77,100	169,500
	390,200	390,200	496,600	489,910	662,100	885,500
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	389,138	337,232	576,691	359,060	745,343	936,195
	779,338	727,432	1,073,291	848,970	1,407,443	1,821,695
Indian Affairs & Northern Development						
Information Division						
Salaries	147,696	204,906	288,075	274,271	354,500	392,000
Other Costs	648,445	780,339	1,115,970	953,056	1,017,450	1,424,000
Direct Costs	796,141	985,245	1,404,045	1,227,327	1,371,950	1,816,000
Overhead	47,500	62,700	96,800	91,700	114,100	192,000
	843,641	1,047,945	1,500,945	1,319,027	1,486,050	2,008,000
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.						
	843,641	1,047,945	1,500,945	1,319,027	1,486,050	2,008,000
Industry Trade & Commerce						
Information Division						
Salaries	721,148	724,276	761,200	777,736	824,037	780,000
Other Costs	1,891,500	1,489,891	1,973,600	1,695,801	2,093,280	2,329,300
Direct Costs	2,612,648	2,214,167	2,734,800	2,473,537	2,917,317	3,109,300
Overhead	156,500	153,400	176,000	176,100	221,100	270,600
	2,769,148	2,367,567	2,910,800	2,649,637	3,138,417	3,379,900
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	37,980	24,854	35,315	31,402	25,900	25,900
	2,807,128	2,392,421	2,946,115	2,681,039	3,164,317	3,405,800

Appendix A <i>Continued</i>	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	1969-70
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Actual	Budget	Budget
Labour						
Information Division						
Salaries	270,911	270,911	319,864	319,864	383,581	395,000
Other Costs	338,522	338,522	218,375	218,375	262,146	427,000
Direct costs	609,433	609,433	538,239	538,239	645,727	822,000
Overhead	55,800	55,800	98,700	98,700	137,200	153,500
	665,233	665,233	636,939	636,939	782,927	975,500
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	278,852	278,852	244,783	244,783	320,575	278,760
	944,085	944,085	881,722	881,722	1,103,502	1,254,260
National Defence						
Information Division						
Salaries	500,000	492,199	627,000	604,882	665,775	667,000
Other Costs	261,500	182,508	300,000	216,434	256,225	270,000
Direct Costs	761,500	674,707	927,000	821,316	922,000	937,000
Overhead	56,000	47,900	67,800	64,900	60,600	60,800
	817,500	722,607	994,800	886,216	982,600	997,800
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	3,491,000	3,907,251	3,492,500	3,440,755	3,845,000	3,930,000
	4,308,500	4,629,858	4,487,300	4,326,971	4,827,600	4,927,800
National Health & Welfare						
Information Division						
Salaries	270,500	314,800	410,000	333,800	363,400	368,500
Other Costs	125,200	118,900	147,600	163,300	143,600	149,200
Direct Costs	395,700	433,700	557,600	497,100	507,000	517,700
Overhead	118,600	121,300	169,500	147,000	153,100	162,400
	514,300	555,000	727,100	644,100	660,100	680,100
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	1,295,400	1,306,952	1,442,751	1,137,454	1,227,800	1,270,500
	1,809,700	1,861,952	2,169,851	1,781,554	1,887,900	1,950,600
Transport						
Information Division						
Salaries	64,605	78,783	83,053	94,259	103,887	126,898
Other Costs	28,600	40,789	35,100	41,941	46,200	62,240
Direct Costs	93,205	119,572	118,153	136,200	150,087	189,138
Overhead	12,100	14,700	16,000	18,300	21,200	34,400
	105,305	134,272	134,153	154,500	171,287	223,538
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	204,000	240,600	312,200	304,078	623,700	670,600
	309,305	374,872	446,353	459,578	794,987	894,138

Appendix A <i>Continued</i>	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	1969-70
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Actual	Budget	Budget
External Affairs						
Information Division						
Salaries	265,150	265,150	313,500	313,500	357,300	402,900
Other Costs	760,023	656,085	914,798	892,056	864,780	1,833,743
Direct Cost	1,025,173	921,235	1,228,298	1,205,556	1,222,080	2,236,643
Overhead	24,659	24,523	36,900	37,700	41,600	83,500
	1,049,832	945,758	1,265,198	1,243,256	1,263,680	2,320,143
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	217,718	217,718	243,714	243,714	211,844	254,196
	1,267,550	1,163,476	1,508,912	1,486,970	1,475,524	2,574,339
Supply and Services						
Information Division						
Salaries	12,500	12,500	88,980	49,397	88,980	94,319
Other Costs	5,000	5,000	29,500	19,984	23,045	24,428
Direct Cost	17,500	17,500	118,480	69,381	112,025	118,747
Overhead	4,270	4,270	36,750	21,460	19,650	37,010
	21,770	21,770	155,230	90,841	131,675	155,757
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	134,100	78,776	174,300	67,444	113,112	111,807
	155,870	100,546	329,530	158,285	144,787	267,564
Finance and Receiver General						
Salaries	15,246	15,246	16,293	16,293	17,364	17,673
Other Costs	14,454	14,454	9,064	9,064	8,528	8,440
Direct Cost	29,700	29,700	25,357	25,357	25,892	26,113
Overhead	7,964	7,964	7,082	7,082	7,090	7,160
	37,664	37,664	32,439	32,439	32,982	33,273
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	107,800	118,819	157,600	138,071	184,300	171,400
	145,464	156,483	190,039	170,510	217,282	204,673
Fisheries and Forestry						
Information Services						
Salaries	441,000	469,337	603,000	627,105	803,552	819,390
Other Costs	374,200	360,100	466,388	468,726	540,930	523,310
Direct Cost	815,200	829,437	1,069,388	1,095,831	1,344,482	1,342,700
Overhead	75,252	81,713	106,842	114,372	203,054	309,397
	890,452	911,150	1,176,230	1,210,203	1,547,536	1,652,097
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	341,700	257,973	436,250	343,886	501,600	424,500
	1,232,152	1,169,123	1,612,480	1,554,089	2,049,136	2,076,597

Appendix A <i>Continued</i>	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	1969-70
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Actual	Budget	Budget
Regional Development						
Information Division						
Salaries	130,000	130,000	210,000	210,000	257,525	425,600
Other Costs	151,000	124,426	647,000	467,000	559,250	950,200
Direct Cost	281,000	254,426	857,000	677,000	816,775	1,375,800
Overhead	22,341	22,341	54,340	54,340	98,531	126,664
	303,341	276,767	911,340	731,340	915,306	1,502,464
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.						
	303,341	276,767	911,340	731,340	915,306	1,502,464
National Revenue						
Information Division						
Salaries	148,016	148,016	180,574	180,574	205,000	216,992
Other Costs	560,771	539,827	637,898	537,012	508,640	502,500
Direct Cost	708,787	687,843	818,472	717,586	713,640	719,492
Overhead	26,550	26,550	37,390	37,390	45,550	64,530
	735,337	714,393	855,862	754,976	759,190	784,022
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	300,500	290,911	272,500	340,201	616,000	622,800
	1,035,837	1,005,304	1,128,362	1,095,177	1,375,190	1,406,822
Post Office						
Information Division						
Salaries	116,300	112,945	132,400	128,533	146,200	155,692
Other Costs	438,880	403,216	481,254	458,287	468,202	821,600
Direct Cost	555,180	516,161	613,654	586,820	614,402	977,292
Overhead	28,203	27,599	31,647	31,908	35,417	50,846
	583,383	543,760	645,301	618,728	649,819	1,028,138
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	383,058	378,911	681,994	651,450	733,378	982,705
	966,441	922,671	1,327,295	1,270,178	1,383,197	2,010,843
Public Works						
Information Division						
Salaries	70,770	76,800	74,753	76,000	63,682	75,000
Other Costs	31,485	17,000	31,400	32,400	22,200	27,320
Direct Cost	102,255	93,800	106,153	108,400	85,882	102,320
Overhead	14,661	15,902	20,434	21,237	17,726	26,004
	116,916	109,702	126,587	129,637	103,608	128,324
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	8,447	8,269	10,524	9,329	9,536	8,739
	125,363	117,971	137,111	128,966	113,144	137,063

Appendix A <i>Continued</i>	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	1969-70
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Actual	Budget	Budget
Secretary of State						
Information Division						
Salaries					34,000	73,000
Other Costs					29,000	120,000
Direct Cost					63,000	193,000
Overhead					13,420	19,000
					76,420	212,000
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	188,500	106,158	196,400	182,078	165,000	90,000
	188,500	106,158	196,400	182,078	241,420	302,000
Treasury Board						
Information Division						
Salaries					7,515	37,050
Other Costs					2,875	36,500
Direct Cost					10,390	73,550
Overhead					2,181	12,441
					12,571	85,991
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	49,200	62,162	70,000	51,787	153,000	111,000
	49,200	62,162	70,000	51,787	165,571	196,991
Veterans Affairs						
Information Division						
Salaries	80,000	76,845	80,000	76,240	104,000	87,000
Other Costs	102,000	88,739	286,500	251,558	156,000	68,000
Direct Cost	182,000	165,584	366,500	327,798	260,000	155,000
Overhead	20,807	20,716	26,524	24,820	37,906	35,180
	202,807	186,300	393,024	352,618	297,906	190,180
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	21,000	52,664	13,500	15,701	13,000	
	223,807	238,964	406,524	368,319	310,906	190,180
Justice & Attorney General						
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.						
	3,000	7,656	43,000	3,050	1,136,500	1,015,000
	3,000	7,656	43,000	3,050	1,136,500	1,015,000
Solicitor General						
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.						
			17,000	306	30,000	10,000
			17,000	306	30,000	10,000

Appendix A <i>Continued</i>	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	1969-70
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Actual	Budget	Budget
Information divisions						
Salaries	4,168,763	4,298,435	5,702,983	5,680,664	6,587,986	7,362,037
Other Costs	6,640,912	6,004,228	8,588,432	7,620,693	8,480,376	10,876,103
Direct Cost	10,809,675	10,302,663	14,291,415	13,301,357	15,068,362	18,239,140
Overhead	839,902	866,389	1,250,547	1,223,109	1,631,486	2,299,873
	11,649,577	11,169,052	15,541,962	14,524,466	16,699,848	20,538,013
Other Information media costs charged direct to programmes etc.	12,202,838	10,460,473	12,627,166	9,972,622	13,994,594	14,331,289
	23,852,415	21,629,525	28,169,128	24,497,088	30,694,442	34,869,302

Appendix B						
Summary of Cost of Information—External Affairs Department:						
	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	1969-70
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Actual	Budget	Budget
Information Division	1,049,832	945,758	1,265,198	1,243,256	1,263,680	2,320,143
Press Office	120,937	120,937	118,041	118,041	88,229	69,547
Cultural Affairs Div.	560	560	689	689	688	720
Historical Division	96,221	96,221	124,984	124,984	122,927	183,929
	1,267,550	1,163,476	1,508,912	1,486,970	1,475,524	2,574,339
Overseas Posts	4,990,732	4,990,732	7,052,741	7,052,741	6,819,306	7,454,073
	6,258,282	6,154,208	8,561,653	8,539,711	8,294,830	10,028,412

Appendix C

The Cost of the Trade Commissioner Service was as follows

	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	1969-70
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Actual	Budget	Budget
Salaries						
Headquarters		752,177		1,005,318		
Overseas Posts		5,706,573		6,283,531		
	7,085,200	6,458,750	7,872,100	7,288,849	8,271,600	8,870,000
Operation Costs						
Headquarters		375,038		650,433		
Overseas Posts		2,008,448		2,044,362		
	2,058,000	2,383,486	2,707,000	2,694,795	2,811,400	3,384,000
Total Costs						
Headquarters	1,165,758	1,127,215	1,655,900	1,655,751	932,200	1,468,400
Overseas Posts	7,977,442	7,715,021	8,923,200	8,327,893	10,150,800	10,785,600
	9,143,200	8,842,236	10,579,100	9,983,644	11,083,000	12,254,000
Capital Costs						
Headquarters		18,957				
Overseas Posts		179,284		264,278		
	270,000	198,241	253,000	264,278	256,000	256,000
Total						
Headquarters		1,146,172		1,655,751		
Overseas Posts		7,894,305		8,592,171		
	9,413,200	9,040,477	10,832,100	10,247,922	11,339,000	12,510,000
Estimated overhead	830,655	777,341	1,080,304	1,039,634	1,630,540	2,132,113
	10,243,855	9,817,818	11,912,404	11,287,556	12,969,540	14,642,113

Appendix D

The cost of the Canadian Government Travel Bureau was as follows

	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	1969-70
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Actual	Budget	Budget
Salaries	1,905,400	1,947,681	2,178,000	2,364,466	2,312,000	2,547,000
Operating Costs	1,652,000	1,744,480	1,851,000	2,197,598	2,365,800	2,502,000
Advertising	4,534,000	4,470,607	3,749,000	3,451,763	3,481,100	3,548,000
Audios Vis.	522,000	453,585	589,000	523,849	626,000	1,073,000
Publications	1,497,000	1,388,004	1,624,000	1,438,857	1,490,000	1,200,000
Total direct	10,110,400	10,004,358	9,991,000	9,976,533	10,274,900	10,870,000
Estimated Overhead	268,271	284,417	363,431	404,346	531,843	766,784
	10,378,671	10,288,774	10,354,431	10,380,879	10,806,743	11,636,784

Appendix E						
Immigration Programme						
	1966-67		1967-68		1968-69	1969-70
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Actual	Budget	Budget
Overseas						
Advertising	2,230,000	770,294	1,600,000	357,030	200,000	
Publications		27,850		3,558		
	2,230,000	798,144	1,600,000	360,588	200,000	
Headquarters						
Advertising	210,000	115,022	200,000	10,490	100,000	250,450
Films		45,000				
Exhibits				60,000	45,000	
Publications	211,000	262,327	400,000	395,363	355,000	350,300
	421,000	422,349	600,000	465,853	500,000	600,750
Total costs						
Salaries		12,000		93,905	111,726	53,360
Operating Exp.				33,843	37,000	17,780
Advertising	2,440,000	885,316	1,800,000	367,520	300,000	250,450
Films		45,000				
Exhibits				60,000	45,000	
Publications	211,000	290,177	400,000	398,921	355,000	350,000
	2,651,000	1,232,493	2,200,000	954,189	848,726	671,890

Appendix F	
Departments Included in the Survey	
Agriculture	National Defence
Consumer and Corporate Affairs	National Health and Welfare
Energy, Mines and Resources	National Revenue
External Affairs	Post Office
Finance and Receiver General of Canada	Public Works
Fisheries and Forestry	Secretary of State of Canada
Regional Development	Solicitor General
Indian Affairs and Northern Development	Supply and Services
Industry, Trade and Commerce	Transport
Justice and Attorney General of Canada	Treasury Board
Labour	Veterans Affairs
Manpower and Immigration	

Appendix G

Agencies Included in the Survey

Atlantic Development Board	Farm Credit Corporation
Atomic Energy of Canada Limited	Fisheries Research Board of Canada
Bank of Canada	Immigration Appeal Board
Canada Council	Industrial Development Bank
Canada Emergency Measures Organization	International Development Agency
Canada Government Exhibition Commission	Merchant Seamen Compensation Board
Canada Labour Relations Board	Municipal Development and Loan Board
Canadian Commercial Corporation	National Arts Centre Corporation
Canadian Government Printing Bureau	National Capital Commission
Canadian Government Travel Bureau	National Energy Board
Canadian Patents and Developments Limited	National Harbours Board
Canadian Penitentiary Service	National Museums of Canada—National Gallery of Canada
Canadian Pension Commission	National Parole Board
Canadian Transport Commission	National Research Council
Cape Breton Development Corporation	Public Archives and National Library
Central Mortgage & Housing Corporation	Public Printing and Stationery
Crown Assets Disposal Corporation	Public Service Commission
Defence Research Board	Royal Canadian Mint
Department of Insurance	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
Dominion Bureau of Statistics	St. Lawrence Seaway Authority
Dominion Coal Board	Tariff Board
Dominion Fire Commission	Unemployment Insurance Commission
Export Credits Insurance Corporation	War Veterans Allowance Board

Structures of Departmental and Agency Information Services

The Task Force examined the structure and activities of the information divisions or directorates in departments and agencies of the Government of Canada. Four types of studies were undertaken to gain a clearer picture of the activities of the Federal Government in information.

First, the Task Force Members held interviews with the Clerk of the Privy Council and most Deputy Ministers. Second, interviews were held with the directors of information, and managerial officers of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the Public Printing and Stationery Department, the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Manpower and Immigration.

Third, a less detailed investigation was made through interviews with directors of information and senior officers in the following nine departments: Consumer and Corporate Affairs; Energy, Mines and Resources; Indian Affairs and

Northern Development; Industry, Trade and Commerce; Labour; National Defence; National Health and Welfare; Transport; External Affairs.

A fourth type of study was prepared through the analysis of replies received from a questionnaire sent to the directors of information and other responsible officers of some 56 remaining departments or agencies; all replied, but the replies varied considerably in detail and in usefulness.

Definitions

Behind these four studies, and giving them a basic sense of direction, were certain concepts of what information is and what it does. These concepts are discussed in Papers I and II of this volume, but the Task Force drew inspiration as well from some definitions of public relations borrowed from the Canadian National Railways, the Canadian Public Relations Society and the American Public Relations Society. The Task Force felt the definitions would help to clarify

the function of the government information officer in public relations, and the position of public relations in the structure of government operations.

The definition of the public relations societies is this: 'Public relations is a function which evaluates public attitudes, identifies the policies and procedures of an individual or organization with the public interest, and executes a programme of action to earn public understanding and acceptance.'

The following and much more extensive discussion of definitions in public relations is an extract from *The Public Relations Function in Canadian National Railways*:

'There are scores of definitions of 'public relations', ranging all the way from 'applied sociology' to simply 'doing the right thing and making sure that the right people know about it.'

'Paul Burton, in his book *Corporate Public Relations* (reviewed in the Harvard Business Review, July-August 1967) says: 'Corporate public relations is a function of management which helps a company establish and maintain a good name for itself and its products or services through professional communications techniques.' He adds that a company must deserve a good name in order to maintain it.'

'The business of public relations is *handling information* . . .'

'That, in short, is the essence of Public Relations – collecting, evaluating, communicating *information*.'

'It follows that every public relations establishment should be judged by: the completeness of its *collection* of information; the skill, through its acquired knowledge of information sources and their inter-relationships, with which it *evaluates* information; and the effectiveness of its *communication* of information . . .'

'In other words, public relations does this:

a) Collects and evaluates information about the attitudes of the company's various publics and communicates this evaluated information to the company's management;

b) collects and evaluates information about the company (all its policies and activities as formulated and performed through various departments) and communicates this evaluated information to the company's various publics.'

'Addressing itself to management, public relations:

1. *Collects* information about the attitudes and activities of the general public (the nation), the business community, labour, various governments, communities, social or professional organizations, the communications media, employees

(an important 'public'), customers, etc.

Its techniques: personal contact, review and analysis of media, attitude research studies and surveys.

2. *Evaluates* this information.

Its techniques: relating the information to its acquired knowledge of corporate objectives.

3. *Communicates* the information to management.

Its techniques: personal contact with company officers; Daily Report and special reports, management bulletins; participation in management meetings, etc.'

'Addressing itself to its publics, public relations:

1. *Collects* information from staff and line officers about company and/or departmental policies, objectives, accomplishments, etc.

Its techniques: personal contact; review of management correspondence and various reports; watch-dogging major projects; interdepartmental consultation, meetings, etc.

2. *Evaluates* this information.

Its techniques: relates the information to its acquired knowledge of corporate objectives; relates it also to acquired knowledge of public environments into which it is to be injected, and to current capacities and proclivities of the media through which it is to be projected; weighs it against competing inputs of information.

3. *Communicates* the information to various publics. Its techniques: advertising, displays and exhibits; production and screening of films; provision of material to press, radio and television; speeches, special events; influencing editorials; design of equipment, uniforms, signs, etc.; production and distribution of promotional materials; Keeping Track, CN Reporter, *Au Fil du Rail*, *Trait d'Union* and various employee communications tools.'

The definitions may usefully be kept in mind because the Task Force, in designing the questionnaires on which much of this paper is based, encountered great diversity in all operations of departmental information divisions or directorates; and the diversity arose, at the very first, in attitudes towards the whole principle of public relations. The report therefore attempts to deal primarily with PR fundamentals as they are illustrated in the experience of the services studied. The reports on the various departments and agencies show that all divisions or directorates of public relations share a common aim, although in practice none of them bear any resemblance to the others. It is also clear that the requirements of the departments or agencies vary considerably. This helps to explain the great disparity between the structure and the functions of information organizations in

government. These organizations range from one-man shops, such as that of the Fisheries Research Board and of the Emergency Measures Organization, to the structured and complex organizations of the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce and the Department of Manpower and Immigration. Many people are employed in promotional activities in the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce (including the Canadian Government Travel Bureau) and, in most other departments, they would come within the authority of an information directorate.

Findings

Authority for the establishment of information directorates or divisions came from different sources for the various departments and agencies. Of the 13 departments and agencies studied intensively, five were set up under the legislation establishing the departments; two information services could offer no authority at all for their creation; and the others mentioned a variety of authorities that ranged from the directive of a Deputy Minister to an entry in the departmental manual. A similar confusion about the authority through which the divisions were founded appeared in response to the questionnaire circulated to the remaining 56 departments and agencies of government.

Our research team paid particular attention to the reporting function of directors of information and their services. Of the 13 departments and agencies studied in depth, eight directors reported to the Deputy Minister or the equivalent (in one of these cases the director reported functionally to the two Deputy Ministers of his department while, in administrative matters, he reported to the director-general of administration). Of the remaining five departments and agencies, the directors of information reported to senior departmental officials at a level lower than that of the Deputy Minister. The Department of Public Printing and Stationery has no information service in the accepted sense.

Equally important in defining the rôle and status of an information service within a department is the question of whether or not the director of information is a member of the departmental Senior Management Committee. The answer to this question gives a fair indication of the value that the department or agency places on information. Directors of information were found to be members of the Management Committee in only five of the 13 departments studied. In five other departments, the director was not a member of the Management Committee. Curiously, in one

department the director was a member of the Management Committee of one Deputy Minister but not of the Committee of the other Deputy Minister. In two further cases, the directors of information were invited to attend Management Committee meetings only when information matters were on the agenda. As noted above, the remaining agency (Public Printing and Stationery) has no director of information. (Nor, indeed, does it have a Management Committee.)

In most departments and agencies, the director of information was concerned with departmental programme planning. In two cases, however, there was no indication of an information contribution to programme planning. In some cases, however, even when the director of information is not directly concerned, he takes part in planning through his advice on information content.

Departmental information policies are normally established by the director of information in consultation with the Deputy Minister (for example, in the Department of External Affairs); with a senior Assistant Deputy Minister (for example, in the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce); or with the Senior Departmental Management Committee or a programme and policy committee (for example, in the Departments of Manpower and Immigration, and of Indian Affairs and Northern Development). Some departments conduct an annual review of information policy, while others make policy changes on a continuing basis, as necessary, or periodically.

Of the 13 departments and agencies studied intensively, the Departments of External Affairs, Manpower and Immigration, Energy, Mines and Resources and Industry, Trade and Commerce (Trade Publicity Section) have information officers posted abroad at Canadian diplomatic and consular missions. In addition, the Departments of National Defence, Fisheries, Central Mortgage and Housing, Manpower and Immigration, the Unemployment Insurance Commission and the Atomic Energy Commission have information officers stationed in various regions of Canada. Five additional departments or agencies (for example, The National Harbours Board) indicated they intend to establish regional information offices in Canada outside the national capital. The recognition of regional requirements in planning information is an important trend. Control of regional information officers usually remains in the departmental or agency headquarters at Ottawa.

Research studies showed that most departments and agencies used personnel other than information officers for information activities that were neither supervised nor controlled by the director of information. In particular, depart-

nents that furnish technical and statistical information for special publics do this through channels that are quite separate from the normal information services. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics, for example, produces the *Canada Year Book* in a division that is entirely apart from its Information Division. In other departments, regional directors, field officers and health educators take part in information activities. Some of the departments and agencies concerned admitted that such "extra information division" activities should be centralized within information services for guidance and assistance, and to ensure that there is no duplication of effort.

In the Department of External Affairs, Foreign Service Officers and Administrative Service Officers perform information duties both in the Information Division and in the Press Office. In the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, the promotional functions inevitably involve Trade Commissioners and officers in the Canadian Government Travel Bureau. It is worth noting that information training is rarely given to people engaged in information duties outside the information divisions and directorates.

Of the 13 departments and agencies studied, only five provide an information handbook or manual (for the guidance of information offices or for the use of departmental branches) on the functions and procedures of the information division or directorate. One other department issues guidance directives.

Some of the 13 information services are considering whether their operations should be organized according to subject or on the basis of media expertise. At the time the Task Force studies were made, four of the information services were subject-based; four were devoted to media; and four combined both styles of organization. Recent trends among the larger information services have been towards expertise in media.

Paper IX of this report pays considerable attention to government news releases. It may be noted here, however, that there is a fair measure of disparity in the clearances required in various departments and agencies for issuing news releases. In some departments, ministerial approval is required; in others, the approval is given by the Deputy Minister or an Assistant Deputy Minister. Infrequently, a programme officer or the director of information may authorize releases. There was little evidence that a clear distinction was made between news releases that deal with fact alone, and those touching on policy. In some departments there were several stages of authorization for news releases and, in one instance, no less than six. For departmental and agency publications, and for

films, film-clips and radio scripts, there was a similar wide variety in the manner of authorization.

Two information services operate a speakers' bureau; two more stated that they plan to establish one.

Three of the 13 departments and agencies have co-ordination offices to direct enquiries from the public to their proper destination. Generally, the practice is that information services deal with general public enquiries while programme specialists answer technical and specialist enquiries. In one department, there was simply no recognizable policy for handling public enquiries.

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics and the Department of Public Printing and Stationery have no clipping services.

Six of the 13 departments and agencies reported that their planning of information programmes was conducted annually. Four departments reported no annual programme planning, and the rest said their planning went on continuously.

The problems of information personnel are outlined later in this paper but it is worth noting at this point that most of the information services studied were limited by lack of staff in providing essential public services, particularly on a regional basis. The lack was particularly noticeable in the Departments of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, of External Affairs, of Transport and in the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

The flow of information from management to directors of information (and the relations between management and the directors) varies from satisfactory to poor. The studies indicate, however, that even under the best of these arrangements, there is room for much improvement.

Generally, there is a reluctance, on occasion almost an antipathy, to establish and maintain a relationship between management and information that would allow directors of information and their officers to make a full contribution to operations.

To enlarge on this point, the studies showed that the relationship between directors of information and senior management was satisfactory in those cases where the director reported to the Deputy Minister of the department, and was a regular member of the Senior Management Committee. In the Department of National Defence, for example, the Director General of Information is a Brigadier-General who reports directly to his Deputy Minister and when necessary to the Chief of Staff. He is also a member of the Senior Management Committee.

In contrast to the more reasonable relationship in the Department of National Defence, there is the situation in the De-

partment of Transport. Here, there is insufficient contact between the information services and management and as a result the effectiveness of Transport operations in information leaves a lot to be desired. This is all the more unfortunate since two studies on Transport Information Services were carried out in 1968; at the end of that year, despite a number of recommendations, no apparent action had been taken.

A further word on departmental information budgets: several of the departments examined do not consult their information divisions in annual budgeting for information needs. Moreover, most information services have little or no control over the expenditure of the information funds that appear in the budgets of departmental programme branches.

Some information services are unable to control the programme branches' expenditures in information, or to inform branches accurately, and thus they cannot prevent the lapse of information funds that might have been used to purchase, for example, essential information material for the following year. In only two of the information services studied has the director of information control over the information funds in the budgets of programme branches. This control would ensure that information funds could not be transferred by the branches for other purposes without his consent. The entire area of research and evaluation in information has been generally unproductive, in spite of some modest results from a few directors of information working on their own. Almost no attempt has been made by information divisions to make project evaluations either before or after the project has been initiated. The impression given by the Task Force surveys is that one of the main impediments to useful research and evaluation is cost. There is a desire on the part of some directors to use research in planning projects and in subsequent evaluation. However, there has been no attempt to assist departments by making available to them the research and evaluation done by other departments or, even where the results would benefit departments generally, to undertake shared research and evaluation.

The studies established that very few information people had succeeded in creating and maintaining good working relationships with their most important colleagues—the administrators of programmes in their departments. In some departments, the programme administrators have manuals of instruction on how to get specialized help in information. Few administrators, however, appear to have achieved a proper understanding of the rôle of public information in setting before the public the details of the programmes designed to serve it.

There is a natural and reasonable distinction in the minds of public servants between partisan political information and public affairs concerning their respective departments. The distinction has never been defined for information personnel by government. The result is that the Director of Information tends to be reluctant to co-operate closely with his Minister's office or its political appointees. Yet the Minister is the central news figure in his department. The corollary is that the Minister's political assistants develop their own media relations and this often affects the department and the effectiveness of its personnel. While on occasion, Ministers and their executive or special assistants deal directly with information services the Task Force found no evidence of significant partisan involvement of public servants.

Summary

The structure of the information services of the Federal Government is afflicted with wide disparities in virtually all of its operations: disparity in budgeting; disparity in policy planning procedures; disparity in job definitions of information personnel; disparity in organization; disparity in departmental attitudes towards both information officers and the importance of their work; and disparity even in the authority for the very existence of the information services. They are also hindered by a tendency in some departments to regard the information service as the poor sister or foster child of the family and, frequently, by a related problem as well. This is the exclusion of information directors from the higher consultations that occur in their departments. These and other problems that the Task Force discovered from its studies of the information services in several government departments, have led to certain conclusions.

We recommend that:

- 1. Departments and agencies develop information policies consistent with their objectives and with the information policies of the Federal Government.**
- 2. Information policies recognize the responsibility of the department's information services for the content of its information production, for advising the Minister and Deputy Minister on policy and content, on methods of identifying the department's particular audience, and for long-term planning.**

The Director of Information act as a senior policy adviser responsible to his Deputy Minister, and be a member of the departmental or agency Management Committee, with easy access to the Minister and Deputy Minister.

Information Divisions be renamed Public Affairs Divisions and Information Service Officers become Public Affairs Officers to emphasize their responsibility to the public, as well as to the government.

The budgets of Information Divisions be reviewed to ensure that tasks not be duplicated in areas such as research, technical facilities, and regional representation, which could be conducted more effectively and economically by a co-ordinating service.

Departmental and agency Information Divisions be responsible for information budgets.

Information Directors together with relevant central agencies, review departmental personnel, structures, and management practices to ensure productive and efficient use of information staff and resources.

Personnel

Information Services Officers are defined in this report as full-time departmental employees responsible primarily for planning, producing and evaluating programmes and distributing information about policies and projects of the Federal Government and its agencies. For these purposes they must be competent to plan, to carry out and to spread information material in its many forms in the two official languages and through assorted media. This study considers only those employees who are formally classified as Information Services Officers; others, who are engaged in writing and editing scientific and technical publications and are not so classified are excluded, and so are such specialists as photographers, illustrators and designers.

There are now in the federal public service about 400 Information Services Officers (384 on December 31, 1968). In addition, about the same number are engaged in information work and are called information officers, although they are not appointed by the Public Service Commission (for example, the information staff at the Fisheries Research Board); others, although appointed by the Public Service Commission, are not termed Information Officers (photographers, artists, librarians, scientific and technical writers,

and Foreign Service Officers and clerks who do information work). The classification standards, the pay structures, the selection and evaluation processes, and the training common to Information Services Officers apply to none of these other "information people."

From information made available to the Public Service Commission by ISOs or by departments, it has been possible to obtain comprehensive statistical data on this specialized population as it was in December 1968. The following facts emerge.

Locations and Levels: Of 384 Information Officers, 343 were employed in the Ottawa area and 238 were grade 3 or lower. Of 34 departments and agencies, only 8 had information officers outside Ottawa, and nearly all of these were grades 1 or 2. (There appears to be no correlation between the numbers or grades of ISOs employed, and the size, budget or age of the several departments).

Age and Level: 62.4 per cent of ISOs are 41 years of age, or older; and only 13.6 per cent of officers in the 1 to 3 levels are 30 or under. Out of 390, in all levels, only 57 are 30 or under and, in the three top grades, only 8 are 40 or under.

Sex and Level: Women do not do well: there are only 103, and they are all grade 3, or lower.

Education and Level: 45 per cent had their high school education in Ontario, although fewer than one per cent of these are from the national capital area. The next largest group of officers, those educated in high schools outside of Ontario, were educated abroad. Only 13.5 per cent come from schools in Quebec, and only 9.5 per cent from the Prairies. One hundred and forty-three ISOs have university education, including 124 at grade 3 or lower.

Experience and Levels: 301 of 346 Information Officers are at grade 3 or lower: of the 301, 169 have had 11 or more years of experience as Information Officers. Of the 126 officers in the top four grades, only 25 claim any significant experience in audio-visual methods and advertising.

Language Ability and Level: 310 have English as their first language; 83 of them claim bilingualism. Sixty-six have French as their first language; 56 of them claim bilingualism. Eighty-two per cent therefore have English as their first language, and 37 per cent claim to be bilingual. There are two French-speaking officers out of seven at the 6th grade, two out of 13 at the 5th grade. French-speaking officers form 21 per cent of the lowest group, as against 18 per cent of the whole group.

Mobility and Level: Of 71 new appointments in 1968,

seven were grade 4 and above. Sixty-four were grade 3 and below. More new appointments were made in grades 2 and 3 than promotions. Promotion from grades 1 to 2, 2 to 3, 3 to 4, 4 to 5 was almost equally proportionate to the respective population levels: there were only 15 promotions from grade 1 to 2 out of 144 officers at grade 1. *Termination of Employment and Level:* Of the total ISO population, 25 per cent terminate their employment at grades 1, 2 or 3. Of all terminations, 50 per cent occur in the first 2 years of employment; eight per cent in years 2 to 3 of employment; 16 per cent in years 3 to 5 of employment; three per cent in years 5 to 10 of employment; 23 per cent in years 10 and above of employment.

The Act to amend the Financial Administration Act (1967) established the responsibility of Treasury Board for all personnel management and manpower planning in the public service and authorized Treasury Board to delegate to Deputy Ministers the exercise of the Board's responsibilities for personnel management in the public service. The procedures of personnel selection and the protection of the merit principle remain a responsibility of the Public Service Commission. The Commission, and its predecessor, the Civil Service Commission, has traditionally been concerned with manpower planning through its detailed knowledge (notably of manpower inventory) of the public service, although this function has now been vested in the Treasury Board.

Thus the responsibility for personnel management in the public service is shared by the Treasury Board, the Public Service Commission and the departments and agencies. The entire system of personnel management in the Federal Government has grown up over many years. Hitherto, there has been no occasion to consider the provision of qualified personnel as a single and complete function, certainly not in information services.

The Task Force studies show that staff shortages in the Public Service Commission has led in recent years to restricted activity in manpower planning, in career development, and in the creation of career guidelines. The consequence for information services can readily be stated. The energies of the Public Service Commission have been concentrated on the continuous staffing process, and on the establishment of manpower inventories from which qualified candidates for selection can be determined. These inventories have largely replaced the former poster-competition method of seeking applicants for vacancies in the public service. The establishment and use of manpower inventories has resulted in difficulties and misunderstandings

which have had a particularly unfortunate effect on the information services group. In particular, the Public Service Commission has not communicated successfully to the Information Services Officers as a whole the reason and the use of the manpower inventories system as a means of identifying candidates for staffing. This has led to widespread dissatisfaction with current methods of staffing information services, as the Task Force discovered in its research among Information Services Officers at the junior levels (IS-1 to IS-3).

Treasury Board affects information services principally through its responsibility for the classification of IS positions by its Bureau of Classification Revision. The Bureau has the task of establishing the classification structure and qualifications for selection, and these affect organization and career planning in the information services.

The rôle of the Public Service Commission and of Treasury Board in personnel management of information services has been noted; but it must be emphasized that the element that is essential to effective performance in information lies with the departmental line manager who must possess continuing responsibility for personnel matters. A Task Force survey of roughly one in five Information Services Officers below the IS-4 level shows their unhappy attitude towards the value of their work, towards their future, towards their training and their professional recognition. They are disturbed about the inadequate performance objectives set for them, and about the methods of assessing their effectiveness.

In many government departments and agencies the information division, if it exists, is one of the smaller sections. Attention to personnel in the department or agency is inevitably concentrated on the more generously manned branches and divisions. It has been found that, until recently, Information Services Officers have not been regarded by management as candidates for courses in management training, either within departments or as offered by the Public Service Commission. This attitude unquestionably reflects the lack of emphasis placed on management ability as a requirement for a successful career in information services. In most departments and agencies, information services and information officers are held in slight esteem and they lack professional status.

The legislation of 1967 on the public service emphasized the new policy of decentralizing authority to departmental managers: under this policy, managers are expected to carry out their programme responsibilities and to use their resources within the broad guidelines and objectives set forth

y Treasury Board. The new policy proposes to give responsibility for personnel management practices and decisions to the line managers. Task Force studies, however, suggest that both Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission doubt the competence of line managers to carry out their new duties. The Board and the Commission have, therefore, been inclined to retain some measure of control, rather than to restrict themselves to their remaining functions under the amended legislation. There is a certain interest in observing that departments are often content to let the Public Service Commission retain responsibility for making unpleasant decisions, such as the denial of promotion to an employee. The general result, however, is to restrict effective management practices. This is nowhere more evident than in information services.

After these general comments on points arising from ISOS submissions, from personnel inventories and studies prepared or the Task Force on existing personnel practices, it may be helpful to list some of the main deficiencies:

a) In most departments and agencies, morale among Information Services Officers is low; this is true at both junior and senior levels. In Volume 1 we have quoted abundantly from questionnaires returned by officers at the junior level.

b) The ISOS and the information services do not receive adequate attention from either the managerial or personnel authorities.

c) The ISOS are few in number in most departments and agencies; thus, they lack proper career development, training and adequate opportunity for advancement.

d) Neither Treasury Board nor the Public Service Commission is now performing its full responsibilities for selecting and training ISOS; shortage of staff in the Board and the Commission and the policy to decentralize personnel matters to departmental and agency levels are partly responsible for present difficulties.

e) Small in size and fragmented among departments and agencies, information services are unable to specialize or to develop skills and disciplines now needed in all departments.

f) The placing of ISOS on the permanent staffs of information divisions in so many departments prevents the mobility and varied experience essential to a professional career service.

g) Particularly disturbing in the present classification structure for ISOS is its insistence that seniority depends often on the extent of managerial responsibility; that is, on numbers of persons supervised and the size of the budget administered.

The following may be given in brief as causes for the dis-

turbing disparity in levels of morale in this field:

1. Frustration of information personnel who for reasons of departmental policy and practice feel that they are excluded from the proper practice of public relations.

2. Poor organization within the department or agency.

3. Limited promotion opportunities.

4. Isolation in small information divisions or in single PR positions.

5. The need for personnel who are not really information officers – foreign service officers, for example, or scientists – to do full-time or part-time information work; officers generally find that their interests lie in the field of responsibility for which they have been trained.

In the government departments and agencies where there is relatively high morale in information services, this probably stems from these factors:

1. Public Relations are regarded by departmental management as an essential part of their responsibilities.

2. The director of information reports through the Deputy Minister or a senior departmental officer. He is on the Management Committee of the department and has duties in programme planning.

3. The director of information may and does take initiatives and responsibilities in public relations matters; thus, he is able to advise departmental management with authority.

Certain personnel objectives emerge from our study of the existing information policies and practices in the Federal Government. These objectives should be publicly stated as government policy, and measures should be taken to ensure that they are met.

a) A carefully determined and productive use should be made of the information employees in the Federal Government service. The titular officer strength is about 400, but about 400 more, who are not ISOS, are fully or partially engaged in information work in Canada and abroad. Until there are information objectives clearly defined by Cabinet and departments, until there are guidelines as to methods and systems to be employed, government cannot begin to assess rationally and more accurately the number or specific qualifications of information personnel it needs. The importance or the obscurity of departmental information services depends on such variables as the departmental tradition of enthusiasm or prejudice, of awareness and of indifference, on the competence or incompetence of departmental information heads, on the varying purposes of departments and agencies on the fortuitous qualities of successive Deputies and Ministers. Clearly, many things are drastically wrong with information services which jointly

employ no women in a grade higher than 3, which have 301 employees out of 346 in grade 3 or lower, 169 of them with 11 years or more of service, including 124 with university degrees. Why do 50 per cent of those who leave the Information Services quit during their first two years? And what are the deep-lying causes of the dispirited morale of which the symptoms have been noted earlier

Yet the Government of Canada is spending as much as \$148,000,000 on information (more than two and one-half times the entire vote for the Department of External Affairs) with results impossible to measure.

b) Specialists in communications rather than in programmes are needed, and they should have the necessary ability to grasp details of departmental policies and activity. They should combine zeal with an adequate educational background, and knowledge of the two official languages, with specialized training, with wide but thorough knowledge of the Federal Government, and with a well-informed understanding of the practicable as well as the desirable in information work.

c) Information Services Officers should belong to a career service in which they could serve usefully in any department, or in the various information services abroad. Mobility, desirable in itself, would undoubtedly raise and equalize the standards of information services throughout the government; it would produce a corps of more versatile, imaginative and ambitious officers, convinced of their proper place in the structure of the government, and capable of sustaining it through the exercise of required independence of judgment. Mobility in a career service would disclose the disparities of departmental information services and could reasonably be expected to result in greater economies in manpower, in less duplication of services, and in reduced costs. It would result in a close scrutiny by all departments of their information activities, leading to the revitalizing or abandoning of tired programmes and procedures.

d) A career service in information would make possible an equitable system of recruiting and promotion, an orderly and effective link of training programmes in the two official languages, in the skills of communication and administration in the governmental and private information media, and would greatly facilitate the selection and training of gifted officers (including selected non-information personnel who are involved in information functions), for specialized training or for more general duties, both in Canada and abroad, in accordance with the demonstrably specialized or varied needs of departments and agencies. It would also allow for comparing the effectiveness of information officers. In an

intelligently organized and administered career service, the present problems of morale should disappear.

e) A career service in information would rapidly disclose its indispensable relationship with and partnership in management. It would also give career officers a fairer opportunity for promotion in spite of the limited size of individual information divisions and open up prospects to the senior executive level.

f) It would be unrealistic to expect that officers of such a career service could displace officers in other departments (notably in External Affairs) now discharging information responsibilities abroad. Some posts are too small, others, as in communist-dominated countries, too restricted to justify, for some years to come, the presence of a full-time information officer. But External Affairs officers or others could receive suitable training for their particular information duties abroad or in Canada.

g) The status of the technical supporting staff should be determined. If it is not possible or desirable to include all photographers, designers, lay-out specialists and others in the ISO category, a new category may be necessary.

h) The senior ISO in each department or agency should be the principal public affairs adviser and report to and consult with the Deputy. He should serve on standing committees of special relevance to his work and should participate in his own right in the Managerial Committee or policy committees responsible for budgets, staff, training and other matters which must be his concern. He should be responsible for the in-training of his staff and make provision for their training in Centres organized and conducted by the Public Service Commission with the advice of the proposed Personnel Section of Information Canada.

i) The service should remain open at appropriate levels to qualified specialists and use should be made whenever required, and under appropriate safeguards, of employees on a secondment or contract basis.

The attainment of these basic objectives calls for a major reform of the status and organization of ISOs.

We recommend that the government:

1. Create a career service for Information Services Officers to be called the Canadian Public Affairs Service of which the officer members would be recruited, trained, and thereafter assigned and transferred by the Public Service Commission, in consultation with the departments and agencies. For these purposes, the Public Service Commission should be enlarged and strengthened.

1. Ensure that the staff of the Treasury Board is adequate to carry out its responsibilities for the proper functioning of this new career service.

2. Require the Commission and the Board to work closely with and be advised by Information Canada.

3. Establish a Personnel Division within Information Canada to counsel the Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission on recruiting, classification, and performance standards; the Personnel Division would also make recommendations on general and specialized training, on career planning and development and on methods of improving the linguistic balance required by the service.

4. Ensure that present training programmes for information officers be made comprehensive, and be improved in quality, so that the present obsolete classification levels are up-graded, to provide access for information officers to senior executive levels, and to make feasible their mobility through successive departments and agencies.

5. A Council of Directors of Public Affairs (formerly Information) Divisions, from departments and agencies, serviced by Information Canada, be set up to permit a better understanding of government policies affecting all or a particular group of them, to pool knowledge on current information plans thus developing a broader view of the context in which they operate.

! & ?

We have examined the finances, the structures and the personnel situation as they apply to the bulk of information services in the Government; this paper is a review of a number of specific information functions as they are performed throughout the Federal Government. The functions include media relations, audio-visual services, still photography, exhibits and displays, design, parliamentary returns, the referral of enquiries, mailing lists, press clippings, press digests, and personnel relations. The purpose of the review was not to pin the blame on specific agencies of government or on individuals for the current flaws in each case but, rather, to expose a general situation, and to put forward arguments and recommendations for its improvement.

Media Relations

The Task Force's main survey of attitudes towards federal information confirmed that the mass media are by far the most common source of information about the Federal Government. Seventy per cent of the survey's respondents mentioned television as a source; 62 per cent mentioned newspapers and magazines; and 58 per cent, radio. By comparison, contact with government representatives or government publications is important to only a minority of Canadians.

Obviously media relations are one of the most important functions of the government information services. When properly handled, they help ensure that a department's activities are reported to the general public fully and fairly. It could be argued that no other information function has so high a potential for good – or bad – results. A single misunderstanding by a single reporter can lead to enormous damage in terms of public acceptance and good will.

Sometimes the job is called media relations, but most often it is known as press relations. This in itself is a revealing comment on the information orientation among the 13 government departments studied. The function exists on a full-time basis, under one name or the other, in External Affairs, National Defence, Labour, Industry, Trade and Commerce, Agriculture, and Manpower and Immigration. It is handled, part-time, by Information Officers in the Departments of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Energy, Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs and Northern Development, National Health and Welfare, Transport, and at the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

Some departments rate media relations highly; in others they hardly exist. At the Queen's Printer, for example, media relations are little more than a sideline of the Publicity

Section, which emphasizes the commercial promotion and advertising of new publications. An Information Officer, Level 1, is in charge. By contrast, the Senior Media Relations Officers in the Departments of Agriculture and Industry, Trade and Commerce are at the IS-5 Level; and External Affairs' two Press Officers are a Foreign Service Officer 5 and an Administrative Service/Foreign Service Officer 5. The Department of National Defence has two full-time Press Liaison Officers in its Ottawa headquarters, one a Major and one a Captain, and the 13 information officers in the field (two Lieutenant-Colonels and 11 Captains or Lieutenants) spend more than 50 per cent of their time on press liaison duties. (At Ottawa headquarters, the Chief of the Information Division is a Brigadier-General.)

It is interesting that in some departments where the media relations function has been loosely defined, Ministers and executive assistants have tended to fill the gap. It is difficult to say whether the politicians have become active because the public servants were not particularly interested in media relations – or whether media relations at the public service level have been neglected because the politicians wanted the field all to themselves. In any event, the situation has undoubtedly muddled the communications stream. In some cases, the citizen cannot tell whether the government news that he gets is based on full, accurate and timely information or is the wishful thinking of an energetic executive assistant.

The Job – or Several Versions of It

In the Task Force's search for a definition of the media relations or press relations function, it discovered some departmental job specifications and heard a variety of views. Basically, the work involves maintaining regular contact with those people in the media who report and edit news about government activity. A major object, of course, is to ensure that these people are fully and accurately informed about the policies and operations of the department or agency involved. But the work also requires an effort to determine the needs and interests of the media, and an ability to respond to them. A media relations officer can only meet these objectives if he has a thorough, first-hand knowledge of the activities within his department and of the requirements of the department's particular publics. Many do not.

A search of departments turned up only one job description for a media relations officer – in the Department of Labour. The Senior Media Relations Officer, an IS-3, is well

qualified by his early background of working for labour unions and, later, as a journalist with both press and broadcasting experience. Under the direction of the Chief of the Information Division, this officer "plans and organizes the department's media information and public relations programme to gain understanding, acceptance and support for departmental programmes" by writing, editing and distributing information to the various media, and by "developing and maintaining effective working relations through personal and written contact" with members of the media. He is expected to answer queries from both media and public, to arrange news conferences and media coverage, and, on occasions to preside over special background briefings for the media. He advises the Chief of the Information Division on the most effective media to reach a given audience and evaluates the success of publicity material in getting the message across. When necessary, he helps regional departmental staff in their relations with the media. On top of all this, he supervises the departmental Press Clipping Bureau, and the production of a press digest for circulation to senior departmental officials. The busy holder of this position could do with some assistance. He simply has not the time to make the media contacts he is expected to establish.

External Affairs also makes heavy demands on its two Press Officers. They are Foreign Service Officers, and usually have no previous involvement in the media. They are responsible for the distribution (but not the writing) of news releases, and of policy statements and speeches. They also assist the media in reporting on Canadian foreign policy and current developments in international affairs. The Press Officer gives "regular briefings to the press" at home, and on the occasion of ministerial missions abroad. In the work abroad, the officer may act as media spokesman for his Department or for a Canadian delegation made up of many departments. He assists in the preparation of press conferences and "facilitates the work of Canadian journalists travelling abroad." He is also responsible for keeping Canadian posts abroad informed of major news events in Canada and on government policy announcements.

Much more often, in the government, the media or press relations function is buried within multi-job descriptions, and the Information Officer performs a variety of other duties. A revealing example is the job description for an Information Officer, Level Two, in Industry, Trade and Commerce's Media Relations Division. In addition to writing articles and news releases, conducting publicity programmes and answering enquiries from the media and the public, this Officer is

also expected to write letters for the Minister's signature, draft "scripts for the Minister's personal greetings at openings of fairs, displays and promotional events" and maintain contact with other information officers in the Federal and provincial governments. In practice, arrangements for the provision of entertainment and hospitality may also be involved, and, in the case of Manpower, advertising too.

The Uninformed Information Officer

It is essential that a media relations officer have a first-hand knowledge of activities in his department, and this requires full access to senior officials, policy-level meetings and documents. Without the confidence or interest of senior departmental officers (and, of course, of media people) the job is meaningless. In the Departments of Manpower and Immigration, National Defence and External Affairs, a good working relationship exists, but the situation is different in Departments such as Transport and Labour.

Report, or the lack of it, between information staff and management, is reflected in relations with the media. Reporters quickly come to know and ignore information officers who lack information. The average journalist, whether in the print or broadcasting field, works in a highly competitive situation against firm deadlines; he frequently requires background material and explanations in a hurry. Reporters interviewed by the Task Force said they rapidly learn to by-pass information officers who are not in a position to inform.

An example of trust between press officer and senior management was observed in the Department of Finance at the time of the October 1968 Budget. A detailed description of that event is given in Paper XI. On a day to day basis, Manpower and Immigration and National Defence both provide examples of a good working relationship. At Manpower, the Director of Information is a member of the top level policy body of the Department, and almost always makes the basic recommendations to the Deputy Minister on whether a news release should be prepared, or a news conference called. Decisions on the content of releases are made in consultation with Information Division personnel, who are themselves informed by the Director of Information.

At the Department of National Defence, the Director of Information also plays an active rôle at top level policy meetings and, as at Manpower, largely controls the initiation of news releases. Again, Press Relations Officers are dependent on the Director for their own information, but this official at National Defence has a system unparalleled in other departments, whereby he briefs his senior officers daily, and

all officers once a week. In addition, he takes selected officers with him to certain management meetings.

It is significant that both Manpower and National Defence have relatively recent information structures. Manpower, of course, is one of the newest departments of government. Information operations at the Department of National Defence were overhauled during the integration of the Armed Forces, and bear little resemblance to the work carried on formerly by each service on its own.

Among older departments, External Affairs maintains one of the closest liaisons between Press Officer and management. The Press Officer frequently attends meetings between the Minister and foreign visitors, and he is in close contact with the Minister, his immediate assistants, and ranking departmental officers on policy matters. He receives copies of the Minister's appointment schedule and travel plans, and all important incoming telegrams and memoranda to the Minister.

The Department of Agriculture rates somewhere in the middle, between Manpower, National Defence and External Affairs, and some of the older departments, like Transport and Labour, which suffer from a lack of meaningful communication between the information staff and top management. Decisions on news releases or news conferences originate mainly at Agriculture's executive level, but the general content is decided when the Information Division is called in for a briefing. In complex matters, such as the recent revision of the national hog subsidy programme, an Information Officer sits in on the discussions with industry to become familiar with the issues involved.

The Task Force found the information divisions at some departments seriously out of touch with management and policy-making. Decisions come down to information personnel, along with instructions to "write something about this," without any accompanying explanation. At the Department of Transport, Information officers sometimes learn of ministerial press conferences *after* the event. But this situation is rivalled by Transport management stories of instances, in the past, when significant news releases were issued to the media without copies being sent to the Minister's office.

A recent example of the unsatisfactory state of affairs within the Department of Transport concerns the announcement of the new federal airport site at Ste. Scholastique in Quebec. At the news conference, a press kit was issued which had been confidentially prepared by a Montreal communications firm. The Department's Information Division had no prior knowledge of the kit and, to add insult to injury, did not even receive a copy.

Transport is not an isolated case. Internal communication is absent, in varying degrees, in several departments. The problem appears to be chiefly administrative: machinery for involving the Information Division either does not exist, or it has been so eroded that the Division no longer handles the big projects. At the bottom of the list is the Queen's Printer, where media relations have been ignored almost totally, and too few releases are issued on forthcoming books of importance.

There is an apparent need to develop an awareness of information requirements in the senior levels of government, and to ensure that this awareness is shared by the middle-management level, where the Task Force sometimes detected an open hostility to the information branch and the news media in general. The problem has existed for a long time, and was noted in 1963 by the Glassco Commission. The Commission said, under the heading "The Public Right to be Informed": "Knowledge of government activities is a public right, and indeed a necessity; but the growing size and diversity of government make the satisfaction of this need more and more difficult. . . . At the very least, this requires a responsiveness to requests for information and explanations."

Problems of Approval

In many departments there is a rigid format for approving news releases. Copy must be checked by senior officials, and a Deputy Minister must be the final authority on content, but there is often a tendency to disregard the Information Director's competence in judging the needs of the news media. Some Departments, like Industry, Trade and Commerce, have approval processes extending up to six levels. Revisions are mandatory, and, in the words of one high level information officer, "Every one is a little Shakespeare." Tortuous channels of approval can cause lengthy delays in getting important news to the media. The Department of Manpower takes an average of three days to approve a news release.

The Department of Labour's Information Branch handles a heavy flow of releases from the Canada Labour Relations Board. Often, they are couched in bewildering prose. Yet, the information staff is categorically forbidden to change one word; the releases must be issued exactly as the Board writes them. Attempts to write news releases tailored to media needs often run into resistance from officials who want to turn them into "official documents for future departmental use."

Among the Information Divisions that the Task Force consulted on this subject, National Defence was the most satisfied. There, major news releases are handled in person by the Deputy Minister, or the Chief of Staff, in consultation with the Director of Information, who is free to argue about revisions.

Contact with the Media

Many media relations officers appear to operate at a great distance from the media. In some departments, media relations consists of waiting for the telephone to ring. This is not to suggest that Information Officers should be judged entirely by the number of their acquaintances in the Press Gallery. Some good departmental contacts with, for example, CBC Public Affairs, can only be made outside the Gallery. And CBC Producers will testify to the good telephone contacts maintained by the Canadian International Development Agency, the National Gallery and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Nonetheless, personal contact between media reporters and media relations officers is important, and it is often best achieved through informal press briefings. The Department of National Defence holds regular background briefings and often sets up briefings for individual reporters. External Affairs, which used to hold weekly briefings, now employs a combination of unscheduled briefings and informal Press Gallery contact. The External Affairs Press Officer makes a point of attending Question Period at the House of Commons on his Minister's designated days, and responds to questions afterwards in the Press Gallery.

Generally speaking, however, there is little use made of detailed background briefings for the news media. (The story of the Ministerial Mission to Latin America in October 1968, with its inadequate background briefings and badly-timed press conferences, is told in Paper xi.) Often, news releases of major importance reach the Press Gallery completely unannounced and unaccompanied by a media relations officer. Sometimes, a release reaches the Press Gallery after 4:00 p.m., and by the time reporters have read it and composed their questions, they can find no departmental official to answer them. One collection of departmental news releases was sent to the Gallery on New Year's Eve day, prompting one reporter to ask if the department was trying to fill an annual quota, and the Task Force also heard complaints of duplicate releases being received. One columnist complained publicly recently that he had been sent five copies. When the National Transportation Act received

its first reading in the House in September 1966, a copy of the 200-page legislation reached the Press Gallery at 11:00 p.m. No officers from the Department of Transport were available to talk to reporters, who had never received any background briefing.

On the other hand, the Department of Manpower and Immigration prepared a major background paper late in 1967 when new regulations concerning immigration were introduced in the House. Information Officers were on hand at the Press Gallery to answer questions as they arose.

A number of factors may lead to a departmental failure in media relations. Staff shortages and poor departmental organization feed the problem. Often, media relations officers simply have no authority to discuss background information even if senior management has given it to them. Some are press or media relations officers in name only; they spend the greater part of their time writing speeches, answering mail enquiries, contributing to staff magazines and handling advertising. Others have no contact with their departments' publics and consequently have no idea what the people are thinking—or what might have prompted a query from the media.

Regional Operations

The Departments of Manpower and National Defence have highly organized press relations operations in their regional offices. Where Manpower is concerned the main problem lies in standardizing regional information policy; direct communications with headquarters is sometimes thwarted by regional directors.

Manpower's regional offices receive advance copies of Ottawa news releases by telex to be issued simultaneously in each city. The regional offices also prepare and distribute regional news items. By contrast, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics regional offices have no authority to issue their own releases and, while they sometimes get advance notice of special Ottawa news releases, sometimes they do not.

National Defence, like Transport, issues handbooks or information policy for use in regional offices, and the handbooks cover media relations. Manpower is planning a similar manual. Instructions in the two existing handbooks are detailed and precise. A sample from the Transport editor reads: "Usually, answers are available on the spot. In the rare instances when Ottawa alone can supply it, tell the reporter you will get it for him by phone; never refer *him* to Ottawa — it's the classical brush-off."

conclusions

At present, each department interprets media relations in its own way, and operates with a minimal exchange of ideas and information. Each one queried felt the need for increased regional operations. Some co-ordination of departmental activities in the regions is desirable, and co-ordination might well begin in Ottawa itself. The media relations function is not clearly defined and it is geared more to print than it is to the electronic media. Departmental officers operate under a variety of job descriptions, and they are frequently hampered by a lack of access at the decision-making level, as well as by the number of extra duties most of them are required to do. Clarification of the function, together with departmental recognition of the media relations officer's need for first-hand knowledge of his department and its publics, are the two essential requirements for improvement.

We recommend that:

1. The media relations function in the Federal Government be more clearly identified and strengthened; and that its scope be extended nationally and regionally to encompass relations with appropriate media, organizations and associations in Canada.

2. The classification and status of media relations officers be revised in accordance with these increased responsibilities.

3. The media relations function be carried out by, or under the immediate supervision of, departmental information directors; or where, as in foreign affairs, a separate press office appears to be warranted, in close consultation with the respective heads.

4. The officer principally responsible for media relations be fully informed at the earliest opportunity of departmental policies and programmes; have direct access in the performance of his duties to all departmental levels including the Minister; and be relieved of administrative or other duties incompatible with his main responsibilities.

5. Steps be taken to improve procedures for the timely preparation and approval of news releases and background material and that media relations officers be closely associated with this production.

6. Media relations officers maintain close liaison with regional departmental representatives, and with federal regional offices, either directly or through Information Canada¹.

Audio-visual Services and Equipment

"Audio-visual" is a term used to cover a wide assortment of departmental hardware, ranging from television and radio-production equipment, to film-editing and photo-processing facilities, slides, film loops, projection systems and exhibition display material. All have special uses in public information, as well as in internal administration and training programmes. The Task Force found the variety of equipment and its potential usefulness enormous, but at the same time, it found no overall co-ordination, often no departmental policies, and many individual departmental projects run by officers with assorted qualifications.

Amid the confusion, three centralized services stand out. Departmental film production is handled by the National Film Board, and the processing and printing of still photographs by the Canadian Government Photo Centre is under Film Board management. Departmental exhibition requirements are the responsibility of the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission. These three islands of organization operate with varying degrees of success, and some departmental comments on the services they provide serve as a warning to the organizers of any future central service agency. According to a Labour Department official, for instance, the Film Board and the Exhibition Commission "both leave the distinct impression of being laws unto themselves, without due consideration to the customers' needs or wishes."

No overall policy exists to govern the use of audio-visual equipment, and nowhere did the Task Force discover any specific, written departmental objectives. Departmental ambitions, like departmental possessions, vary enormously. So does the quality of production.

The Task Force observed the imaginative use of audio-visual aids in the Department of National Defence's recruiting programme, and Agriculture's system for distributing radio tapes. Task Force enquiries showed, however, that departments are generally ill-prepared to make full use of the sophisticated and expensive equipment that some are acquiring. Despite the apparent urge to use electronic hardware, many information officers seem to view it with

1. Information Canada is the Task Force's proposed agency described in Chapter IX, of Volume I.

suspicion. There is somewhat greater appreciation for the use of film (which the National Film Board has been handling for departments for 30 years) but, departments seem to turn with relief to the world they know best . . . the familiar world of print. They spend close to \$19 million annually on their publications, and little more than \$4 million on audio-visual presentations.

The Task Force heard a variety of departmental defences of print: "Recent surveys by the Department show people believe newspapers are more "trustworthy" than the electronics" (Labour); "the electronic media at the present are the best to put across instant information, but most people like to have something to follow up the instant impressions they receive visually" (Indian Affairs and Northern Development); and "for the message that is to stick in the minds of the public, print is hard to beat" (Transport). Some departments did recognize the need for greater use of the electronic media. Consumer and Corporate Affairs was one, and another was Energy, Mines and Resources, which thought departments should select the medium to "best convey a particular message to a particular audience." The big question for most departments is "how?"

Variations in departmental audio-visual capability are enormous. Some departments, such as Finance and Consumer and Corporate Affairs, have no audio-visual equipment at all. Some have a modest assortment of tools; Manpower and Immigration, for instance, has two movie cameras, a still photo camera, film and slide projectors, and several tape recorders. Twenty-nine departments and agencies reported using some audio-visual aids and services in connection with their information programmes. Fourteen mentioned radio-production facilities, and ten television production. Then there is the Department of Agriculture. Its supply of audio-visual production equipment is unique among the departments.

The Department of Agriculture

One of the most interesting – and, at the same time, one of the most baffling – aspects of Agriculture's Information Division is its audio-visual operation. With its own broadcast studio, and film and television equipment, the Division maintains what is by far the most sophisticated audio-visual hardware set-up in government (excluding only the National Film Board and the CBC). Indeed, in some respects, some observers think that the Division's radio operation is technically more advanced than the CBC English network system in Toronto. Even though the Division has shown both initia-

tive and imagination in establishing this service, there is some doubt that the quality of the audio-visual material it produces equals its quantity. There is still more doubt that the Division should expand what is already an elaborate and costly operation.

Roughly a quarter of the Division's budget goes to audio-visual services. As a single item, it takes second place only to publishing. The radio service consists chiefly of providing weekly information tapes to a growing list of stations, including CBC outlets. The stations dial Agriculture's local in Ottawa and obtain a taped newsclip. The Division also produces television film clips and, occasionally, film features. Film facilities are functional, if not entirely adequate, and the intention is to expand them.

These film and television activities are unique in government but they do not appear to run counter to existing federal policies. There is, in fact, no official radio policy; and NFB in practice restricts neither the type of film which Agriculture may produce, nor its cost and distribution. Within the Department itself, there is no formal directive concerning audio-visuals. The system operates under a rule-of-thumb theory: "Get the most information to the most people."

In practice, almost all the responsibility for audio-visual programming rests with the Information Director. Through brain-storming sessions with his staff, he controls all day to day planning. Management is informed afterwards. The initiative for long-term projects also originates with the Director and his staff. In these cases, management briefs are prepared to outline the proposals, and the Deputy Minister gives final approval. Whatever outside experts may be required are involved in early discussions, and supervised by the staff member in charge of the project. Outsiders, however, are rarely called in and it appears to be the Director's policy to develop all possible expertise within the Division. Any necessary interdepartmental co-ordination required by major projects is also the Information Director's responsibility.

The Division plans its television programmes, films and filmstrips on an annual basis. News activities are organized day to day. Improvements in facilities are forecast on a five year basis. Television and film budgets receive approval before a project begins, but radio is primarily concerned with news and, in its case, there can be no specific budgeting. Instead, radio operations come under an overall general budget, which cannot be extended within the fiscal year.

Division staff control the scheduling of audio-visual programmes. Management is kept informed of the Division's

intentions but, except in the case of film features, it has little to do with the programming activities.

This entire system of planning appears to have some serious flaws: for one thing, the lack of expertise is disturbing. It is difficult to see how long-term planning (particularly in its production aspects) can be carried out effectively by staff officers at the IS-2 level, or by higher level officers who lack training and experience in audio-visual work. For another, in the policy area there appears to be a very loose process at work. It provides for neither the best use of different media for different purposes, nor the co-ordination of what is a very expensive operation within the Department's general framework. In theory, management clears all policy but, in practice, what actually develops depends primarily on the Information Director. He may have done an excellent job in building up the audio-visual services (perhaps even beyond what is necessary) but there remains a need for a clear departmental policy on the use of audio-visual facilities and it should be based on a general government policy.

If it is difficult to understand the planning operation, it is harder still to rationalize Agriculture's elaborate audio-visual hardware with the almost total lack of adequate or even minimal equipment within other departments. Why should Agriculture be expanding so rapidly when others exist in a state of deprivation? If the Government of Canada intends to spend funds on audio-visual hardware (instead, for example, of relying on private industry or on the NFB) Agriculture's success indicates in itself a failure to accommodate the needs of all departments. In this connection, it is worth noting that, from time to time, Agriculture makes its audio-visual facilities available to other branches of government. Manpower and Immigration, for example, has used them, and was apparently happy with the results. Even so, there is no regulation that requires Agriculture to offer its facilities. It is rather a matter of making personal contact with the Information Director. When there is time, and when facilities are not being fully used, he will agree to take on extra work. Overhead costs are billed to the user-department.

The Division depends mainly on station feed-back to determine the effectiveness of its audio-visual productions. Stations are not compelled to use the taped radio material, and the Division therefore assumes that the fact that a tape has been aired many times means that it is successful. To a lesser degree, the same holds true of film and television presentations: the extent of use defines success or failure. The trouble with this is that much of the free radio

and television time given to Agriculture may be due less to the quality of the service than to the enormous need most private stations have to fill holes in their own schedules. As any good public relations man knows, it is easy to acquire a lot of free time from almost any private radio station outside the bigger cities.

In the light of all this, it appears unrealistic for Agriculture to maintain for itself so complex and wide-ranging an audio-visual section. We accept that many activities in this field should remain in the exclusive province of the Department; but we suggest as well that an examination be made of the total audio-visual capacity of the Department to determine the extent to which the personnel and facilities might be transferred to Information Canada for use by other departments.

Problems of Personnel

An audio-visual expert, consulted by the Task Force, commented on the failure of departments to take advantage of "the great variety of public affairs programming in both CBC and CTV, which offer many opportunities for departments to further their information objectives. . . . Too little advantage is taken of it. Too often, departments remain responsive only; they wait for the media to come to them rather than aggressively pursuing the available opportunities." (Indeed, some departments harbour serious misconceptions about the role of the CBC. Indian Affairs and Northern Development believed that "the government should insist that government-controlled networks approach departments concerned when they are preparing such programmes. At the moment, there is total freedom for government critics and none for government defenders." The CBC, of course, is not an arm of government to be used to air specific official messages.)

The departments recognize they are handicapped by a lack of skilled personnel in the audio-visual field. Several expressed dissatisfaction with recruitment and hiring procedures; External Affairs called these "painfully rigid and slow and not adapted to needs in this field." Energy, Mines and Resources thought that "present classification standards appear to give only passing attention to audio-visual specialists" and suggested that it "would be wise to review these standards" because they show "a lack of recognition of the real skills required to do a modern, audio-visual job. Audio-visualists on the outside are paid handsomely."

The Public Service Commission is currently updating its Information Services inventory. According to existing and

inadequate data, not more than 15 information staff are registered as possessing audio-visual skills and experience, and only four of them are as high as the IS-3 level. As a sub-division of the Information Services Group, audio-visual personnel are currently limited by Public Service Commission Classification and Selection Standards to the lower three of the six existing levels. Therefore, their salaries range from \$5,700 to \$12,000.

Despite the low salary range, the responsibilities of employees at levels 1 and 2 are considerable. They are "accountable to an immediate supervisor for such technical aspects of production as lighting, sound recording, colour, type of graphic and other illustrations utilized, layout, optical aspects, nature and depth of treatment of subject-matter."

In addition, level 2 is responsible for "ensuring that departmental programmes are favourably presented . . . that audio-visual presentation is balanced and integrated . . . and that audio-visual presentations and production keep pace with the changing aspects of specialized activities and the needs of special interest groups." Employees are also expected to advise officials on the economical use of media for specific audiences; and to be able to discuss with media agencies and special interest groups all aspects of audio-visual materials, techniques and treatment of subject-matter. In short, the requirements are both vague and grandiose; the present classification is unrealistic. Salaries offered are unlikely to attract skilled people from a fiercely competitive private market. A review of the situation is obviously needed.

The Need for Guidance

Meanwhile, the departments seriously require guidance. Some have consulted the National Film Board about specific requirements, and in February 1968 the Film Board and the Public Service Commission conducted a multi-media audio-visual seminar attended by representatives of 26 departments and agencies. (The seminar, however, did not deal with audio-visual equipment in the field of public information; it was concerned with staff training and development programmes.) The Film Board has come increasingly to recognize the departmental need for guidance in the audio-visual field, and it recently told the Task Force that it would like to establish a small centre in Ottawa for training in the use of videotape.

Through its proposed videotape centre, the Board would keep departments informed of the latest developments in the audio-visual field — EVR, or electronic visual recording,

is a current example of what the Board has in mind — and it would test equipment as it became available. The inter-media committee of provincial departments of education has already asked the Board to provide such a service. Recently the Board began to send a special newsletter to provincial departments describing new equipment, with the offer to hold demonstrations for those interested.

The Film Board is aware of increasing commercial pressures to buy equipment from a variety of sources. VTR equipment is expensive, and there are many models available. "Vidicon" video cameras, one of the three varieties on the market, cost up to \$5,000. Video recorders, in the 2 inch class, cost anywhere from \$10,000 to \$90,000, and come in eight different models. The Board has remarked on the problem of "compatibility", which means that material recorded on one kind of VTR equipment may not be usable on another. This is a matter of considerable importance because video hardware does not transport easily, and playback facilities are required wherever the tapes are to be used. In the Board's opinion, "the current state of video technology can be compared to that of the very early days of film," and the departments, rather than buying a lot of expensive video hardware, would be wise to rent equipment for specified projects.

The Film Board is considering an enlargement of the responsibilities of its five Ottawa liaison officers to include departmental audio-visual requirements. In this way, departments might get the service best suited to their information needs, whether through film or another audio-visual medium. Until now, liaison officers have been restricted to serving only the film requirements of departments. If this necessary service is to be established it should operate in close conjunction with Information Canada.

Several departments told the Task Force they would like to see the establishment of some central, audio-visual production facilities. The departments included Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Regional Economic Expansion, External Affairs, Public Works, Finance, and Supply and Services. In particular, External Affairs saw the need for "a central unit of the Government which would at least provide know-how and the basis for advisory functions in the audio-visual field, and which would have the capacity to produce what is required, whether by its own staff or by contracting out."

The Task Force recognizes an urgent need to bring coherence to the audio-visual field, and to achieve maximum co-ordination of departmental use of expensive equipment. A professional advisory and production service for departments is equally necessary; and so is a revision of the cur-

nt classification and hiring procedures, which handicap departments.

he National Film Board

uthority over departmental film production is vested in e National Film Board According to Section 11 (i) of the ational Film Act of 1950, "No department shall initiate the oduction or processing of a motion picture film without e authority of the Board, and the production and process- g of all motion picture films by or for departments shall e undertaken by the Board unless the Board is of the opinion that it is in the public interest that it be undertaken id authorizes it to be so undertaken."

The Film Act does not specify the percentage of departmental production work which the Board should undertake, r how much it should farm out to private producers. In 968-69 the Board's income from departmental films was 1,440,000, while films contracted out to private producers were worth \$274,000. Naturally, commercial film-makers want a larger share of the government film production. In March 1969 the Association of Motion Picture roducers and Laboratories of Canada presented a brief to the Commons Standing Committee on Broadcasting, Film id Assistance to the Arts, requesting that the market be pened by deleting Section 11 (i) from the National Film ct, along with Section 9 (b), which authorizes the Board represent the government in its relations with commercial m-producers. The views of private film-makers might have een anticipated. The Task Force, however, also heard a ud chorus of complaints from departments.

he National Film Board: Liaison Problems

he compliments paid to the Board's "great devotion to ality" and "its technical production excellence" were rowned out by comments on the breakdown in liaison etween the departments and the Board. The Board is ased in Montreal, and the liaison is handled by an Ottawa representative and five liaison officers.

Industry, Trade and Commerce felt that the Board is overly autocratic... and sets unrealistically high artistic andards for films sponsored by departments." Indian Affairs and Northern Development commented that "the Film board must remember that they are a service...; the people ey are dealing with are admittedly not film-makers, but ey are very aware of what they want to put across. There no reason why the NFB should not have freedom themselves to make award-winning films, but the department's

requirements must come first and producers must realize this and stifle their immediate reaction to dismiss departments as ignoramuses in the matter of film-making." Energy, Mines and Resources spoke of departmental frustration over the difficulty of gaining access to producers and directors during film production. Other departments complained about long delays in costly Film Board productions, and the fact that these productions sometimes stressed artistic excellence, to the point that they obscured the intended message.

Liaison between departments and the Film Board requires the kind of detailed examination that the Task Force was simply not equipped to undertake. The Board itself acknowledges there is a problem. In April 1969, it took action to improve relations by up-grading the status of its Ottawa representative, and then appointing to the position a man with extensive production and management experience. It is too early to assess the results of the change, but the new Director of Ottawa Services has been working to revive what he terms "the notion of service." He has been analysing the proportion of films found satisfactory by sponsors, and plans to give Montreal-based producers a careful briefing before assigning them to work with departments.

The Film Board agrees that departments have had reason for dissatisfaction with the liaison system, but it challenges the validity of other departmental complaints. Often, it says, the production delays occur because a department allows too many officials to share in decisions. In a recent case, the Board pointedly documented a series of delays in decision-making that resulted in a long, delayed production schedule. In another instance, a department protested that the suggested film script did not fully convey the message. The Board replied that the department's requirements were impossible to meet, since what it wanted was "a print manual used as a script."

The Board believes that departments are often "unrealistic" about costs because they are not sufficiently familiar with the factors involved in high-quality film-making. Costs vary according to the use of colour, the use of professional actors, the need for extended travel and duplicate French and English versions of a film, and a variety of other factors. Recent figures show that the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation paid \$96,500 for a 15-minute colour film on urban growth in Canada, and \$28,500 for a 20-minute colour film on mapping. Indian Affairs and Northern Development paid \$88,500 for a 20-minute colour film on national parks. The figures do not explain much, and neither does

the Board's reckoning that 18½ minutes is the average running time for a sponsored film, and \$62,850 the average cost, including English and French versions.

Comparative cost figures are almost impossible to establish. Senior Information Officers agreed that accusations about exorbitant costs might only be proved by comparing tenders from the Board and from private industry and, since it is the Board's policy not to compete with private industry, such comparisons are unavailable. Many departments would like to see this situation changed, among them Energy, Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Industry, Trade and Commerce, Labour, Transport, and External Affairs. Views vary from "NFB must compete with private enterprise" to "NFB should continue to be a primary but not unique source of informational film material".

Few films are contracted out to private producers. When the Board agrees to farm out a production, tenders are called if the contract is expected to exceed \$5,000 in value, and the Board retains supervisory authority over the film. When the Board itself is asked to produce a film, there are two ways in which a department can set proceedings in motion. The more usual and satisfactory way is to ask the Board for an estimate of the cost of a certain kind of production, and to negotiate on that basis. The other way is for a department to announce it has a certain sum of money to spend, and to ask the Board what it can produce for that sum. Often, says the Board, "Departments don't really know what they want, and difficulties begin right there."

It is inevitable that problems will arise between the Board, as a creative agent, on the one hand, and client departments that require functional films on the other. But the unfamiliarity of many information officers with film-making compounds the difficulties. In the view of the new Director of Ottawa Services, the Board should employ workshops and seminars and regular showings of films to familiarize Information Officers with film and with other audio-visual communication.

Departmental views on relations with the Board were summarized in a brief presented to the Task Force by the Information Services Management Institute of the Federal Institute of Management, representing senior Information Officers in the Federal Public Service. ISMI emphasized the conflict between the Board's insistence that "the film maker must be free to express himself artistically" and the Information Services' need for "functional films to impart information, films that need not be award-winning productions and can be produced at a reasonable cost." ISMI ascribed most of the blame to "the Board's indecision as to the kind of

agency it should be. Should it give first priority to the production of departmental films? Should it be more concerned with promoting the Canadian film industry as a whole? If the latter, then a good case should be made for permitting departments a much looser rein in having their film needs met by private industry." To ISMI "the production of government-sponsored films . . . seems to have been given second priority to films initiated by the Board and strongly artistic and cultural in character." As a result, "the production of effective information films was not given equally intensive professional attention."

The Film Board emphatically disagrees with the charge that the "professional attention" given to information films is inferior to that bestowed on films initiated under its own programme. But while it might quarrel with the wording of the assertion that government-sponsored films "have been given second priority to films initiated by the Board" it agrees that in recent years the emphasis in production has shifted from sponsored films to those produced under the Board's own programme. In 1968-69 the Board spent \$5,143,000 on films it initiated; by comparison, government-sponsored films brought in \$1,440,000.

The National Film Board: Production Emphasis

The Film Board explained to the Task Force that its one general purpose is "to create significant audio-visual and multi-media documents," and that, in the long run, its aim is to produce films that will be "of permanent value to Canadian society and to the world – films whose depth and formal excellence mark Canada as a nation of profound vision." In the short run, it aims "to produce excellent films on topical or special subjects which make an important impact on the audiences envisioned, but without political bias." The Board interprets its mandate differently today than it did some years ago, and nothing in the Film Act specifies that the Board's production responsibilities should be divided in a particular way.

The Board defined itself for the Task Force in this way "The Board is primarily a cultural organism. Though some of its work – chiefly filmstrips, packaged stills in photo stories and some sponsored films – has deliberate information or teaching aims, the Board is not an information agency. Its principal thrust, strengths and achievements are cultural. This direction is imposed less by the intention of the Board than by the nature of the medium. Film almost always comes more at ease, more effective with emotions and impressions than with facts. The Board, which *had* stressed its informa-

in rôle in response to World War II needs, moved towards a more natural cultural rôle when television demonstrated a much superior information function."

The Board divides its own production programme into a general and specific interpretation of Canada; and into public affairs programmes, which the Board describes as more activist, more concerned with probing attitudes and provoking action than chiefly imparting information." Examples are the Challenge for Change/*Société nouvelle* programme, Loops to Learn By, the Comparisons series and such individual films as *The Game* and *Rénovation Urbaine*. Some of these films have involved departmental sponsorship and, in the case of Challenge for Change/*Société nouvelle*, sponsorship by the Film Board and a group of departments. The Board has this to say about its public affairs film: "The very real danger in films of this kind is that they may promote a particular 'establishment' or, even, an official viewpoint. Such films must be based on the felt needs of various social groups who feel that their problems are not expressed adequately in established procedures, or given adequate recognition by governments. The film maker's ability to get very close to the scene, and to record it in depth has repeatedly proved to be more pertinent and prescient than the 'official investigation'. A government department can order, and expect to get, a specified film on, say, Aircraft in Forest Fire Control; but in elusive, shifting and delicate matters involving public attitudes on deep emotional levels, films cannot be made to order. The Board (or sponsoring government departments) must be prepared to listen and respond and creatively interpret, rather than impose views based on conventional wisdom or official objectives."

Outside Canada the Board's public affairs programmes are highly regarded. They provide an obvious contrast to the transparent "official angles" that characterize United States promotion films, and audience reaction is repeatedly "How can they be free enough to say *that* about their own country?" A recent accolade came from a British study of government film-making, commissioned in 1966 by the Association of cinematographic, Television and Allied Technicians, and written by two commercial film producers. One of their major recommendations was that government film activity in the United Kingdom be modelled on the National Film Board, which they said was unequalled in quality among government film organizations. They attributed its success in part to its rôle as an active film maker. (The Central Office of Information in Britain serves government film-making equally as a co-ordinating and commissioning body.) Under the C.O.I., Britain's formerly effective film programme had

been destroyed, the report said, and the disbanding of the Crown Film Unit in the early 1950's had been a "great error." The study contrasted the Canadian National Film Board which "manages to marry message with idealism" (and for less money than is being spent on State film services in Britain) with the "arbitrary and shallow" selection of material under the British system: "Film makers cannot work in tight little grooves to tight little specifications. Mental straight-jackets encourage mediocrity and get it."

In the light of the British report — which the Film Board drew to the Task Force's attention — it is curious to find that, where departmental information films are concerned, the Board shows a certain interest in becoming the kind of co-ordinating and commissioning body that the British study deplored. The Board is listening with some sympathy to departmental complaints about the "restrictive" regulations governing the contracting out of information films. The Board is in the midst of internal re-organization and, according to the Government Film Commissioner, it would like "to slough off" some sponsored productions and, in fact, it is "thinking more and more of farming things out" to private film makers. After all, nothing in the National Film Act says the Board must make all or most of the films required by departments. There is one major difficulty, however: the Board has a permanent staff and expensive equipment to maintain. "It boils down to money. We have to run our plant to capacity, and we also have to be ready to undertake work when asked by departments."

The Board dislikes its "policeman's rôle" under the National Film Act, yet it recognizes that the government must exercise control over departmental film production in order to maintain standards of quality and to co-ordinate projects. The Act does not give the Board duties of co-ordination but it finds that, in some cases, it must co-ordinate anyway. There are, for instance, "the numberless requirements for films on safety."

One problem for which the Board has no ready solution is the method by which departmental film productions should be contracted out to private film makers. If departments are allowed to seek bids from private firms, which are also free to approach departments and sell them ideas, the Board fears "the result would be wasteful of government money." But the Board is also aware of resentment among private film makers over the regulations that require tenders to be called when the cost of a production is expected to exceed \$5,000. Private film-makers complain they spend valuable time preparing detailed bids for contracts they are unlikely to win. Consequently, they often refuse to submit esti-

mates. The situation is under review, and one senior official believes that the \$5,000-ceiling should be raised to \$15,000. Tendering is costly and time-consuming, but this official believes nonetheless that it is preferable to allowing the departments to award contracts directly. That system, he feels, might be quick and simple, but it would also be open to abuse and charges of favouritism.

Conclusions

There are many decisions still to be made by the Film Board during its period of reorganization. One recent decision, to improve the liaison with government departments, must be welcomed wholeheartedly. If liaison improves, it is fairly safe to predict that the volume of departmental complaints about the Board's services will decrease. It is possible too, that the strong departmental urge to resort to private film-makers will also diminish, although it is unlikely ever to disappear. The Board apparently favours farming out an increasing number of departmentally sponsored productions.

The Film Board's activities as a whole are not within the Task Force's terms of reference. Our concern is the service provided to meet the information requirements of departments. But our enquiries suggest that the Board has become more and more involved in its own, highly satisfying, production programme and, at the same time, has derived correspondingly less satisfaction from its rôle as a service agency for departments. The departments are sometimes unappreciative of the Board's effort but they provide some of the money needed "to run our plant to capacity."

The National Film Board is not only outstanding but unique among government film organizations. We hesitate to encourage it to "slough off" a significant number of departmental requirements. Involvement in departmental film production appears to us to be a key responsibility of a government film organization, and improved liaison should make the relationship between the Board and the departments a more rewarding one than it is now. The Board should retain not only its overall responsibility for departmental film production, but active participation in that production as well.

This is not to say that the Board should monopolize departmental film-making. Undoubtedly a larger number of sponsored films could be contracted out, and under different conditions from those that currently prevail. The Board's new Director of Ottawa Services should be encouraged to put into practice his suggestion that the Board's liaison officers be both free and qualified to recommend private film

makers to departments. Once the Board has improved its communication with the departments, it will be able to provide them with invaluable and irreplaceable service.

The problems of the National Film Board in reconciling its own objectives with the information objectives of the various departments, and the limited guidance in audio-visual matters that it has so far been able to provide to departments that are crucially short of audio-visual expertise of their own, and the evidence of departments' dissatisfaction with NFB efforts on their behalf, have suggested to the Task Force a line of thought that has led to some specific recommendations. Reflection on the NFB, however, was only part of the basis for these recommendations, and perhaps not the most important part. The enormous variations in the audio-visual technical capability of various departments was one factor. The government-wide shortage of skilled audio-visual personnel was another. The need to co-ordinate departmental use of increasingly complex and increasingly expensive equipment was another. And perhaps most central to all this, there is a general and urgent need to bring coherence and clear policy to the whole audio-visual field in the information services of the Federal Government.

We recommend that:

1. An audio-visual unit utilizing existing personnel and facilities to the extent possible and having expertise in such fields as radio, television (including closed circuit and VTR), low-cost films for immediate use, slides and various projection systems, be set up within Information Canada to advise government, departments and agencies on policy and to conduct approved operations of limited scope in this field. In this connection, an examination should be made of the audio-visual capacity of the Department of Agriculture to determine the extent to which its personnel and facilities might be transferred to Information Canada for use by other departments.
2. In developing such a unit the government make efforts to differentiate clearly between the unit's information functions and the statutory obligations of the National Film Board.
3. This unit have sufficient financial resources to assure an enlarged and co-ordinated operational output with Information Canada; and guidelines be developed concerning the relationship of this unit with departments, the

personnel and private industry.

The application of current techniques assure the full use of media by the administration to explain policies and programmes, including those on information, to all public servants.

The government consider recommending that Parliament study the possibility of making these facilities available to the Speaker of the House for use by Members of Parliament who wish to reach special publics and regions.

II Photography

Still photographs appear in departmental publications, company news releases to the media, and embellish exhibitions. At seminars and conferences, they are distributed in information kits. Yet despite still photography's obvious usefulness as a specialized government information activity, it is in dire need of organization.

It is only in the processing of photographic materials that there is any attempt to co-ordinate departmental activities. The National Film Board's Still Photo Division does recommend freelance photographers for special assignments and, if required, it makes all the necessary arrangements, but no government-wide regulations exist concerning the employment or contractual use of still photographers, and the departments are under no obligation to use the National Film Board's advisory service. The Still Photo Division has never maintained a pool of staff photographers, although, despite budget cuts in the 1969-70 fiscal year, it did employ a photographer for its own use.

Departments frequently commission photographers without reference to the Board, and some departments as in the White House maintain their own staff photographers. Health and Welfare, for example, has seven. National Defence has 16 technical military and four technical civilian photographers, eight of the military being employed on information duties with the Information Directorate. Both the staff and contract photographers who work for departments vary in training, ability and standards of work; and no government body is in a position to set or evaluate standards of work. There is no organized exchange of photo information among departments.

No central index has ever been compiled to cover the many departmental photo collections. A Film Board study of 1964 remains the most recent estimate of the extent of

departmental and agency collections. It reported 4,000,000 photographs in 67 collections, catalogued and indexed in several ways, and varying greatly in accessibility.

The National Film Board provides a number of government-wide and external photographic services, but the only one that departments are required to use is the Canadian Government Photo Centre. It opened in Ottawa in 1964 to handle all departmental printing and processing requirements, apart from the purely scientific and highly technical. A succession of Treasury Board directives has so far failed to bring about the desired degree of centralization through the Photo Centre².

The Canadian Government Photo Centre

The use of the Photo Centre, and also of existing departmental photo units, was described in March 1965 in a Treasury Board Management Improvement Circular. The purpose of the centre was to provide a fast, economical and high quality photo-processing service for black-and-white and coloured prints, transparencies and slides; and to maximize the use of scarce and expensive equipment. The Centre was to have first refusal of all departmental photo-processing requirements in the information field; existing departmental photo units were to be restricted to scientific or highly specialized work. No new photographic equipment was to be purchased if it would duplicate any service provided by the Centre, and no construction or expansion of photographic facilities would be permitted without specific approval by Treasury Board. The Photo Centre was to set up a central repair depot, a laboratory for testing new equipment, a consulting service on the selection of equipment and on the design of photo processing, and a central registry of equipment and repair facilities.

In the spring of 1967, Treasury Board reviewed the services of the new photo centre and its effect on departmental operations, and found that the situation was most unsatisfactory. The 16 departments that had had photo units in operation when the Centre opened had continued to provide processing and printing services as before. In some cases they had even served other departments. Expensive, duplicate equipment had been acquired by various departments, and Indian Affairs and Northern Development (Historic Sites Branch), and the Public Archives (Administration and Technical Services), have set up photographic laboratories where none had existed before. At the Photo Centre itself,

2. An operational audit group from Treasury Board and the Film Board is currently examining the situation.

none of the proposed services, other than the consulting service, had been established.

Treasury Board's response to the situation was a Management Improvement Policy, dated September 28, 1967, that spelled out the responsibilities of all government departments in relation to the Photo Centre. Departments were told to nominate one person to guarantee the implementation of the policy and the Photo Centre was to be advised of the officer's name. Moreover, departments were now specifically instructed to consult the Photo Centre before purchasing any equipment costing \$500 or more, and to report details of equipment that had been declared obsolete or disposed of, when the unit value was \$500 or more. To permit the Photo Centre to plan its workloads, departments were asked to provide estimates of their photographic requirements for the following 12 months. In the event that the Photo Centre could not provide specific services, departments were to record the amount paid to commercial photo printers and processors, and to explain why they could not have used the Centre.

Events have proved the 1967 Treasury Board directive to be no more effective than its 1965 forerunner. Only 15 departments have advised the Photo Centre of the names of their photo officers. Centre officials are aware of three departmental purchases of equipment at a total cost of \$17,500, but only one department has used the Centre's consulting services on the selection of equipment. None of the three purchases was reported for central registry purposes, and two of them duplicated expensive items available on the Centre's surplus list. The only departments that have supplied the required estimates are National Defence and Supply and Services. The Centre has not enough knowledge to assess the result of the section of the 1967 directive that concerned the use of commercial photographers. Several departments, however, notably Agriculture and National Health and Welfare, continue to maintain expensive and elaborate photo laboratories and equipment.

The Canadian Government Photo Centre has failed to achieve the interdepartmental efficiency and economy for which it was established, and there is a need for the Treasury Board investigation that began in 1969. As the Centre points out, "maximum efficiency depends on adequate volume," and the Centre is not working at full capacity. Nevertheless, its operations have been a financial success. From the outset, the Centre was expected to be a self-supporting service with sales providing its sole source of revenue, and these requirements have been met. The Centre provides a variety of high quality services in black-and-white

and colour materials, and its prices compare very favourably with those in private industry. Processing of black-and-white standard prints requires five days and colour prints ten, but shorter delivery times can be arranged.

There were few departmental comments on the Centre's services. Both Manpower and Immigration, and Consumer and Corporate Affairs, reported "excellent service." The one complaint about the quality of the Centre's work came from the Department of Agriculture. It has enlarged its own photographic processing facilities in recent years, and uses the Photo Centre for bulk orders only.

The Absence of a Central Index

No central index of government-owned still photographs exists, and the most recent survey of departmental and agency collections was made five years ago. Around the time that the Photo Centre was being established, interest in a central index waxed briefly, only to wane again.

In 1963 the Management Analysis Division of the then Civil Service Commission issued a report on the need for a Central Index of still photographs. The index would eliminate duplication of work among departments, indicate areas requiring photographic coverage, and provide a single source of research. The report did not recommend a comprehensive index of all government photographs because "the enormity of the task of indexing all government photographs and the costs incurred would far outweigh the potential benefits." It recommended only that those photographs and negatives of cultural, social, economic and geographic interest – and for which the Crown held the copyright – be cross-indexed centrally. Other photos would be cross-indexed by departments according to a standard system based on the National Film Board stock-shot library. There was no need, said the Management Analysis Division, to keep all government photographs in one place.

The Management Analysis Division report formed the basis of a May 1963 directive to the National Film Board that required the Board to report on the existing situation and on the arrangements which would have to be made to establish a Central Index. The Film Board's study went to the Treasury Board in 1964, after 133 departments and agencies had been consulted to determine who had photo collections, what they contained, how they were maintained and for what purpose they had been assembled. The Board reported finding 67 different photo collections catalogued in at least 10 different ways, and indexed in at least 13. The collections varied in their accessibility and in the prices they charged.

and they used a multitude of work-order forms. Within the 7 collections, there were four million photographs, stored everything from cardboard boxes to filing cabinets, and growing at the rate of over 285,000 new photographs every year. The collections housed 245,000 slides and over ten million negatives. Almost half the negatives were stored in conditions that were bound to contribute to their decay. "It is within this group that most of our history in pictures exists," said the Film Board report, "... theoretically, (the government's) numerous but scattered photo collections could be so utilized as to provide one of the country's most important resources of historic and contemporary information."

The national resource remains undeveloped; no action followed the Film Board's report. It recommended that the board implement a programme to enable the government to preserve photographs of national interest in perpetuity and make copies of them available through its sales operation. The report also suggested that the Film Board produce a reference booklet on cataloguing, cross-indexing and photographic library management for the benefit of departments, and that the board co-ordinate indexing and determine standards. The Treasury Board replied without elaboration in December 1964 that the report "did not meet with their objectives"³ and the recommendations were never adopted.

Departmental photo collections have continued to mushroom since 1963-64, but no more recent study has been made. In the Task Force's limited enquiries, it learned that the Department of National Defence has 100,000 negatives, very few of them classified, dating from 1953 (earlier photographs have been transferred to the Public Archives), and that the Department of Agriculture has, in its Biographic Unit alone, 250,000 scientific photographs which, along with regional office prints, are not centrally indexed. The Agdex system is used for the department's central collection of 3,000 photos. National Health and Welfare has 30,000 scientific negatives and 55,000 photographs indexed in the Information Division according to the system used by the National Film Board. The department also has an undetermined number of negatives which it is considering turning over to the Public Archives.

At the other end of the scale, the Department of Manpower and Immigration has a collection of 2,000 photographs, and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics has an unknown number. The Bureau acknowledges that "there is little organization internally of the photos which have been taken over the years. The Information Director intends to

Treasury Board 631293, December 31, 1964.

tackle the still photography problem at some point."

Recently there has been progress in the historical field, with the establishment of a National Film Collection at the Public Archives. The emphasis there, however, is on moving film, not on still photographs. The Public Archives is collecting film from government departments and agencies, as well as from outside government; and, by mutual agreement, the National Film Board will also deposit its historical film material at the Archives. Stills will be made from films of historic national interest, but there is no indication of the establishment of a national collection of still photos. The Public Archives has more than a million stills, all of which may easily be seen by the public, while the National Museum has "thousands and thousands and thousands" (to quote a Museum official) which may not. The National Film Board Photographic Library has a fine, well-indexed collection of still photos, but, in the opinion of a senior Film Board official, "a still photo library should be the responsibility of the Public Archives."

National Film Board, Still Photo Division

The Film Board's Still Photo Division runs four specialized services for government departments and, in certain respects, for the public. They are all associated with the Board's Photographic Library. They are the Library itself, the Canadian Picture Index, the production of photostories, and the mounting of photographic exhibitions. All four have felt the effects of the three-year austerity programme which began at the Film Board in the 1969-1970 fiscal year.

It is interesting that the Photographic Library, and the services associated with it, originated in the Board's liberal interpretation of its mandate, (under the National Film Act of 1950) to include still photographs, photographic displays and photographic reproductions in its "film" production. The Film Board has no specific authority to collect still photographs on the present basis, or, for that matter, to collect moving film.

a) *The Photographic Library*

The Library contains 305,000 Canadian photographs, and it has been growing by roughly 10,000 pictures a year. Photos are purchased from private Canadian photographers, who are invited to submit their work for appraisal, and they are also specially commissioned by the Division. The National Film Board buys rights to the photos, but not necessarily first or exclusive rights, and it makes them available to purchasers inside and outside of Canada. The fee charged for reproduction is based on the circulation figures of the

publication in which the photos will appear.

b) The Canadian Picture Index

In recent years, the contents of the Photographic Library have been made known to interested purchasers through the photostories described below and through the three published volumes of the Canadian Picture Index, which between them contain about 7,000 photographs and the corresponding negative numbers. The Index is not up to date, and it will be discontinued following the budget cuts of 1969-70.

c) Photostories

Complete photostories, for the use of newspapers and magazines in Canada and abroad, were distributed free of charge every two weeks until the 1969-70 budget cuts reduced the number to 12 a year, issued on a subscription basis. The photostories cover a variety of cultural, scientific and industrial activities and national events. They use recent additions to the Photographic Library's collection, and they are produced in English and French, with German and Spanish translation. The Board sends roughly 400 copies of each photostory to Canadian publications and another 300 are distributed through Canadian embassies abroad.

d) Exhibitions

Exhibitions of still photography are organized at the Canadian Government Photo Centre Picture Gallery, and also on a travelling basis. The number of exhibitions was reduced from 25 in 1968-1969 to three in 1969-70, but the Picture Gallery did get its first advertising budget, of \$1,000, in 1969-70. The National Film Board sees the Gallery as an outlet for the best experimental work of young Canadian photographers, and it would like to expand this work.

The State of Chaos

Government still photography needs co-ordination badly. The only attempt at centralizing services, through the Canadian Government Photo Centre, has met with limited success because various departments have circumvented the regulations governing its use. Where actual photography is concerned, as opposed to processing, there is no organization at all. There is no common pool of photographers, staff or contract, to provide the departments with fast, high quality photo service. There is also a need for a photographer to be assigned to the Prime Minister and senior Cabinet officials. The advisory service provided by the National Film Board Still Photo Division is optional, and departments make their own arrangements with varying results. There is no exchange of information between departments, and no central index of

mushrooming departmental collections to assist other departments or the public. The one known attempt to organize a Central Index, and a standard cross-indexing system among departments, founded in 1964. Both these services must be of concern to any central information organization.

The internationally respected government collection of still photographs, in the National Film Board Still Photographic Library, has been seriously affected by the current Film Board austerity programme. Indeed, the Library and its ancillary services exist on a precarious basis; the Film Board has no specific mandate to run such operations at all. Recently, a senior Film Board official told the Task Force that a library of still photographs that is more than five years old should perhaps be the responsibility of the Public Archives. This represents a change of attitude on the part of the National Film Board, and a policy decision on the Board's still photography function is expected shortly.

We recommend that:

Information Canada assume the management of the Canadian Government Photo Centre and utilize existing government personnel and equipment in the information field to ensure standards are met; provide a photo-story service; advise departments and agencies and service their requirements either directly or through the private sector.

Exhibits and Displays

The Canadian Government Exhibition Commission

The Canadian Government Exhibition Commission is a central service agency responsible for meeting all departmental exhibit and display requirements in Canada and abroad, except for the specialized requirements of museums and art galleries. The Commission has exhibited in every country where Canada is officially represented, and has won international acclaim for its work. With administrative offices in London and Paris, and headquarters in Ottawa, the Exhibition Commission employs 283 people. These include design staff, 22 artists in the display shop and 72 administrative and support staff. The rest are technical people. Of the 283 employees, 178 were paid on a "prevailing rate" contract basis at the end of April 1969. None of the Commission's staff is classified as an information officer, although administrative personnel, project officers, designers and researchers may all be said to work in the information field.

The Ottawa headquarters contain approximately 500 re-usable exhibits for various departments and agencies, and audio-visual equipment valued at \$250,000. The equipment includes facilities for building electro-mechanical animated displays, special lights, cameras, film and slide projectors and recording and playback units. The Canadian Government Photo Centre provides the Commission with a skilled photographic print technician.

In recent years the Exhibition Commission has become a specialist in multi-media presentations on behalf of various departments. Its exhibit at the Brno, Czechoslovakia, Trade Fair in 1968 was an example of this sort of work, and the Japan World Exposition at Osaka in 1970 will be another. There, electronic show techniques will be used in conjunction with live performances, and with printed material. At a time when departmental information activities abroad are frequently disjointed as described in Paper XII, the Exhibition Commission is justly proud of its achievements in co-ordinating departmental work in the projection of a Canadian "image". In most cases the Commission takes over all the on-site arrangements for exhibitions, and, if requested, provides a site officer and staff to man exhibits.

According to government practice, all exhibits and displays for use in Canada are produced in the two official languages. For exhibition abroad, it is common practice to use English and the language of the country where the exhibition is being held, unless international exhibition regulations require the exhibit to use additional languages.

Workload

The Exhibition Commission's normal workload is relatively stable and breaks down into certain established patterns. The main users of the Commission's overseas services are the Department of External Affairs, which is responsible for general information abroad; and the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, with responsibilities for trade and tourist promotion. The RCMP, and the Departments of Manpower and Immigration, and Energy, Mines and Resources, all of which have specialized information requirements of their own, also make demands on the Commission.

In 1969-70, External Affairs plans to spend \$807,000 on over 70 presentations in Europe, Africa, Australia, Britain, Japan, India, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States. Industry, Trade and Commerce is conducting trade promotion exhibitions in 13 countries at a cost of \$2,500,000 and spending \$450,000 on tourist-promotion exhibits. Energy, Mines and Resources is sponsoring five exhibits in

three countries at a cost of \$70,000. Within Canada, 31 departments and agencies used the Commission in 1968-69 for general, technical and specialized exhibits at a total cost of \$900,000.

Beyond the Commission's normal workload there are special projects such as the 1967 Confederation Trains and Caravans. These were built and operated between 1964 and 1968 at a total cost of \$3,240,000. Canadian participation in Hemisfair 68, a special category World Exhibition in San Antonio, Texas, cost \$650,000 between 1966 and 1969. The government has budgeted \$11.2 million, spread over 1966-70, for Canada's effort at the Japan World Exposition at Osaka in 1970, a category I Universal Exhibition.

The Task Force's financial analyst could not identify individual departmental expenditures on exhibitions and displays because most departments do not record this expenditure separately. But, in 1968-69, the Exhibition Commission recovered almost \$5,000,000 for the services it rendered to departments and agencies.

History

The growth of the Exhibition Commission's activities has been rapid in the 24 years since World War II. It was a branch of the Department of Trade and Commerce from 1918 to 1968 and, until 1939, it was occupied almost exclusively with the overseas exhibition requirements of the Department. In 1946, an Order in Council stated that the Commission's major responsibility was to handle all Canadian exhibitions abroad, and to serve the needs of the Department of Trade and Commerce in Canada. It also specified that, with the approval of the Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, the Commission might also handle domestic exhibits for other departments.

From 1946, the Exhibition Commission accepted an increasing number of assignments from a variety of departments. In 1963 its domestic workload accounted for 28 per cent of its overall display and production, and in that year the Management Analysis Division of the then Civil Service Commission conducted a review of its functions. The review resulted in recommendations on centralizing the government exhibition function and these were subsequently incorporated in a Treasury Board directive. The report recommended that the Exhibition Commission be entrusted with meeting all government exhibition needs (apart from specialized museum and art gallery requirements). The Management Analysis Division study group noted that, each year, a \$100,000-domestic workload, involving between 50

and 60 exhibits, was handled by departmental workshops and by private enterprise. It was the group's opinion that \$40,000 of this could be saved by centralizing the exhibition function, although it admitted that "it has been impossible to establish exact cost comparisons between the operations of the Exhibition Commission and the costs of private enterprise and departmental workshop operations."

The report observed that while the Exhibition Commission operated on a total budget of \$1,100,000 in 1963, the Department of Agriculture alone, a major domestic exhibitor, spent \$66,500 annually on display. In the study group's view it was apparent "that the larger operation and tighter controls of the Commission result in lower overhead, better utilization of equipment and provision of up to date equipment at a lower cost." As a result of the Management Analysis Division study, a Canadian Division was established within the Exhibition Commission to handle the design and production of exhibits in Canada for all government departments, and division project officers were assigned to service the continuing needs of specific departments.

The 1963 study recommended – and a subsequent Treasury Board directive confirmed – a continuation of the method of financing exhibitions under the Exhibition Commission Vote. Where exhibitions abroad were concerned, departments were required to inform the Commission of their needs for each forthcoming fiscal year to enable the Commission to determine the probable costs and include them, together with a contingency percentage, in the Commission's own estimates. For domestic exhibitions, departments paid for the Commission's services as the need arose.

The financial arrangement for exhibitions abroad gave the Commission considerable flexibility in co-ordinating the activities of various departments. The unused portion of the contingency percentage, plus the use of salvaged materials, provided a useful "cushion". But flexibility was achieved at the cost of removing direct budgetary control over individual displays and exhibits from user departments and agencies, and dissatisfaction grew among the Commission's clients. One department complained that the Exhibition Commission "considers itself a law unto itself, especially with regard to detailed information on costs," while another remarked bitterly that the Commission "does as it damn well pleases". Financial control over exhibitions was an obvious area for review, and an investigation conducted by Treasury Board's Task Force 10 in 1968 resulted in a significant change of emphasis.

The New Terms of Reference

Task force 10 was part of the machinery set up in connection with the Government Reorganization Programme; and its report on the Exhibition Commission brought about the transfer of the Commission from Industry, Trade and Commerce to Public Works, where it remains an organizational entity responsible to the Deputy Minister. Task Force 10 expected the transfer would enable the Commission to take advantage of the specialized support services available in the Department of Public Works, and that, since the Commission could draw upon Public Works professional consulting capabilities the change would achieve some economies as well. Task Force 10 considered it "unwise at this stage to predict the extent that the Commission may eventually inter-operate with the remainder of the Department of Public Works' facilities."

The Commission's existing Terms of Reference were described as "inadequate" by Task Force 10. It took advantage of the transfer to establish new Terms of Reference in consultation with the Department of Public Works and the Commission's chief clients, the Departments of Industry, Trade and Commerce, and External Affairs.

The Task Force recognized that "the Commission provides a service which, with a number of exceptions, all federal organizations wishing to sponsor exhibits are obliged to use; nevertheless, the Terms of Reference have been drafted to clearly recognize the programme responsibility prerogatives of the user clientele." Programme responsibility for an exhibit sponsored by a department must be retained by that department and, "it follows then, under responsible accounting concepts, that client departments should also retain the budget for these exhibits in their respective appropriations." The new Terms of Reference specify that the client's programme responsibility includes "the approval of final cost estimates, design, schedules, and supporting events." Excluded from the Commission's responsibilities are "public relations and advertising activities in support of a Canadian exhibit, if so directed by a client." While the Commission is described as a common service agency, the new Terms of Reference provide an "escape clause" for departments. They permit "any exception approved by the Treasury Board in consultation with the Deputy Minister (of Public Works)."

The Department of Public Works must meet the fixed, overhead expenses of the Commission. Ultimately, Task Force 10 expected the Commission to become financially self-sustaining, with a separate working capital advance, and

he ability to recover from its clients the entire cost of operations.

Absence of Co-ordination

Clearly, the new terms of reference have changed the balance of power between the Exhibition Commission and its client departments. They put the departments in a stronger position than they were in their dealings with the Commission. The new financial arrangements came into effect on April 1, 1969, and senior officials at the Exhibition Commission have already voiced a fear that, when the Commission lost the means to budget on a government-wide basis for presentations abroad, it also lost its ability to co-ordinate departmental objectives. The charge is serious, but it is too early to test its validity.

It is worth mentioning however, that while the Exhibition Commission has exercised a co-ordinating function, as it did at the Brno Trade Fair in 1968, it has never had a formal mandate to promote interdepartmental co-operation. Nor is there any mention of a co-ordinating function in the Commission's new Terms of Reference. That is why there will be no government-wide exhibits at major Canadian exhibitions this year. At Toronto's Canadian National Exhibition for example, it was reported that at least five departments exhibited at five different locations.

The need for co-ordination was acknowledged by several information officers who were interviewed by the Task Force. To the Department of National Defence, co-ordination was "the one major policy change" required in the exhibition field. The Department of Labour observed that "it would strengthen the federal image if various departments became co-operative instead of competitive." The Department of Manpower and Immigration, which felt that federal exhibitions were a neglected area in Canada, spoke of the need for an answer to the "tricky question" of where the federal information function begins and the departmental function ends in domestic exhibitions. Energy, Mines and Resources agreed, saying that the effective way to project the government's policies lay in a new emphasis on the federal nature of exhibits rather than on their departmental qualities.

Some departmental information officers praised some of the *ad hoc* efforts in co-ordination that have been made in the past. They mentioned particularly the co-operative system set up for Centennial year, and for promotion of Expo 67 in the United States. This involved the Departments of External Affairs, and Industry, Trade and Commerce, the

Canadian Government Travel Bureau and the Crown Corporation for Expo. An example of small-scale interdepartmental co-operation in 1969 was the participation of 14 departments in the Ottawa and District Careers Exposition for secondary school students.

Interdepartmental co-operation in displays and exhibitions may sometimes be achieved, but there is almost none between Federal and provincial governments. Senior officials at the Exhibition Commission told the Task Force of their problems in dealing with the various provinces in connection with the 1970 Japan World Exhibition at Osaka. There is an apparent need for consultation with the provinces to promote co-operation and provincial participation in projects of mutual interest.

Commission - Client Relations

Departmental comments on the services received from the Exhibition Commission were not unanimously favourable. Among the eleven information services questioned, comments ranged from "outstandingly satisfactory and rewarding" and "effective and efficient" to "on the whole satisfactory" and to the Department of Labour's complaint that, since the Exhibition Commission, like the National Film Board, is "prone to assign persons on the basis of availability rather than their empathy, we often find that these persons are unable to grasp the intricacies of our subject matter." Experience obviously varied considerably between departments. Energy, Mines and Resources said, "we have never known them to default on a deadline," but the Department of National Defence accused the Commission of never meeting one, and supported Labour's contention that the Commission lacked "due consideration of the customer's needs or wishes." Defence told of an armed forces display which was "nothing short of a disaster" because the Commission had "ignored, to a large extent, recommendations from the Department during its construction." Among dissatisfied customers the Department of Agriculture is without peer: the Information Director was so incensed by a set of display panels that the Commission prepared for him that he took a spray gun to them, and coloured them pale green.

Cost factors predominated in departmental complaints about the Exhibition Commission, but the change in the method of financing exhibitions is very recent, and the remarks made by information officers apply largely to the situation existing before April 1, 1969. The Department of National Defence spoke for many others when it said "a civilian firm which does not enjoy a monopoly but must

compete with other civilian firms for your business has a much more business-like approach."

Comparative cost figures are extremely hard to determine. In an admittedly limited test situation, however, the Management Analysis Division study group of 1963 concluded that the Exhibition Commission's charges were very competitive with private industry. Still, each department queried by the Task Force thought that a system of contracting out might well reduce the cost of exhibitions and displays. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics and the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs both suggested that open competition from private industry might act as a check on prices. Energy, Mines and Resources thought that "the Exhibition Commission must continue to shoulder overall responsibility for the quality of design and construction, and vouch for the competence of the firm in question."

Costs

Former Exhibition Commission Director Patrick Reid has said there is always an "inevitable confrontation between what is desirable within the use of the medium and what is desirable within the terms of the budget." The important thing is to get good design at the lowest possible cost, rather than to save money by accepting inferior standards of design. The Exhibition Commission has always applied certain minimum standards of quality in building government exhibits and, in recent years, despite rapidly accelerating costs, the Commission says it has produced the majority of departmental exhibits for a sum below the original estimate.

Exhibitions are undoubtedly expensive; they include not only charges for design and construction, but the costs of shipping, on-site installation and dismantling, space and furniture rental, floor covering, wiring, maintenance and cleaning. The cost of constructing an exhibit varies according to its complexity. A small portable panel display can be built at the Commission for between \$400 and \$600; a large, three-dimensional 20 by 30 foot exhibit with special audio-visual devices can cost as much as \$20,000. In 1966-67 the Department of Manpower and Immigration paid \$30,000 for a 30-foot three-dimensional display which included rear-screen audio-visual units, backlit colour transparencies and continually changing slide and graphic programmes. This exhibit has been displayed in various parts of the country in 1967, 1968 and 1969. Out of its 1968-69 budget, Manpower and Immigration paid the Exhibition Commission to construct two 20-foot exhibits, costing \$9,000 each, to be used in 13 different exhibitions in 1969 in Ontario, Quebec,

Saskatchewan, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland.

The difficulty of isolating the proportion of departmental budgets spent on exhibitions has already been noted. Manpower and Immigration, for example, had a 1968-69 audio-visual budget of \$306,000 which covered not only exhibitions and displays, but film production and still photography as well. In one case, however, the division of expenditures was clear. The Department of Agriculture, which has the most exhibition and display requirements among federal departments, had an exhibition budget of \$50,500 in 1968-69. Agriculture uses the Exhibition Commission to build all major exhibits, but it also circumvents regulations by maintaining its own workshop where it can construct low-cost items at very short notice. Octopus-type exhibits in the 10 by 20 foot size range can be produced there for between \$300-\$500; and, when urgently requested to do so by other departments, Agriculture will construct low-cost exhibition materials for them, also.

Departmental unhappiness with the cost of exhibitions may reflect the unavoidable expense of mounting displays as much as resentment at the previous method of paying the Exhibition Commission for its services. In departmental circles, however, the Task Force detected an ignorance of the contribution that good design can make to the effectiveness of government information programmes. In other words, a major obstacle to good relations between the Exhibition Commission and client departments is a suspicion born of departmental unfamiliarity with the world of design. One information officer told the Task Force that "the Exhibition Commission itself seems to have a first-class, expert staff, but user departments need to have a larger number of people trained in and familiar with exhibition and display lore for more effective co-operation with the Commission." The Dominion Bureau of Statistics called for "an exhibition school" for departmental officers, while the Department of Agriculture proposed "a floating pool of expertise."

The matter is of greater importance now than it has ever been, because the Exhibition Commission's new Terms of Reference specify that each client department "will have programme responsibility for his exhibit, including the approval of final cost estimates, design, schedules and supporting events." If departmental information officers are to exercise that responsibility properly, knowledge of the exhibition field is essential. At present there are no training or retraining programmes in the exhibition field, and few of the information officers questioned by the Task Force were familiar with the Public Service Commission classifica-

on for exhibition specialists.

Departments seldom regard exhibitions and displays as an integral part of their information programmes and, while exhibits may be well-designed by the Exhibition Commission, the supporting literature rarely achieves a comparable standard of design. Departments do very little to evaluate the effectiveness of exhibitions. Agriculture has a Programme Analyst, but his work does not include assessing the quality and impact of exhibits. The Department of Labour, however, does use audience surveys to test the department's promotional exhibits in the industrial relations area; and Industry, Trade and Commerce recently commissioned a private consultant to report on the Design Canada Centres in Montreal and Toronto.

The Task Force sees a need for improving communication between the Exhibition Commission and client departments, in order to promote good design practice in exhibitions which are well-suited to departmental information requirements. A genuine understanding of the exhibition function on the part of information officers would bring with it not only an appreciation of the exhibition potential, but also an awareness that the medium has its limitations, and that certain information can be more effectively transmitted in other ways.

However professional it may be, a central exhibition service cannot function effectively in isolation. It should be part of a central government multi-media unit, where design work in allied fields can be co-ordinated to project an integrated federal image, and where research can determine the best ways of reaching certain audiences.

We recommend that:

1. The Canadian Government Exhibition Commission continue to provide the necessary expertise for the concept, design and production of Federal Government exhibits and displays in Canada and abroad.

2. The Commission be transferred to Information Canada, and a decision be taken as to whether appropriate technical components should remain within the Department of Public Works.

3. Funds be provided Information Canada to undertake a programme of general interest exhibits.

4. Federal departments and agencies continue to be allotted funds for their own exhibits, and either use the

services of the Commission or secure through the Commission the assistance of private firms.

5. In situations where the joint interest of the Federal and provincial governments are involved, where provincial components might, by agreement, usefully be included in federal displays, or where there is more than one pavilion from Canada, then closer co-ordination by the responsible federal and provincial authorities be employed.

Design

The first thing to establish in this section is what we mean by design; what design means in terms of the Government of Canada as a whole, and to the Task Force on Government Information in particular. Design is essentially visual and therefore it demands a visual illustration, and what better one, anywhere, than Expo 67? It was perhaps the finest example yet seen of total design. It was also an achievement in which the Government of Canada played a considerable part.

Design at Expo encompassed virtually every detail, from the colour of the minirail cars to the fine print on the menu at the Canadian pavilion. It incorporated *systems design*, in terms of the "critical path" which ensured that the fair would open on schedule. It meant *graphic design*, in terms of posters, advertising, letterhead, the signs on the site. It meant *corporate design*, in terms of the Expo symbol which was used so pervasively. It meant *landscape design*, in the way that trees and shrubs were located. It meant *street design*, or town planning if you will, in the general layout of the site, the placing and appearance of benches, lights and even trash-cans. It meant *architectural design*, not only in the appearance of individual buildings, but also in their relationship to one another, and to the site as a whole.

Thus, one lesson of Expo 67 is that design can become a *co-ordinating function of society*. As Expo also demonstrated, design involves many disciplines: architecture, environmental and product design; graphic design; ceramics, glass and textile design; lighting techniques; and, to name one more, ergonomics, which is the study of the relationship between man and his immediate surroundings. Design to be effective should be total. Every aspect of corporate, educational and government activity may be thought of in terms of their communicative interrelationship.

Expo 67, however, was a single event, and a very costly one. One may well ask, what does all this have to do

with day to day government operations? Furthermore, what does it have to do with the Task Force on Government Information?

In fact, design has a great deal to do with government information. Design, as a means of visual identification, is the quickest possible way to transmit information about government, and about the country as a whole. The Montreal designer Julien Hébert noted in a report to the Task Force that, "a great deal of the responsibility for the image of a country rests with government." There are scores of ways in which government is instantly recognized. They range from the flag, and the appearance of government buildings to stationery and letterheads, advertisements in newspapers, maps, insignia on government vehicles, and so on. Abroad, the distinction between "Government" and "Canada" merges into a single image. Hébert calls this "*l'image Canada*", and it is conveyed by means of stamps, passports, the decoration of our embassies, the uniforms of our servicemen. Again, the list could go on and on.

Our definition of design, then, is a broad one. Let us now look at how the Government of Canada currently projects its image. Granted, we have come a long way from the drab Fifties. In those pre-Expo years, almost every government publication appeared to be a reminder of the Depression, most government offices were pale green and dreary oak, almost every government building was either a grim box (DBS is a flawless example) or a bleak monolith (the Trade and Commerce and Veterans Affairs buildings are twin bleak monoliths), and the only symbols that government had consciously developed were the Mounties' hat and tunic, and the beavers and Bluenoses on nickels and dimes. Now, at the edge of the Seventies, despite intermittent improvements, design continues to be considered pretty much as a frill on the plain cloth of government. As Canadian designer, Paul Arthur, suggests, "the feeling still exists that design is something one gets around to, later on, after consideration has been given to matters of greater weight than need be accorded to the cosmetics."

The Past

The Government of Canada made its first formal concession to design in 1953 when it established the National Design Council. Based on the model of Britain's Council of Industrial Design, its secretariat formed the Design Centre, a branch of the National Gallery.

The prime purpose of the Design Council was to stimulate improved design in Canadian manufactured products so

that these could compete in the export market but, for its first seven years, the Council was to a large extent consumer-oriented. Its aim was to show Canadians what design meant. It sponsored scores of exhibitions throughout the country. These ranged from shows like "Design in Plastics" and "Design in Stainless Steel" to an annual display of Christmas gifts costing less than \$15.

Yet, for all its brave intentions, the Council was never successful in getting the government itself to adopt good design principles. In 1960, the Council was transferred to the Department of Trade and Commerce (later to Industry, and then back to Industry, Trade and Commerce) and it became increasingly manufacturer-oriented. As a consequence of being a branch of an industry-oriented department rather than part of a government central agency, the Design Council's overall influence on government design has been marginal.

Even so, design began to creep in through government's back door. Late in the nineteen-fifties, under the guidance of Paul Arthur the National Gallery revamped and restyled all its printed material; for the first time, an agency of government was producing a cohesive set of cheerful and attractive publications. In the early Sixties, annual reports, departmental magazines, and even letterheads began to blossom forth in bright new formats. At the same time, and inevitably, many departments confused design with novelty. There were many garish and freakish effects and, sometimes, the old grey wasteland seemed infinitely preferable.

In the early nineteen-sixties design became an integral part of the Department of Transport's new airports. For the first time, an agency other than the National Gallery became a patron of the arts. Paintings and sculptures were commissioned for all the new airport terminals. The furniture for these terminals was carefully chosen so that, besides being long-lasting and comfortable, it would relate to the architecture.

A number of departments followed DOT's lead. External Affairs began to purchase Canadian paintings for its embassies (unfortunately, the method by which the embassies are furnished showed no comparable improvement). Before long, even the doughty Department of Public Works established a fine arts advisory committee to commission works of art for new government buildings. More slowly the architecture of the new buildings began to improve.

The most significant design development of the last decade came not from any government department but from Crown Corporation – the CNR. Perhaps the most important aspect of the new CN design system was its purpose: it was

not installed to "pretty up" railway cars, but to achieve a practical end.

In the summer of 1959, the chief CN Public Relations Officer found himself with a major information problem. A public opinion poll had indicated that very few Canadians believed the railroad was efficient, progressive or well run. And yet, during the preceding ten years, the CN had poured a billion dollars into modernization. Clearly, the message was not getting across, nor was the railway getting value for its money.

Such firms as IBM and Olivetti had pioneered the post-war concept of the corporate identity programme, and the PR chief at CNR decided that their example might be followed to improve the railroad's public image. He hired a progressive young New York design firm, James Valkus Inc., to survey the situation. From the start, Valkus made it clear that any new programme would have to suit the needs not only of the largest railroad in North America, but also of its fleet of trucks, its string of hotels, its steamship and ferry lines, its telegraph and telephone systems and its radio works. In visual terms, the programme would revamp the design of railway cars, stationery, reports, tickets, signs, linen, menus, dinnerware, uniforms, interiors and building exteriors.

What Valkus had to work with was not promising. The railroad had an identifying symbol – the maple leaf – but this had never been designed, nor had it remained constant. Sometimes it appeared in two colours, sometimes in three, sometimes alone and sometimes with the slogan, "Serves all Canada." Moreover, CN itself was essentially conservative: it was careful in its decisions, mindful of all opinions, chary with its money, and interested primarily in economy, efficiency and better service. Like a government, CN was not an easy market for ideas that might be regarded as frilly.

But CN is also a business. And its president at the time, the late Donald Gordon, realized that design could mean economy, efficiency and good service. Once he had given his approval, the programme moved ahead. The first step was the famous "spaghetti" logo, the work of the Toronto designer, Allan Fleming. It began to shine out over railway stations and on railway cars like a good deed in a naughty world. Soon the red-white-and-blue colour co-ordination scheme came into effect, while behind the scenes a systems design programme was put into operation to improve plant and equipment, operating and sales methods, and organizational structure.

The results of the corporate identity programme have been spectacular. A comprehensive public opinion survey carried

out in 1966 confirmed that, since 1959, the CN had substantially improved its public image, in terms of "being progressive, efficiently run, trying to serve the public well, providing job security, and having good morale." The re-design programme was the key tool used to communicate these ideas to the public. It is clear now that the success of the CN design programme has been its comprehensive, consistent and continuing approach. CN has discovered that design is not static.

We have discussed CN's approach to design at some length because we believe it is the approach that government as a whole should adopt. It is odd that, although the programme is now ten years old, government has not followed CN's lead.

Elsewhere in the public service, improvements have come about as a result of people rather than policies. Developments such as the DOT airport programme have depended on someone getting a bright idea, selling it to senior management, and pushing it through. Often if a key person moves on, or has a falling out with the boss, a good idea dies before it can inspire results. In short, government has no design policy. It treats design as an afterthought and not as a first principle.

The Present

Thanks to Expo and, more recently, to the National Arts Centre, many public servants in the information field are at least aware of the importance of design. They want to do the right thing. Unhappily, they are uncertain how to go about it.

If the situation a few years ago was drab and nondescript, today it might be described as cheerful chaos. Let the reader put himself in the position of a modern Rip Van Winkle who finds himself in downtown Ottawa and sets out in search of the Government of Canada. What will he find? Just one unifying symbol – the Maple Leaf Flag. Everything else is a jumble of conflicting images. Government vehicles are blue, green, red or gray, to mention just part of the spectrum. Every government building is identified in its own way, with its own style of sign and typeface (sometimes signs are handwritten). If government rents space in commercial buildings, the departmental listings may be jumbled up all over the notice-board in the foyer.

The single exception to the cheerful confusion only emphasizes it. The exception is the National Capital Commission. It has done a first-rate job not only of identifying its parkways attractively and consistently, but also of smartening up such property as it owns in downtown Ottawa. It has

also provided an excellent map of the National Capital Region. Thus, to return to Rip Van Winkle, it is easier for him to find his way to Fortune Lookout on a NCC parkway than to the Passport Office, or even the Post Office.

And we might add that should he awake in Montreal or Toronto, he is likely to be much less confused. Ontario has developed an all-out identity programme; its trillium logo appears on news releases, letterheads, and television commercials, to name just a few outlets. The same is true of Quebec and the *fleur-de-lys*. To make the point bluntly: provinces have become far more skilful at making their presence felt than the Federal Government.

A detailed examination of a specific facet of design bears out the fact that Federal Government design has neither rhyme nor reason. The Task Force commissioned an expert in graphic design to take a look at a range of publications put out by government. He summed up his overall finding in this way:

"In general, the old-time, energy consuming, hit or miss technique is still being used . . . In this age of specialization, there is still a strong current of opinion that everyone can be a designer, and everyone can act as a publisher. Despite the fact that design is a highly technical and highly aesthetic profession, we find an army of non-professionals deciding the critical issues of how to communicate ideas, the design of a publication, the type style and sizes, the visuals to be used, the format and so on."

A panel of three designers examined the publications of the following departments: Industry, Trade and Commerce, Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and National Health and Welfare.

Industry, Trade and Commerce

Since many of the publications of Trade and Commerce are aimed specifically at audiences abroad, they are important as a reflection of Canada. Unfortunately the image is often blurred. The stylized maple leaf, a departmental symbol, is used neither forcefully nor constantly.

Though design standards are fair, and there is evidence of considerable imagination at work, some publications reflect a concern for style rather than substance. There is a lavish use of colour but frequently a poor choice of paper. In addition, publications appear to be produced in an unnecessarily wide range of sizes.

The publications of the Department of Industry show a similar unevenness. Annual reports in particular lacked good design concept, and demonstrated poor use of visual material

and poor typographic detailing. On the other hand, the National Design Council (whose secretariat forms a branch of the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce) is developing a strong style through use of standard formats, and a single type face. It also uses the logotype "Design Canada" in a consistent way. In addition, a graphics manual is in the advanced stages of preparation.

The work of the Travel Bureau is imaginative, colourful and interesting. Visuals are extremely well handled, and the technical quality of the publications is exceptionally good. There is, however, some design inconsistency; the Bureau uses the Canadian flag on some publications and the Canadian Coat of Arms on others.

Indian Affairs and Northern Development

The design quality is haphazard. Publications like *Innuits 1968* and the department's postcards and Christmas cards are of a very high standard, but many leaflets and folders, though technically well produced, have been put together with too little imagination and too many type faces. As in Trade and Commerce, there is a plethora of sizes among the publications.

Mines and Technical Surveys

This Department's annual report is a fine example of simplicity and control, though it might be improved by using machine-type rather than varitype. Other more elaborate productions – such as *Water* or *Careers for University Graduates* – would benefit if more discipline were applied to type and colour, and if less concern were shown for cover design and more for design content, particularly in relation to layout and format.

External Affairs

External Affairs publications are important in that they project Canada abroad. Design standards are reasonably good, but printing quality is extremely poor. Colour is often used badly.

Health and Welfare

With the exception of *Canada's Health and Welfare* and *Get Fit, Keep Fit*, most Health and Welfare publications are extremely weak in design. There is an old-fashioned appearance about many of them, in part created by the

use of outdated type styles.

Others

Broadly speaking, the publications of Labour, Transport, National Defence, Forestry and the Farm Credit Corporation are below average. This is particularly so in typographic detail, layout, illustration, and use of photographs. Departmental identification is almost always inconsistent.

Most of the difficulties in the design of government publications derive from poor planning and poor organization. Government procedures and services neither provide nor encourage good design practices, and therefore there is a serious lack of design professionalism in information services. Poor work is the inevitable result. To put it another way: government does not understand the value of a co-ordinated graphic design programme. Nor, with rare exceptions, has it any idea of what might be termed a "systems approach" to design.

A Systems Approach to Design

What is true of publications in particular, is equally true of design as a whole. Government conspicuously lacks an overall design policy that encompasses design systems for federal information, and incorporates guidelines to identify both the whole Federal Government, and individual departments. We have recommended the establishment of a central design group, within Information Canada, to develop a policy, and systems and guidelines, and to implement the policy through co-operation with departments, agencies and outside experts.

We are aware that the term "systems approach" has unpleasant connotations to many people. In his submission to the Task Force, however, Paul Arthur a well-known Canadian Graphic Designer, makes an effective rebuttal to such suspicions:

"There is a general concern that systems are totalitarian in nature, that they hamstring creativity, imposing a boring grey mediocrity on life and art. One has only to look at the extraordinary diversity of expression achieved within the system of gothic architecture, to see how false this notion is."

In terms of day to day government operations, the advantages of systems design are multiple. A designer told the Task Force that a systematic approach to design would enable federal departments and agencies to: plan and rationalize their total information programmes better than they do now; organize and schedule their work more effectively;

administer their programmes with greater ease; develop a meaningful image through consistency of style; better identify their work through proper use of logotypes or credit lines; communicate more effectively through greater discipline in use of standard formats, type visuals and colour; apply their design style and system of identification to such other communications media as exhibitions, films, and television; determine their budgetary requirements more precisely; generally reduce publishing and information costs.

Again, Paul Arthur told the Task Force:

"The systematic approach can also achieve substantial savings in costs. For example, by adopting the systems approach to its signs, Expo 67 was able to use a minimum number of materials, type sizes, sign faces and supports, in order to solve an extraordinary complex design situation. This reduction in variety made it possible to purchase components in large quantities, and at low cost. Applied to a publications programme, the systems approach will result in fewer sizes or formats, fewer type faces and tighter specifications, enabling more printers to quote, and, as each new publication will present a minimum of unknown factors, printers will not have to cover themselves against unexpected contingencies."

"One of the important aspects of a design system is that once it is installed, its maintenance can be turned over to relatively inexperienced or uneducated people. Because there are a minimum number of things for them to remember and consequently a minimum number of things to go wrong, adequate maintenance (in a world where this is becoming increasingly difficult otherwise) can be assured."

"The rationale of the systems approach is easily perceived once a family likeness emerges on all informational material, audio-visuals, exhibitions, posters, etc., and a logical connection begins to emerge of which the public becomes very much aware"

"The logical applications for such systems in the context of government are indicated in the following areas: architecture of public buildings; the environmental planning of government complexes, including master planning, landscaping, interior design, sign systems for in- and outside; exhibitions of both a permanent and a temporary nature; publications of all sorts; films and media other than print to complement (or be complemented by) the publications programme; printed administrative requirements, including stationery, reports, documents for both interior and exterior use."

In terms of introducing a design system to printed administrative material, we have included a table to indicate the scope of its application:

Government of Canada Corporate Identity Programme**Government of Canada Identification (Symbol)**

Department or Agency Identification
(Logotype and/or Credit Line)

Branch or Unit Identification (Credit Line)

Stationery,	Internal
External Forms	Forms
<i>Letterheads</i>	<i>Inter office Letterheads</i>
<i>Invoices</i>	<i>Inter departmental Memos</i>
<i>Statements</i>	<i>Employment Forms</i>
<i>Purchase Orders</i>	<i>Executive Orders</i>
<i>Enquiry Forms</i>	<i>Special Notices</i>
<i>Application Blanks</i>	<i>Routing Copies</i>
<i>Quotations</i>	<i>Price Lists</i>
<i>Collection Notices, etc.</i>	<i>Time Sheets</i>
	<i>Shipping Reports</i>
	<i>Financial Reports, etc.</i>
Envelopes	
Business Cards	Press/News Release Headings
Labels, Tags	Sales Letters, Bulletins

Government Department Agency**Design Coordination & Corporate Identity Programme****Government of Canada Identification (as required)****Department/Agency Identification**

Standard Formats	Special Projects
<i>Leaflets</i>	<i>Books</i>
<i>Folders/Broadsides</i>	<i>Posters</i>
<i>Booklets/Brochures</i>	<i>Flyers</i>
<i>Invitations</i>	<i>Printed Displays</i>
<i>Newspaper Advertising</i>	<i>Magazine Advertising</i>
<i>Manuals</i>	
<i>Announcements</i>	
<i>Magazines</i>	
<i>Catalogues</i>	
<i>Annual Reports</i>	

Client and Designer

By favouring a systems approach to design, and by recommending that this be developed by a central design unit within Information Canada, we do not mean to propose a kind of design junta, which would loftily announce what each department should have for its symbol, and what designer it may choose. The central unit would be responsible for developing overall policy and guidelines, and for

developing primary symbols to identify the Government of Canada as a whole. Each department, in co-operation with the central unit, would be responsible for developing its own design programmes.

We suggest that the best way to proceed is for each individual department to consider what the systems approach is all about, what the department itself wants to say, and how it wants to present itself. Then, in co-operation with the central unit, the department should choose the designer – inside or outside government – who is most sensitive to its needs, and set him free. Paul Arthur has described the ideal relationship between client and designer: “*The designer is really only as good as his client lets him be.*” The client must be able to initiate the dialogue between them by a detailed articulation of his problems, and of what he wants to achieve. The designer must then attempt by skilful questioning to elicit additional information which he regards as essential.”

“Once designer and client feel that they have together identified the problems in broad terms, the designer must now attempt to fill in some of the details by further discussions with the users and he must attempt to draw an accurate profile of their needs. (As the users in the case of government are divided between members of the public and servants of the Crown, the designer’s investigations must take place in both areas.)”

“When the designer feels that he has accurately identified the users and their needs, he will attempt to synthesize his findings into a concept or a series of concepts. Designers often make serious mistakes when they assume that their knowledge of design disciplines can solve all problems and so it is essential that safeguards be built into the system by the provision of funds to cover adequate testing of the concept.”

“Once the testing procedure has been completed it may be prudent before doing anything else to install the system in a test area. (For example, in the case of a sign system, before applying it to all government buildings, it will be useful in ironing out inevitable wrinkles to try it out on one.)”

“This additional test having been completed, the most satisfactory way to implement the system is to incorporate it into a standards manual (or into a series of such manuals).”

“As a means of communication among management, designer and staff, design manuals have evolved from a need to maintain consistent visual standards throughout complex organizations. The majority are instructional and show how

graphic and architectural elements should be organized; they contain tear-out sheets to be sent to printers, colour samples, scale drawings of vehicle liveries and sample stationery, etc. Other manuals aim to persuade as well as instruct and they include thoughts on the philosophy of the house style as well as its mechanics. The sheer volume of work makes it impossible for any designer or design committee to communicate, supervise and vet all the changes that have to be made; the responsibility must be delegated, and there must be some easily accessible reference data on which local management can base design decisions. The manual imposes standardization and saves management time as well as money."

A Hopeful Sign

The situation that now exists in government suggests that the design nirvana described will take years to establish. Still, given the right approach, circumstances can be transformed, if not overnight, at least within 12 months. The Post Office's new design programme is a case in point.

For years, Canadian designers and artists had bemoaned the general dullness and mediocrity of Canadian stamps. Their overall quality had been summed up by Harold Town who, writing in *Toronto Life* two years ago, described them as, "... flimsy in design, paltry in concept, pedestrian in drawing, spinsterish in colour, and worst of all, hopelessly out of contact with our age. Every second, somewhere on this earth, one of them is staring bleakly from the corner of an envelope, a mini-courier of creative shame, proclaiming that we as a nation have never been convinced that God is in the details."

In January 1969, the Postmaster-General decided to put good design, if not God, into the details. He appointed a Task Force on stamp design to suggest ways in which Canadian stamps might be improved. The Committee was composed of outstanding designers and artists (Allan Fleming, Julien Hébert, Alex Colville, Yves Gaucher), and it reported in March. Its key recommendations were that the commissions paid to artists should be substantially increased, and that an advisory committee on stamp design be established to commission artists for Canadian stamps and to approve their designs. The recommendations have been implemented and the Advisory Committee has held its first meeting. All the commemorative stamps for 1970 have been commissioned, to artists of such calibre as Takao Tanabe, Dennis Burton and Bryan Fisher.

It is intended that the Committee concern itself also with

other design problems related to the Post Office. At the same time, a corporate identity programme for the Post Office, similar to the CN programme, is in the preliminary planning stages.

If one of the oldest, and by common consent the creakiest departments of government is able to begin the installation of a design system so quickly, others should have no difficulty, particularly if the new central unit encourages them to do so.

Conclusions

Design must be considered integral and essential to any information programme or policy. Since design is planning, it should be part of a programme review, and accorded the same concern as any other factors in programme planning.

In the past, some individuals within government, by the strength of their personal conviction and taste, have succeeded magnificently. But sporadically, to make good design the rule, rather than the exception, the Federal Government requires a reservoir of expertise to advise departments and agencies. In addition, this central and professional reservoir of knowledge could be used to develop design guidelines that would encompass the government as a whole, that would ensure that the Federal Government led the country in design standards, rather than every now and then, more by accident than policy, doing as well as the more enlightened private businesses.

We recommend that:

1. The government establish a general policy on design, incorporating systems for federal information and guidelines for both federal and departmental identification programmes.
2. The policy and guidelines be developed, and their implementation and review ensured, by a central design group in Information Canada working with departments, agencies and outside experts, with a view to attaining the highest quality at the least possible cost.

Parliamentary Returns

The Task Force's concern about "the people's right to know" prompted a brief study of the Parliamentary Returns function. It is a specialized information activity that bridges

the gap – sometimes uneasily – between the traditionally non-political rôle of the departmental information service and the political world of Parliament.

The basic requirements for a successful Parliamentary Returns Officer are a constant awareness of departmental policies and programmes, and a thorough knowledge of Parliamentary procedures. He prepares material for the Minister's use in the Commons, whether it is required for tabling in the House, or for answering specific questions raised by Members. He also supplies Parliamentary Committees with departmental information. The Officer is expected to brief his Minister, often at short notice, with material drawn from departmental sources, and to anticipate on a day to day basis questions which may be asked by Members and call for a ministerial statement in the House. Liaison with the Information Division is important; the Officer must co-ordinate ministerial statements in the House with departmental news releases and other information work. His work may be a major task; 25,000 or more questions may be handled during a session, and some large departments may answer as many as 3,000, either orally or in writing.

The position is both highly responsible and very sensitive, and while it involves information in the broadest sense, in every case – and there are approximately 50 Parliamentary Returns Officers in government – it is separated from the department's information division. Until very recently, the Department of Industry's Parliamentary Returns Officer was attached to the Information and Promotion Branch, but he was the sole exception to the general rule. After the creation of the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, the Officer was attached to the Deputy Minister's office. It is customary for the position to be held by an official closely connected with the Deputy Minister's office. The separation of the Parliamentary Returns Officer from the Information Division reflects departmental sensitivity to the Officer's middleman rôle, midway between politics and the public service.

Parliamentary Returns Officers consulted by the Task Force point out the lack of any manual by which to proceed, and say that some departments operate more efficiently than others. Industry, Trade and Commerce, National Defence, and Supply and Services are three Departments where the system functions well. Officers in these Departments maintain close and efficient contact with one another. The co-ordination of Parliamentary Returns Officers' activities, however, is the responsibility of the Privy Council's own Parliamentary Returns Division. It maintains the close liaison necessary on occasions when several departments are in-

involved in answering a particular question in the House.

Some Parliamentary Returns Officers would prefer their work to be co-ordinated with the departmental information function. One senior officer wants to see the establishment of a parliamentary information and returns section within each departmental information division. He believes these divisions should co-ordinate their activities, instead of operating on the present individual basis, and that they should take advantage of the Parliamentary Returns Section to give selected information officers a broad experience in federal programmes and policies which cut across departmental lines.

Recipients

Parliamentary Returns Officers are a major source of information for Members of Parliament seeking material for use in the House speeches, parliamentary committees, news conferences and media interviews, and for answering inquiries from constituents. Journalists, and therefore the public, also benefit, because of the news media's concentration on the House of Commons question period. The daily issue of 15,000 copies of Hansard also ensures distribution of the information.

Members of Parliament are the direct recipients of this special information service, and many of them have complaints about it. They express frustration over their inability to gain access to departmental "working documents" or "supporting papers" and other research materials. Sometimes they have difficulty extracting adequate information in answer to their constituents' inquiries. Opposition Members sometimes accuse government spokesmen of "sheltering behind confidentiality" and blame "the mystique of inviolability of the public service." (It is also a fact that not all Opposition questions are aimed exclusively at getting information.)

The Right to Know

Some Members of Parliament are calling for the establishment of criteria by the Federal Government to distinguish between material to which the citizen has automatic right of access and material that the government considers should be restricted. At present, the decision is made on a departmental basis – at the discretion of the Minister, in consultation with his Deputy Minister and other senior officials. It is interesting to find that, in 1966, the Privy Council listed 11 classes of documents which "in the practice of the House" it considered might be refused. The list appeared in a "Memoran-

dum Concerning Questions and Motions for the Production of Papers in the House of Commons." But, with no definite rules to operate by, there is a tendency for departmental officials to over-classify documents. There is a need for the government to spell out guidelines in any public information policy that it develops.

We recommend that:

- 1. In keeping with the principles of participation and freedom of access to information, the government provide more informative replies to questions raised in Parliament than has been the tradition.**
- 2. To facilitate the preparation of such replies, senior parliamentary returns officers operate under appropriate governmental guidelines and preferably be part of departmental information divisions, or be required to maintain the closest possible liaison with them.**

Referral Centre

The Task Force's public opinion surveys have shown that one of the major limitations on citizens' access to government information is their ignorance of where to get it. Even government employees themselves frequently have difficulty in locating sources of official information; if the query does not relate to their own departments or branches, many public servants are simply unable to tell the enquirer what information is available or where he may find it. This is one of the main causes of public complaint respecting the government information services as a whole.

To help remedy the situation, the Task Force proposes the establishment of a government referral centre which would embody the following components: 1. an indexing unit; 2. an enquiry service; and 3. a unit designed to direct incoming mail to the proper sources of information, and to answer queries in certain general areas.

Indexing Unit

- a) The Indexing Unit would bring together all existing reference material of the following nature: catalogues and controlled bibliographies of government and other Canadian publications; an up to date directory of government organizations and telephone listings; lists of the government services that are available to the public, showing departmental source

and means of access; lists of all government statutes, regulations, laws, orders in council and subsequent amendments; and other information that may be useful to the research staff in government information services.

- b) The Indexing Unit would seek from all departments and agencies pertinent information on their organization, programmes and services; and would organize this material in order to give, on request, information that is available in the unit or, otherwise, to direct enquiries to the right source.

- c) At the outset, the Indexing Unit should be able to give general information from such central reference sources as the *Canada Year Book*.

- d) The Indexing Unit would be responsible for making all its information available to federal regional offices and to other points of distribution. In particular it would provide current lists for government telephone operators.

- e) The Task Force believes that, like many existing organizations in private business, the Indexing Unit should have access to computer facilities. Its responsibility to handle a mass of references and, at the same time, to provide continued topical information, appears to make this essential.

- f) Data banks already exist both inside and outside government, and more may be created in the future. Eventually, the function of a data bank might be expanded to provide the actual information requested by the public, and this would enable the Indexing Unit to go far beyond the mere capability of directing enquiries to the best sources of information.

Enquiry Service

The Indexing Unit would enable the government to provide efficient central and regional enquiry services. Their scope would depend on the amount of information that was obtainable from the Indexing Unit either by enquiries made through information offices or by telephone.

Considerable progress has already been made in having government telephones in large cities served by branch exchanges, but the telephone operators who can be reached at these numbers have not always had enough up to date information. Under the Task Force's proposal, the government exchange operators would be able to answer enquiries themselves or pass them on to the Enquiry Service. It would be an advantage to have one easily remembered exchange number for reaching both Ottawa and all regional information offices.

Unit for the Proper Direction of Mail,
and to Answer Queries in Certain General Fields

Every year, among the thousands of letters that reach the various agencies of government, there are a very large number that are either improperly addressed or ask for general information. Many of these requests are addressed to relatively few offices. The Prime Minister's Office receives a great many. So does the Queen's Printer, and the Secretary of State Department receives as many as 300 requests a week for information that is not related to its own departmental functions. The lack of an adequate centre for handling general enquiries, or enquiries that involve several subjects, has often resulted in confusion, the uneconomical use of staff, and long delays that discourage the correspondent.

The Unit that the Task Force proposes would enable the government to give a fast, economical and gratifying service. The Referral Centre would itself answer only the general enquiries that could be answered on the basis of its own stock of information. It would redirect the more specialized correspondence to the appropriate government authority.

We recommend that:

To improve access to governmental information in Ottawa and the regions, a referral centre be set up within Information Canada with a responsibility for compiling and making available sources of information, for replying to general enquiries, and for applying the latest technology to deal with this problem.

Mailing Lists

Every department and agency of the Federal Government must communicate with its public. Generally speaking, they have two kinds of publics: those with whom they maintain regular contact as a result of day to day business; and those whom they want to reach from time to time. Both these publics are continually changing. They grow. Companies amalgamate. Organizations dissolve. Names and addresses never stop changing. Keeping abreast is a considerable task, and it can hardly be achieved by the departments themselves. Some are seriously short of useful mailing lists.

There is, for example, no standard mailing list for the distribution of government reports that are not tabled in the Commons. These reports are considered the property of the departments. Their distribution is left by the Queen's

Printer to the discretion of departmental authorities.

The Privy Council Office has a general distribution list for the reports of royal commissions, task forces and special studies that are tabled in the Commons. It reviews this list every time a report is due for distribution. The list consists of addresses that embrace the needs of the Cabinet, House of Commons, Senate, Press Gallery, Library of Parliament, Privy Council Office reserve stock, National Library, assorted organizations and institutions, and the contributors to the reports themselves. Some additional copies may be distributed free by the author or publisher. Should Parliament or the Privy Council Office decide to make 'tabled' reports freely available for general use, their sale and distribution become the responsibility of the Queen's Printer and are governed by the Treasury Board's "Policy and Guide on Canadian Government Publishing" of 1967. Articles 66 and 67 of the Guide itemize categories of officials and institutions that are entitled to free distribution on request, but it appears that the resultant lists of names have grown up over the years through recommended additions and approved requests via the Queen's Printer's Daily Checklist or some other authority. No established system exists for the automatic review of the free distribution list in the interest of accuracy, validity, economy, or being up to date.

In the important business of selling and promoting Canadian Government publications both at home and abroad – either directly or through departmental agencies or commercial contractors – the Queen's Printer and government departments are constantly trying to reach an ever-increasing and shifting market. At present, they rely on unrevised, inaccurate, incomplete and otherwise inadequate mailing lists.

The Task Force believes a central agency must develop and maintain mailing lists of special publics for the Federal Government and its departments and agencies. This agency – it might be called the 'Central Mailing List Unit' – would identify potential consumers of government information. These would include information media, local governments, universities, business associations, social organizations, labour unions, and a great many other institutions. In view of the number of names and the endless changes, the Unit would need a system to keep the lists up to date. A suitable computer programme would enable it to obtain combinations of lists of publics to suit the requirements of the various departments. A computer would facilitate the use of automated methods of addressing and distribution.

The Unit would work in the following way. Whenever a department or agency sought to communicate with a specific public, it would request a mailing list from the Central Mail-

ng Lists Unit. The department would specify the characteristic of the public it wished to reach and, if applicable, it would refer to lists used in the past. The Unit would bring the old lists up to date by adding new names, cancelling the obsolete ones, and correcting addresses. The Central Mailing Lists Unit could also provide distribution services for press releases and, on request, other material as well. The Unit should rely on departments, in most cases, to do the preliminary work on mailing lists because, obviously, departments know their audiences better than any central agency.

Structures

The Central Mailing Lists Unit could be organized to perform two main functions: mailing lists research and evaluation; and the maintenance of a bank of mailing lists.

Mailing Lists Research and Evaluation

- a) To establish a list of potential consumers of government information.
- b) To develop a breakdown of these consumers by types of publics, and the media best suited to meet their requirements and those of the various departments or agencies.
- c) To ensure completeness and accuracy of the lists.
- d) To evaluate the usefulness of the lists. The Unit would carry out surveys on public needs and interests, study the use made of government information by various media, and consult with the departments.
- e) To adjust and continually revise the mailing lists on the basis of this evaluation.
- f) To advise the departments on opportunities to use various lists or media.

Mailing Lists Bank

- a) To register, classify and code major potential consumers of government information of common interest to departments and agencies and to maintain this information in a computer along with names, addresses, reader or audience interests and other pertinent information.
- b) To provide, on request, current mailing lists of any types of publics that a department may wish to reach.
- c) This automated system could be matched with automatic addressing machines with which the Unit could print addresses or envelopes for departments or agencies not equipped with facilities for high volume distribution.

We recommend that:

1. Departments and agencies develop and maintain mailing lists based on a definition and knowledge of their publics, and be responsible for keeping these lists up-to-date.
2. A Mailing Unit within Information Canada and in co-operation with the departments and agencies and the media research section be responsible for maintaining and monitoring a central system for mailing lists and for compiling and making available lists of common interest.
3. The Unit be responsible, in particular, for establishing mailing lists for reports of royal commissions, task forces and special study groups in consultation with these groups, and taking into account existing statutory requirements.
4. The Unit be responsible for central mailing of news releases and, on request, of other informational material.

Press Clippings

Government officials at all levels turn to press clippings as a limited but essential tool to gauge national and regional public reactions. Cabinet Ministers, their Deputies, branch and divisional heads of departments, information officers, public relations staff and researchers, all rely to some degree on newspaper stories for an indication of the way the Canadian public is responding to government policies and programmes.

The usefulness of press clippings, however, has not inspired the government to impose any general organization on their collection. The press clipping services of the Federal Government are almost as varied and numerous as the departments and agencies themselves and, so far as the Task Force was able to discover, no measure of co-ordination exists among these services.

There is a wide assortment of services. Virtually all departments and the majority of federal agencies regularly provide their senior officials with press clippings from several Canadian newspapers and frequently from American dailies as well. (Some exceptions to this rule are the Canadian Government Printing Bureau and Queen's Printer, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, and about ten agencies including the National Library, Tariff Board, Tax Appeal Board and Canadian Dairy Commission.)

Some of the government's press clipping operations are

large and cover several subjects. Among these, there are the services of the Library of Parliament, the Privy Council Office, the Bank of Canada, Manpower and Immigration, National Defence, Labour, and External Affairs. Others – such as those in Health and Welfare, Transport, Public Works and the newest departments – are relatively small. And still others – in Energy, Mines and Resources, for instance, and Agriculture – are in the midst of re-organization.

In addition to the clipping done by government staff, commercially-operated press clipping services⁴ provide industrial and technical and newspaper coverage to several government departments and agencies. These include Industry, Trade and Commerce, the National Film Board, the National Research Council, the Economic Council of Canada, the Canadian Radio-Television Commission, Canadian Transport Commission and the Canadian International Development Agency.

The clipping service of the Library of Parliament – a smoothly-run operation that is available to Members, Senators and the Press Gallery – employs a staff of six who clip and file all major Canadian dailies and weeklies, provide “self-service” (as opposed to circulation service), and photostat items on request. The Privy Council Office has a staff of ten who read, clip and index 43 newspapers and the speeches and announcements of the Prime Minister and Cabinet Ministers. They also maintain master files and a card index; circulate material daily to Cabinet Ministers; and provide clipping services for such Privy Council Secretariats as Science and Federal-provincial Relations. Perhaps the best example of a well-organized clipping service operated by a minimum of staff is the one in the Department of Agriculture. One speed-reader and his assistant read 50 dailies, 50 weeklies and 23 monthlies and quarterlies. They clip items of interest, underline them for easy reading, and attach to them a boldly pencilled five to 15 word precis. Packages of perhaps two dozen such clippings, xeroxed and mounted, are distributed, usually three times a week, to senior officials, members of the House Committee on Agriculture, the Dairy Commission, and others.

The clipping procedure of the Bank of Canada provides further emphasis of the specialized nature of the clipping requirements of government departments and agencies. The Bank employs a staff of seven to read and mount material

from 75 papers. They work in co-ordination with the Bank's highly specialized research personnel and, at the same time, a private clipping service assists the Bank's public relations office to cover news items that concern the Industrial Development Bank and Canada Savings Bonds. The Public Service Commission, the Taxation Division of the Department of National Revenue and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police have all recently been inspired to establish small press clipping services.

The Task Force was unable to discover any useful statements of the current cost to the government of its many clipping services. Whether these services are the work of government personnel or the work of outside commercial clipping offices, there is apparently no reasonably direct way to make a precise estimate of their total cost in dollars. Nor is there any way to measure the waste that is probably occurring due to duplication of effort rather than co-ordination of the clipping activities among the departments and agencies. These circumstances appear to demand rapid and thorough study.

Solutions

Short of a full scale study, the Task Force asked Bowden's Press Clippings, Ltd., Toronto, to suggest ways by which economy and efficiency might be brought to bear on the government clipping services as a whole. Bowden's had no detailed knowledge of the nature and scope of the government's needs. It discussed them only in a general way but it made two fairly specific suggestions as alternative solutions to the problem:

1. The centralization of all or most press clipping activities in a government-owned or controlled press clipping unit.
2. Limited work in departments, with greater use of privately owned, commercially operated press clipping services.

A centralized press-clipping operation is a formidable order. It would have to maintain subscription records for all publications; recruit, train and supervise a staff of readers to do machine-cutting, sorting, filing and printing of clipping tabs; attach daily dated tabs to all clips; operate photo duplicating machinery for copies; addressograph, package, dispatch and mail; and perform a variety of routine business essential tasks. Then, there would be a host of managerial functions, accounting, research, quality-control, and the maintenance of records. All of this would probably involve a staff of 25 to 50 permanent employees, and an initial expenditure, before the bureau was in full operation, of between \$300,000 and \$500,000. (It has been estimated that

4. Examples include: Bowden's Press Clippings Limited, Canadian Press Clipping Service of Maclean-Hunter, (both of Toronto); Gamblyn's (Montreal); and International Press Clipping Bureau Ltd., (London, Eng.)

aside from the commercial clipping services that government departments hire, there are 78 to 85 public servants who are currently working full-time on government clipping operations.)

The advantages of undertaking the establishment of so elaborate a service are the potential economies that might derive from the use of uniform procedures and equipment, and the employment of fewer workers and stricter disciplines than exist in the varied uncentralized operations of the current arrangement. There might, however, be disadvantages as well. The reading and clipping assignments of various departments and agencies frequently require a high degree of understanding in specific subjects; it might be difficult for a centrally operated bureau to find key personnel who are expert in these subjects, and to give readers the appropriate training. Beyond the normal schedules that would operate in the centre, there could be a problem in providing fast production and prompt daily delivery to meet the clipping requirements of departments and agencies.

The Task Force suggests that the whole matter of clipping services in the Government of Canada deserves more extensive study than it was itself able to afford. There are a number of ideas that such a study could consider. One might be the launching of a clipping service and index of the Canadian Press wire agency. It would be comparable to the services of the *New York Times*, the *Times of London* and *Le Monde*. The study should also consider the technological breakthroughs that have already begun to revolutionize the business of filing and retrieving clippings, and will surely revolutionize it much further in the future. These include the use of teletype equipment, microfilm, microforms and microfiche, tape recorders, computerized "word banks," print-outs, and automated dialing methods.

We recommend that:

1. The existing Central Clipping Service in the Privy Council Office might be transferred to a central clipping unit within Information Canada and appropriately extended to serve the needs of the Privy Council Office, and of departments and special groups which do not have such facilities.

2. Information Canada should undertake a study to rationalize the press clipping function, including the utilization of private companies and the reference facilities of the National Library.

Press Digest

A press digest, like a press clipping operation, serves to inform government of what appears in the media about matters that concern it. A press digest, however, also performs a definite function that is quite distinct from that of clippings, and this is particularly so in Canada.

The press digest should provide a quick, daily view of the news, features, comments and editorials that are carried in all print media across the country and in some foreign newspapers. Its purpose should be to acquaint government at a glance with what is published by the press in all the different languages, provinces and regions across the country.

The Task Force found few examples in the Federal Government of extensive use of press digests. In the Promotion Section of Industry, Trade and Commerce, one staff member clips the papers daily, tailors them to make up a four-column sheet, and xeroxes this for distribution within the Department. The sheet is called "In the News", and it is proving useful in watching developments in industry across Canada. The Department of Labour also has a form of press digest. The Privy Council Office used to do weekly news summaries. The summaries were becoming very popular, and getting ever wider distribution outside the office (to Members of Parliament and others), but the staff member who did this work has left the Privy Council, and it was decided that since the digest touched on political emphasis it might more properly be produced outside. The PCO's weekly news summary was dropped.

The Task Force believes that a thorough press digest would prove useful to most departments and agencies. It should be brief and it might appear in two parts:

- a) *News and Features*: a concise report of the news of the day with the accent, when significant, on local treatment of the news; and brief references to significant feature stories;
- b) *Columns, Comments and Editorials*: short pertinent quotes or, when articles are highly interesting, entire texts.

Production

There is no government press digest of sufficient quality, frequency of distribution or range of coverage to keep departments and agencies adequately informed. Nor, as we have seen, is there a properly co-ordinated system of press clipping services that is adequate to the complex needs of government. The launching of the press digest will call for skilful planning and experienced production. There are

two ways that it might be done:

a) The digest could be produced by an agency outside government that has quick access to the media all across the country. Canadian Press might be asked to do it at cost. Such a digest would be available to CP subscribers and could assist CP in its fostering of understanding of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, federal-provincial and regional differences in Canada.

b) The digest could be produced by a central body within government.

In either case, the work of the press digest would require a set of guidelines that would be adaptable to expanding and changing requirements.

Circulation

If the press digest were to be produced by an agency outside government, it should go directly to Ministers, Leaders of the Opposition Parties in the Commons and Senate, Members of Parliament, departments and branches of government, and it should also be made available to the public at large. If produced in a central government body, it might go initially only to Ministers and heads of departments although, once a desirable balance was reached in the choice of articles from across the country, the objective would be to make it available to anyone who wished to have it.

The press digest might enrich its service by supplementing the general run of daily news with special *ad hoc* digests, as the occasion arose. It could also provide, on request, copies of complete texts of previously mentioned articles and in addition, running digests on major national or international issues that have been in the news intermittently over periods of several months.

The press digest could provide a highly valuable service. It could supplement benefits derived from the question period in the House of Commons, and it would serve as a welcome channel for prompt feed-back of information from regions and citizens which are remote from Ottawa.

We recommend that:

- 1. A daily, analytical press digest on significant developments and views within and outside Canada (when they involve this country) be produced for officials and, on request, for other interested persons and organizations.**
- 2. To insure full and timely national coverage, daily digests be prepared, if possible by Canadian Press, but**

should this prove impossible other means should be explored.

3. Press digests be progressively broadened to include contributions from other media.

4. Specialized chronological digests produced centrally or by individual departments be made available on subscription.

Personnel Relations

Good internal communications within government should do more than deal with questions of salaries, pensions and promotions. They should also give the public servant a sense of identification with the activities of his department within the government as a whole. Identification comes only with an understanding of the processes in which he is involved and, as in many large organizations, the government suffers in varying degrees from inadequate internal communication. This affects morale as well as efficiency.

The two big organizations of public service employees, the Public Service Alliance of Canada and the Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada, both testify to the problem. L.W.C.S. Barnes, President of the PIPSC thinks the government is "a very poor communicator in getting the message across to its employees," while C.A. Edwards, President of the PSAC, believes the majority of departments do little to communicate with their employees, but points out that the situation varies considerably from department to department.

What, then, are internal (or employee) communications? In brief, internal communications comprise those activities (preferably by management and employees jointly) designed to create among employees a clear understanding of departmental objectives and confidence in departmental management. The purpose is to inform, guide and motivate employees to associate themselves fully with their department or agency and to co-operate towards achieving its goals. All action, or inaction, by employees and managers at all organizational levels, communicate some message. Employees constantly evaluate their impressions of their relations and contact with their employer and weigh their department's progress from the perspective of their own evaluations. In ignoring the opportunity to influence what is being communicated and how it is being interpreted, management runs the risk of leaving their employees to rely on rumour.

imagination, misinterpretation or the intervention of outside and uninformed critics and influences.

Who is in Charge?

Since legislation granting collective bargaining rights to public servants was passed in 1967, government's responsibility for communicating with its employees has been divided three ways.

The 1967 Amendment to the Financial Administration Act made Treasury Board the government's bargaining arm in negotiations with its employees, who are represented by collective bargaining agencies certified by the Public Service Staff Relations Board. The two bargaining agencies, the Public Service Alliance and the Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada negotiate for 80 occupational groups on such wide-ranging matters as classification and selection standards, promotions, transfer or lay-off, rates of pay, conditions of employment, certification or grievance procedures, disability insurance, safety, travel, and regulations concerning Foreign Service and isolated posts.

The 1967 Public Service Employment Act puts into practice the recommendations of the Glassco Commission on Government Organization concerning the Public Service Commission's delegation to departments of increasing authority for staffing, promotion and classification. The Public Service Commission is responsible for appointing staff to or within the public service, and for staff training and development programmes. Under the 1967 Public Service Staff Relations Act, the Public Service Commission was required to specify and define the various occupational groups within the public service for collective bargaining purposes.

Since the government's responsibility as an employer has been divided among Treasury Board, the Public Service Commission and individual departments and agencies, the responsibility to communicate with employees is also divided. In the opinion of the two big organizations of government employees, the government as a whole has been unable to recognize or understand its responsibility to communicate with the public service.

Examples of the Problem

The flow of information between public servants and management — on a regular basis, and away from the heat of the bargaining table — has recently assumed new importance because of the growth of collective bargaining, bilingualism, the establishment of new departments, and the increased size

of the public service outside Ottawa. One striking example of the government's failure to communicate with its employees occurred in 1968 when some of the first information public servants received about the Official Languages Bill came from the media. On the day when this sensitive piece of legislation was introduced in the House, public servants bought their Ottawa newspapers at noon, many of them from an Ottawa daily's news-boys who waved placards that said "Bilingualism or Else."

The effect of such government negligence can be very serious in terms of personnel relations. In the absence of communication from management, employees often fall back on the interpretation of such outside parties as the media.

Communication within Departments

The departments have increasing authority for staffing, promotion and classification of employees, but some have not established satisfactory communication with their employees.

One obvious way in which departments can reach their employees is through internal news-letters and magazines. The Department of National Defence, for example, produces at least three major internal publications (including one in French) in addition to some 50 service newspapers which are financially self-supporting. But this is an exception. Of 56 departments and agencies questioned by the Task Force, 27 claimed to have house organs, but only ten provided the Task Force with copies. The tenth Department (National Health and Welfare) sent its information too late to be included in the study of the staff magazines and news-letters put out by the other nine: Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Labour, National Revenue, the Post Office, Public Works, Transport, Veterans' Affairs, the Canadian Government Travel Bureau and the Public Service Commission.

The study showed that three of the nine were new publications, an indication that some departments had recently become aware of the need to communicate with staff through a regular vehicle. Only two of the nine stated that their purpose was to keep employees up to date on departmental operations and staff activities and interests; and the Public Service Commission's magazine *Echo* said on the front page of its first issue that "it is not the intention . . . to make this an organ for communication from management to staff." Perhaps the wording was unfortunate but, obviously, management as well as staff contributions are important in employee communications. The tenth publication, however, the one

that was omitted from the overall study, National Health and Welfare's *Perspective*, said in its December 1968 issue that "one of the priorities of this magazine is to help employees to see where their tasks fit into the pattern of the Department as a whole."

Employee opinion was not in evidence in any of the publications, and few carried regular features to keep staff informed of developments within departments (Health and Welfare's *Perspective* again proved to be an exception in this respect.) The Post Office's December publication, for instance, concentrated on such seasonal items as Christmas cooking, customs and music, but it carried no reference to such current issues of major concern to employees as the Minister's intention to close down many smaller post offices, and the Government's plans for changing the Post Office's status and perhaps turning it into a Crown Corporation.

There was little material in these publications on government programmes and their possible effect on departmental personnel. Two exceptions were an interview with the Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, published in *Intercom*, and the appearance in the Public Service Commission's *Echo* of an informative interview with the President of the Public Service Commission on bilingualism in the public service.

Four publications were completely bilingual while English predominated in the others. The overall ratio in the nine publications included in the study was 75 per cent English to 25 per cent French.

Some Management Myths

Government as an employer is often uncertain about what it should communicate to its employees. A recent American study, done by Opinion Research Corporation and published in both the United States and Canada, considered some current managerial myths about matters that are thought to be most meaningful to employees. Some examples:

Myth: Most employees aren't interested in the company — only in trivia or in news about themselves and their friends.

Comment: Employees are interested in any subject that is explained in terms of its effect on them. In a recent survey, 71 per cent of the employees interviewed wanted information about wages, hours and working conditions; 69 per cent wanted to know about job security. And when the workers in three separate companies were asked what they would like to read about in a management letter, the majority in each case voted for the "business-prospects" of their company.

Myth: When it comes to communicating with employees, unions have the inside track.

Comment: The writer who has the inside track is the one who has the most significant story to tell, and who tells it best — nobody else. The employee is perfectly capable of weighing the evidence on both sides, and then making up his mind.

Myth: Management should avoid controversial issues.

Comment: It is often argued that the use of company communications to present management's point of view on controversial issues casts doubt on their honesty and limits the value for other communications purposes. The fact is, however, that employees are vitally interested in what management has to say about *things that will affect them*. They accord to management the same freedom of speech that they accord to the union.

Various Means of Communication

Magazines and news-letters are by no means the only communication tools available. There is a need, recognized by the Public Service Commission, for much greater use of audio-visual devices in staff training and personnel relations programmes. Occasionally these devices are put to use. The former Department of Industry told its employees of the impending amalgamation with Trade and Commerce by means of closed circuit television. Departments have shown interest in using audio-visual methods, and in 1968 the Public Service Commission and the National Film Board organized a multi-media audio-visual seminar attended by training and personnel staff from 26 departments and agencies.

Conclusions

Government does not properly meet its responsibility to communicate with its employees through its bargaining arm, the Treasury Board; through the Public Service Commission; or through the public servant's immediate employer, the department. Morale, motivation and efficiency are all affected by inadequate communication channels. Many government programmes concern all its employees, and a co-operative agreement among editors of all departmental publications might be reached to print articles on subjects that affect all public servants. Government should use departmental publications to keep employees informed of the effects of changing legislation and policies. Information Canada could offer valuable advice through its total communication unit on the use of

audio-visual aids, as well as print, in reaching the public service audience. In some departments there is some confusion as to who is responsible for personnel communications – the personnel division or the information division. In our view, the system works best when the communication specialists – the information division – handle employee communications in consultation with management and personnel staff.

We recommend that:

- 1. The government recognize public servants as a public of special concern and, as a matter of policy, improve its dialogue with them through a planned and consistent programme of government-employee communications.**
- 2. Information services, in co-operation with personnel officers and management, initiate a two-way flow of information about personnel policies and also the general programmes and goals of departments and the government.**

Conclusions to Paper IX

The government conspicuously lacks a concept of total communications, and it is our contention that, without such a concept, it will be impossible ever to develop information programmes that are fully effective. By "total communications" we mean an inter-disciplinary approach which results in conveying particular messages to particular audiences through the appropriate method and media on the basis of a sound knowledge of the information needs of both government departments and the various publics in the country.

Our studies show that, from the point of view of total communication, there is an urgent need for co-ordination, clarification and communication on several levels. Co-ordination is badly needed in audio-visual services and in design programmes that, at the present time, convey an assortment of confusing federal "images" to the Canadian public. In the islands of co-ordination that do exist, it is time for some changes. It is time for a strict enforcement of the regulations that require departments to use the Canadian Government Photo Centre facilities. It is time for a sharp improvement in the relations between client departments and the National Film Board and, to a lesser extent, the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission.

The government should clarify the functions of media relations personnel and audio-visual personnel. In the audio-visual field, a training programme and advisory service are badly needed. In the highly specialized area of Parliamentary Returns, guidelines should be developed for Parliamentary Returns Officers. These should include arrangements for their closer liaison with information divisions.

We have mentioned the frustrations of some information seekers. These include the Member of Parliament trying to elicit answers from departments that are over-cautious in releasing material, and the hapless researcher looking for government photos that are catalogued and indexed in a bewildering variety of ways and often buried without trace in departmental collections. The foiled seekers after government information are legion. There is a powerful need not only for a central indexing and retrieval system but for a government-wide referral centre as well. It should employ the latest information retrieval systems and it should serve as a practical expression of the idea of open public access to government information.

Communication, however, also involves the information that the people give to the government. The government could keep itself better informed of public views on programmes and policies through a more extensive use of press

clipping services than is now the case, and through the production of a daily analytical digest with quotations from the broadcast media as well as from the press. Finally, there is the matter of communication within the government itself. The dialogue between government and public servants must be improved to provide not only information about salaries, promotions and pensions, but also an understanding of the government process to involve employees in government goals and activities.

Introduction

Having considered the performance of several information functions throughout the government, we considered it would be useful to examine in greater detail the information policies and programmes of certain federal departments and agencies. We chose two departments, Manpower and Immigration, and Agriculture; and two agencies, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, and the Queen's Printer.

The four appear at first to have little in common. The Department of Agriculture has its roots in the pastoral Canada of long ago, while the Department of Manpower and Immigration, barely three years old, was set up expressly to cope with the problems of an urban and industrialized age. These departments maintain two of the largest information divisions in the public service, but the Dominion Bureau of Statistics has one of the smallest, and the Queen's Printer has no formal information division at all. Though Manpower and Immigration and the Department of Agriculture have many information activities across the country, the Queen's Printer and DBS work for the most part within the National Capital Region.

Yet, for all their differences, these four share a single vital principle: perhaps more than any other branches of government, they are concerned with communicating with the public at large, as well as with large special publics. Providing crop and market reports to farmers, guiding the public towards Manpower Centres, compiling statistics for industry and academe, publishing *Hansard* and *Canada's Food Rules*, they all provide special links between government and the governed.

We had other, more specific, reasons for choosing to examine these branches of government. Manpower and Immigration is a new department. It has experienced considerable difficulty in setting up an information service and its problems may be encountered by other new departments or, for that matter, by any department that moves to decentralize its information programmes. Agriculture is an old and wealthy department and it is firmly established in the information field but, it has not always taken account of changing times and new information priorities. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics is a major central information service agency, as the Glassco Commission recognized. The Queen's Printer, over the last decade, has been subjected to almost continuous criticism, and examination, to surprisingly little effect.

We believe that by placing these four departments and agencies under careful scrutiny, by describing the strengths

and weaknesses of their information policies and programmes and by suggesting ways to make them more efficient than they are now, we will discover guidelines which, when combined with the results of other research papers, may improve the information services of government as a whole.

We were assisted in our appraisal by officers in the public service who studied the structures and activities of the four branches. For our examination of the principles and policies of each information service, we relied on outside expertise. At Manpower, our consultant was Professor Noah M. Meltz, Chairman of the Scarborough College Political Science Department; while Recon Research Consultants Ltd. surveyed public opinion on manpower information. In the case of Agriculture we engaged Hedlin Menzies and Associates Ltd., and also Recon Research who conducted a survey among the farm population. At DBS, the evaluation team was headed by Mr. Garth Hopkins, President of Hopkins Hedlin Ltd., while M. Jacques Hébert, President of *L'Association des éditeurs canadiens*, reported on the Queen's Printer's approach to its information function. We are indebted to all these experts and their associates for the speed and care with which they prepared their analyses.

We also thank the staffs of each of these departments: they granted us their full co-operation. We are particularly grateful to staff members of DBS, who took the trouble to prepare for us a comprehensive two-part brief on their information activities.

The Department of Manpower and Immigration

The Department of manpower and Immigration was established in 1966. For the purposes of this paper, we shall discuss its information policies and programmes primarily as they relate to Manpower (the information programme conducted for Immigration forms part of the discussion on information abroad in Paper XII of this Volume.)

Unlike most large branches of government, Manpower is widely decentralized. It has five regional branches – in Halifax, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver – and 219 Canada Manpower Centres across the country. In theory at least, the headquarters in Ottawa sets policies, affects national programme co-ordination and provides specialized research and advisory services. The individual Regional Directors, who report to the Director General of Operations in Ottawa, are responsible for implementing programmes and policies and for directing operations in their areas.

When the Department was set up, it promised to bring into being the most effective public information operation

within the Federal Government. It was said, indeed, that the new Department would provide the entire public service with an example of how public affairs techniques might be employed in public administration. A staff of 100 Information Service Officers would develop internal communications to keep staff constantly informed of the Department's operations, and would also produce external information and promotion programmes to reach a wide public.

Some of these brave hopes remain unfulfilled. Indeed the Information Division and the rest of the department sometimes seem to have operated at different levels of reality. There are many reasons why an information establishment that appeared to have everything working for it has fallen short of the mark. Not the least of these reasons has been a lack of direction by senior management and a failure to come to grips with the problems of decentralization. One mitigating point, however, should be kept in mind: although it has existed for only three years, the Information Division is currently in the midst of a reorganization.

The Information Service

Objectives

In October 1968, a departmental report on organization and operations summarized the objectives of the Information Service in this way: "A public information programme for the Department of Manpower and Immigration must be designed primarily to assist the Department to meet its basic operating objectives. The objectives of the Information Service must, therefore, be the objectives of the Department as a whole. Public Information is a service designed to help the Department carry out its mandate."

This has been translated into four specific objectives:

1. To inform the public of the services available to it at the Canada Manpower Centres and encourage optimum use of these services.
2. To create an understanding among the public of the rôle of immigration in our society, of Canadian Government immigration policy and of the impact of immigration on the Canadian scene.
3. To inform the public effectively about federal contributions, especially those through joint programmes, and assist in creating a better general awareness of the rôle of the federal government in Canadian public affairs.
4. To develop and operate an effective internal information system designed to keep departmental officers fully informed on all subjects which touch on their areas of interest

and, in the case of officers outside of Canada, on a wide variety of socio-economic matters.

These objectives for the most part exist only in theory; they have yet to become vital working principles. It appears, for example, that some Information Service Officers are not even aware of the current priorities of one of the Department's major programmes, the Occupational Training Programme for Adults (OTA).

The chief trouble seems to have been a breakdown in communication between Information Service Officers at headquarters and the Department's administrative staff, particularly in the regional branches. Both sides appear to have been at fault. Administrative staff has not communicated their requirements properly and have frequently waffled on practical advice and the approval of programmes. Information Officers appear to have made little effort to keep themselves informed about the content and administrative detail of departmental policies and in the administrators' eyes, they have therefore lacked credibility.

Thus, within the Department as a whole, constructive working relationships between management and information staff have sometimes been close to impossible. There have been complaints in the Department about the poor quality of Information Service output, about poor co-ordination, and about the isos' lack of depth – all failings that prevent the Department from functioning effectively.

Costs

The financial data furnished to the Task Force are inadequate to assess the real costs of various information programmes in the Department of Manpower and Immigration. To evaluate the achievement of these programmes, it is necessary to know the total costs, including staff salaries, which are incurred in connection with these programmes at headquarters, in the regions and abroad.

Beginning April 1, 1968, regions became responsible for their own budgets, and the costs of regional information services were absorbed into the regional figures. No analysis by media was available for the overseas and regional budgets for 1968-69 or 1969-70. Nor was the Information Service able to provide sufficiently up-to-date figures on actual expenditures; the latest figures given to the Task Force were for the fiscal year 1967-68.

The figures on programme expenditure for 1969-70 under headquarters include both regional and overseas figures. The programmes were being reappraised, following the appointment of a new Information Director, and therefore no analy-

was available to the Task Force.

The following are identifiable costs of information in the department for the year 1969-70:

Information Service	\$1,015,738
Programme Expenditure	2,146,741
Estimates of other support expenditure	11,400
	\$3,173,879
Estimated overhead to cover accommodation, accounting services, etc.	187,700
Total	\$3,361,579

In addition to the identifiable costs there is the cost of other personnel who disseminate information to the public. The Canada Manpower Centres may be considered information centres of a sort; part of their job is to tell job-seeking workers about such opportunities as training schemes and mobility loans.

Again, Immigration officers in the field tell potential immigrants about job prospects, housing, and other practical circumstances of Canadian life. Research officers, Immigration settlement officers and many others also provide material for

articles in publications and newspapers.

All of these people are part of the "cost" of information but it is not possible to evaluate the proportion of their time that they devote to information activities.

The following is an analysis of the Information Service budget by media headings for 1969-70:

Advertising	\$118,040
Audio-Visual	57,050
Press Relations	125,270
Public Relations	146,920
Publications	290,650
Other Media*	277,808
Total	\$1,015,738

In terms of advertising, publications and films charged directly to programmes, and not included in Information Service allocations, the figures are shown in Table 1.

* Other Media includes NO administration costs not allocated to specific media, plus regional and overseas costs not included under media headings.

Table 1	1967-78		1968-69	1969-70
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Budget
Immigration Programme				
Headquarters				
Advertising	200,000	10,490	100,000	250,450
Films				
Reprints		60,000	45,000	
Publications	400,000	395,363	355,000	350,300
	600,000	465,853	500,000	600,750
Regions & Overseas				
Advertising	1,600,000	357,030	200,000	
Publications		3,558		
	1,600,000	360,588	200,000	
Total				
Advertising	1,800,000	367,520	300,000	250,450
Films			45,000	
Reprints		60,000		
Publications	400,000	398,921	355,000	350,300
	2,200,000	826,441	700,000	600,750
Manpower Programme				
Headquarters				
Advertising	265,700	78,603	413,000	567,726
Films			55,000	
Publications	247,000	133,854	143,000	230,110
	512,700	212,457	611,000	797,836

Table 1 <i>Continued</i>	1967-68		1968-69	1969-70
	Budget	Actual	Budget	Budget
Regions				
Advertising	220,516	163,054	280,848	
Publications	21,000	3,328	15,698	
	241,516	166,382	296,546	
Total				
Advertising	486,216	241,657	693,848	567,726
Films			55,000	
Publications	268,000	137,182	158,698	230,110
	754,216	378,839	907,546	797,836
Programme Development				
Headquarters				
Advertising		25,353		
Publications	98,700	47,198	318,400	500,800
	98,700	72,551	318,400	500,800
Departmental Administration				
Headquarters				
Advertising	150,000	57,391	101,000	139,805
Publications	13,000	9,157	136,000	107,550
	163,000	66,548	237,000	247,355
Programmes Total				
Advertising	2,436,216	691,921	1,094,848	957,981
Films			100,000	
Exhibits		60,000		
Publications	779,700	592,458	968,098	1,188,760
	3,215,916	1,344,379	2,162,946	2,146,741

Note: Headquarters allocations include all expenditures.

No analysis available at this time for regional and overseas estimated expenditures.

The "Budget and Actual" figures for advertising and publications are the crucial ones, in relation to Manpower. During 1967-68, they indicate that the Department spent only 40 per cent of its budget. Again, for 1968-69, the Department budgeted a total of \$611,000 for advertising, films and publications. But at the end of the first nine months of the fiscal year, it estimated that \$288,000 would remain unspent.

During these two years, the combined surplus would appear to be reaching to well over half a million dollars. The explanation given is that manpower centres were not prepared for a rush of applicants, and therefore a major promotion was unwarranted. Even so, the Department might have used part of the unspent monies to conduct more experimental programmes in the information field which, as we shall see, are badly needed.

With regard to financial administration, a Financial and Management Adviser, responsible to the Information Director, controls and co-ordinates the Service's expenditure on funds. He instructs new isos in regulations controlling government spending, and provides central control over purchasing and invoices. He is also responsible for direct liaison with the Department's Financial and Administrative Purchasing and Supply, and Personnel Branches. Under the present reorganization, the Information Director will have direct control over information funds at headquarters.

Structure

The reorganization programme is having an important effect on the structure of the Information Service. As it was initially organized, two Assistant Information Directors (one for

migration, and one for Manpower) reported to the Information Director and were individually responsible for liaison and co-ordination with the Department's two Deputy Ministers (Manpower and Immigration). This system proved unsatisfactory and under the scheme presently coming into practice, the Information Service will have Operations, Planning-Research-Liaison, and Special Services. Immigration and Manpower are to be integrated as closely as possible, but not so far that they lose their individual functions. For example, individual ISOs in the Operations Section will be assigned to specific Manpower and Immigration programmes. In the past, ISOs were assigned work chiefly on an *ad hoc* basis, now, statements of duties and lines of reporting are clearly laid down. The Director is working for improved liaison between the Information Service and the Administrative staff of the branches. In his own words, he is determined "to ensure that assigned officers identify with the respective programmes and have a responsibility for maintaining regular contacts with the operating units. Their rôle is to be an active one of keeping informed about programme developments and undertaking information preparation and dissemination in consultation with line management."

In addition, a new section, to be known as Regional Information Development, is being established at head office. Headed by a senior information officer, this section will be another way to improve communication between the central Information Service and the Regional Directors and Regional Information Officers.

The Information Director himself reports to the Deputy Minister and serves as public affairs adviser to senior management. He is given full initiative to recommend public information policies, and to review these as the need arises. He prepares an annual information plan which is approved by the Deputy Minister and by the Senior Management Committee. From there, the plan goes to Regional Information Officers, on the staffs of each of the five Regional Branch Directors, who prepare their own information plans within the general context. These plans are approved by Regional Directors, and then submitted to Ottawa for the Information Director's view and approval.

anning

In planning its information activities, the Department depends primarily on the observations and experience of the Departmental field staff (e. g., immigration counsellors, CMC managers) who report their impressions of the public they

deal with its needs and its reactions to various kinds of information and various methods of making information available.

Occasionally, the Department commissions specific research studies, for example, the Marketing Research Centre of Toronto conducted a survey of the factors that influence emigration from the USA to Canada, and a summary of their findings was prepared by the Information Service and circulated to all the appropriate managers. (The Service had planned to test the study's conclusions by conducting an experimental advertising project in selected parts of the USA. After the public relations impact of such a campaign had been considered, however, it was decided to postpone it until advertising the advantages of emigrating to Canada would not likely be interpreted in the USA as advertising a way to avoid the draft.)

The Department appears to have a capacity for sociological research which the Information Service might find useful in supporting and evaluating information programmes.

Personnel

Personnel difficulties account for many of the Information Service's problems. In less than three years the staff increased from two to close to a hundred. Recruitment was done hastily, and suffers accordingly. Little attention was given to training. The Service grew willy-nilly, with little sense of unity or purpose. It has had to cope also with such unsettling situations as the sudden recall, in the summer of 1968, of eight ISOs who had been posted abroad. To make things worse, the Service struggled along without a Director from June 1968 to January 1969 (its first Director was seconded to Treasury Board for three months, and then moved there permanently.) Setting the personnel situation right is a vital concern of the current reorganization.

The Information Service has a total staff of 91 positions, and includes more professional ISOs (55) than any other Information Division in the Federal Government. The establishment is distributed in this way:

1. Headquarters positions: 58

39 Information Service Officers*, 1 Administrative Service Officer, 4 Stenographers, 10 Clerks, 1 Technical Officer, 1 Technician, 2 positions not yet classified.

* After the return during the summer of 1968 of eight ISOs from Europe and the USA who were on the establishment of the Foreign Branch and not of the Information Service.

At headquarters, ten isos work full-time on Manpower Information.

2. Field positions: 25

(these 25 positions are on the establishments of the Regional Directors and not of the Information Director)
Atlantic region—Halifax: 2 isos, 2 Support Staff. *Quebec region—Montreal:* 3 isos, 3 Support Staff. *Ontario region—Toronto:* 3 isos, 3 Support Staff. *Prairie region—Winnipeg:* 2 isos, 2 Support Staff. *Pacific region—Vancouver:* 2 isos, 3 Support Staff.

In the field (in Canada), 12 isos spend roughly two-thirds of their time on Manpower Information.

3. Positions abroad: 8

London: 2 isos, 2 Support Staff. *Geneva:* 1 iso, 1 Support Staff. *Paris:* 1 iso, 1 Support Staff.

The four isos are under the establishment of the Information Service.

As we have noted, there is a total of 55 isos, at headquarters, in the regions and overseas. In terms of seniority, they are divided as follows:

1 is-6, 2 is-5, 2 is-4, 15 is-3, 28 is-2, 7 is-1.

In January 1969, the distribution of isos by level was as follows:

iso Levels	6	5	4	3	2	1
Head Office positions	39	1	2	2	9	19
Manpower field positions in Canada	12			3	9	
Overseas positions	4			3		1
Total isos positions	55					

Five positions (two isos, three Clerks) could not be filled due to a government freeze on staffing.

The Service's first Director had a background of 20 years experience in government information. The new Director is bilingual, and has seven years experience in senior information work in three other departments. Of the other 51 isos currently on staff; 21 have graduated from university; 13 have had information experience elsewhere in government; 36 have had information experience in private fields; 37 are male; and 14 are female. Their average age is 44. Their average length of time in the same job is two years, four months.

Fifteen of the isos, including the new Director, can originate material in French. Twelve of these can also function orally in English. As in other departments, French language

officers are used too often simply to translate English copy into French, and the necessity to speak English or be isolated from their confrères means that they face the problem of losing their ability in the French language.

The Service is currently expanding a special-skills training programme for its own staff. Aimed principally at isos 1 and isos 2, it includes instruction in writing, editing, public relations, audio-visual methods, advertising and communications. It is intended to make provision for specialized training at universities and special schools. In addition, is staff will get maximum opportunity to take part in all forms of training provided through the Department's Staff Training and Development Unit. When the training is recommended by management, the Department pays the total cost. When the individual undertakes additional training on his own initiative, and the Information Director agrees that it is related to the information function, the Department will reimburse 50 per cent of tuition on successful completion.

Despite these initiatives, it appears that more detailed and thoughtful consideration should be given to training. Manpower isos should be primarily communications specialists capable of performing in any other branch of government; but, at the same time, the complex nature of Manpower operations demands that its information personnel also be instructed in the rôle and objectives of the Department as a whole. They must be motivated to take the initiative to establish direct contact with the administrators whose programmes they promote, publicize and support – and they must be prepared, if necessary, to brook initial opposition from administrators. Within the Information Service itself, supervisors must set standards of performances, see that these are met, and work for improved internal communication.

A problem peculiar to the Department is training in liaison with Information Service Officers in the regional branches, and abroad. Since these officers report to Regional Directors, many of whom are unwilling to communicate with the headquarters service, the problem is all the more acute. At present, although the 12 regional isos come to Ottawa once a year for a two- or three-day session with headquarters staff, the agenda is established without their being consulted. Nor has it yet been possible properly to familiarize isos with the operations and informational needs of the Canada Manpower Centres. In 1969, three isos were scheduled to attend a 4½-week management development course sponsored by the Public Service Commission, but that was about all that happened that could be considered even remotely connected with familiarizing regional isos with headquarters.

As far as management is concerned, the Information Service provides departmental officers with training in public information and public relations. On joining the Department, new managers get a 1½-day course in press and community relations. Conducted by senior information staff, it includes lectures, visits to representative local media and exposure to such media techniques as the taping of a radio interview, and an appearance before a TV camera.

Decentralization

In a discussion of the Department's Information Service, particularly as it relates to the Manpower programmes, is complete without an examination of the way in which the service has been decentralized. This, in many ways, is the crux of the Service's difficulties. The teething troubles which the Department is suffering in co-ordinating national, regional and local information programmes are bound to be encountered by any other department that sets out to expand its regional operations in information.

The whole point of decentralizing an information service is to make it equally available to all citizens. In theory, the information function should be distributed in the same way as any decentralized operation. A central unit at headquarters should set policy, develop national programmes and co-ordinate the implementation of programmes on a regional level. The operational work should be done by regional officers who have clear lines of communication with their colleagues in Ottawa.

But in practice, when the Manpower Department set up its regional organization, senior administrators gave little thought to how the Information Service should be structured. Lines of communication between head office and field staff have never been defined and a relatively minor local difficulty can blow up, literally overnight, into a major storm for the Minister or Deputy Minister. Less dramatic, but equally serious is the fact that poor communications result in needless delays in the transfer of important advice and publications.

At first glance, the regional structure of the Information Service looks clear enough. The Department itself is divided into five regional branches, each administered by a Regional Director who is in turn responsible to the Director-General of Operations in Ottawa. Twelve ISOs are distributed among the five branches, and each branch has on staff a senior information officer responsible for co-ordinating information operations in the regions. (The highest level of officer found in the regions is classified as an IS-3.) In effect, these officers

function as general public relations officers: a key part of their job is to provide advice and support to managers of Canada Manpower Centres who are themselves actively engaged in community relations programmes.

The trouble begins with the fact that the Regional Information Service Officers are considered to be part of the staff and establishment of the Regional Directors (*not* of the Information Service). They are directly responsible to the Regional Directors. The line of communications from the central Information Service runs through the Director-General, Operations, in Ottawa. Even on purely functional matters there is, strictly speaking, no official direct communication between the central Information Service and Regional ISOs. (In practice, regional officers communicate with central office by long-distance telephone.)

Thus the Regional ISO must serve two masters. His job is to carry out national information policies and programmes on a regional level, but his performance is regulated not by the instructions and guidelines issued by the central Information Service, but by his Regional Director. In some cases, the Regional Directors, known in head-office circles as "our Chinese warlords," deliberately thwart standardization of regional information policy and practice, and forbid direct communication between field information officers and head-office. Inevitably, friction has developed between headquarters and the field. This has been more noticeable in some regions than in others. One or two regional directors assert their full authority and maintain independent control over all departmental activities in their areas.

In addition to creating an acute personnel problem, the decentralized system as it stands at present makes for massive administrative confusion. Mostly this is a result of the long supply line through which each piece of information must pass. The method of producing manpower publications is a case in point and indeed, it may be one of the reasons so little of the publications budget has been spent.

The system works in this way: drafts of texts are prepared by the central Information Service and passed on to the Director-General of Operations, who distributes them to the five Regional Directors for comments, suggestions and revisions. There is, however, little likelihood that the five cooks will improve the broth and in fact their comments are often irrelevant and impractical, sometimes niggling and never consistent. Out of this morass, the Information Service must somehow construct a new draft, which will incorporate the greatest common denominator of these comments. The service must also answer each of the five lists of criticisms. In this way, what should be a relatively simple information

task turns into a Herculean problem in consensus-engineering.

Similarly, the profusion of fingers in the information pie prevents the Information Service from determining quickly how many copies of each publication the individual Manpower Centres require. Previously, Regional Information Officers consulted with CMC Managers, estimated the need and sent a request on to head office. But now this information must pass from the CMC Manager to the Regional Director, to the Director-General of Operations, to central Information. Not surprisingly, the estimate is often needlessly delayed and when it finally arrives at the Information Service, adjustments nearly always have to be made. Sometimes the delay is so great that a given publication has to be held over until the next fiscal year.

Even at the central office, the situation is not all that it should be. The trouble here seems to be that the Service is over-staffed with generalists, when what the Regional Officers need most is specialist advice. (By the very nature of their jobs, the regional ISOs must be generalists, public relations officers in direct contact with the public.) In this connection, the new Regional Information Development Section is a step in the right direction. In the long run, however, we suggest that many Manpower information problems of a technical nature may be solved by establishing a central pool of advisory technical expertise within Information Canada, on which all departments of government may draw. While departments would continue to remain responsible for many audio-visual and other technical activities, a central service would work to prevent unnecessary duplication of time and effort.

Untangling the knots in Manpower's Information Service will not be easy, but the first important step is relatively simple: the present unofficial lines of communication between regional ISOs and the Central Information Service should be acknowledged and formalized. Then, once it is clear that there are two lines of communication to the regions — one for administration and one for information — it might be practical to add an ISO to the staff of the Regional Director, Operations, in Ottawa. This officer could be the point of contact between the Central Information Service and regional officers in the field. He could also keep the Regional Director, Operations, informed on information matters. The regional ISOs, for their part, would be responsible for keeping their own regional directors in touch with information developments. It would be up to the Regional Director, Operations and his five regional directors to see that regional information officers are kept informed of general administra-

tive matters.

In this connection, it is again relevant to refer to the structure of our proposed central information agency. We have recommended that regional information offices be established in the major Canadian centres. In all probability these would coincide with the locations of the Department of Manpower's own regional branches. It might be a prime function of the regional directors of Information Canada to provide support to the regional information officers of the Department of Manpower.

We have a further point to make in connection with the decentralization of the Manpower Information Service. In contrast to the public service evaluators, who looked at its operations in terms of efficient government organization, one of our consultants believed that it was still too early to write off the present system as a complete failure. In the opinion of Professor Noah Meltz, who was especially interested in the public impact of particular Manpower programmes, a further study of the system's successes and shortcomings is necessary, particularly in order to determine the usefulness of regionalizing other government information services. Professor Meltz suggested that the regional manpower organization should be strengthened, and encouraged to develop programmes which relate to particular areas. He believes also that more information personnel, and at a higher level, should be posted to the regions.

We are in general agreement with Professor Meltz's line of reasoning, but we also believe that the Regional Manpower Information Services can best be improved through close co-operation with the regional offices of Information Canada. At the same time, the regional manpower offices must have a direct channel of communication to the Central Manpower Information Service. In our opinion, the problem calls for a two-pronged approach: Manpower's regional ISOs must report to the Central Manpower Information Service and the Regional Manpower Information Services must be strengthened by close co-operation and consultation with Information Canada in Ottawa, and in particular, by day to day co-operation with the regional offices of Information Canada.

Programmes and Activities

The Information Service is responsible for media relations audio-visual programmes, publications, advertising, exhibits and displays, still photographs, internal communications public relations counselling, training, organizing tours, and mailing and distribution. The Service also advises the Deput

Minister and senior management on information and public relations matters, and provides publishing production services to the Department as a whole.

The Department's chief means of contact with the public through the 219 Canada Manpower Centres, and most of its external information programmes are, in one way or another, directed at promoting and publicizing the Centres. For example, during 1969-70, French and English versions of the 20-minute, 16mm colour film "CMC - A Total Service" will be available for community screenings. Three TV film clips aimed at employers will be distributed to all stations and, during the next two years, as many as 23 publications will be directed towards CMC's potential clients.

The Service also considers it of prime importance to advise CMC managers on how to establish and maintain good community relations programmes and, to this end, it has produced an operations handbook for managers. A second public information handbook designed for use by departmental managers and ISOs, will be available shortly.

In order to identify the Department - and the Federal Government - as a contributor to vocational schools and training programmes, the Service stages and publicizes special events and opening ceremonies. In this connection, it produces news releases on such aspects of the Department's operations as the establishment of training programmes and the approval of building projects under capital grants.

The Service operates a fairly extensive internal communications programme. The bi-monthly *Manpower and Immigration digest/Les Cahiers*, an informal and confidential information bulletin, appears to be read widely and much appreciated by departmental employees, and there are plans to expand its scope. The Service also circulates internally a weekly press index of editorial comment and stories relating to the Department, and distributes copies of major speeches and policy statements. It plans a regular news-sheet, occasional articles on such matters as the employment situation and the labour market, and bulletins on changes in departmental structure and staff.

Yet, for all these impressive efforts and plans, members of the team that investigated the Service found it very difficult to obtain information, and noted that the Department exhibits "an incredible confusion and lack of records and systems". In terms of public information programmes, the evaluators noted an indication of lack of policy and planning, especially in the technical context, and suggested a rather more co-ordinated approach to ensure that the right media are used for the right purpose.

Media Relations

The Service has established no priority for media relations in the information structure, nor are media relations given a separate budget allocation. No provision is made for expenses incurred in entertaining media contacts although, from time to time, they are permitted on an individual merit basis. No member of the information staff has a National Press Club membership paid by the Department. Two officers now do fulltime press relations work, and a third is about to be added. In addition, other officers are prepared to take on media relations as the need arises.

Usually, the Information Director himself makes the decision to issue a news release. Once a release is drafted - or the general content of a news conference established - the Director presents it to the Deputy Minister and to the appropriate management experts for approval. When the release or conference material concerns important policy, it is usually cleared by the Minister as well. In most cases, it takes about three days to get approval and, when changes or deletions are suggested, the Information Service is able to challenge and discuss them. The Department does not make a practice of off-the-record briefings, but in most cases it does provide the media with advance notice of the subject of news conferences, and the system appears to work well.

Outside Ottawa, distributing releases is the responsibility of the regional offices. The releases are sent from Ottawa by Telex and released simultaneously with their release in Ottawa. Within the regions, the ISOs prepare and distribute their own local releases. Inside Ottawa, most contacts with the Press Gallery and local newsrooms are made by telephone. Enquiries from the media are usually handled by press officers, who try to obtain the requested information from appropriate officials and relay it to the caller. Media calls are referred directly to officials only when highly technical points are involved. Some officials are apparently slow to respond to requests and, in general, Manpower management seems insufficiently aware of the importance of quick replies to the media.

The Information Service controls the Department's mailing list, which is divided into categories of special-interest groups. Selective mailings are the general rule and the entire list is used only for major items. The list is reviewed about once a year.

The Service also operates a clipping service. It employs two full-time readers and one clipper and covers some 60 publications. Clips are copied and circulated daily to senior management. The clips themselves are thrown out after a

month, but the Service keeps on file a capsule summary of each day's collection. An Information Officer and two clerks are responsible for data storage in the Departmental Library. This seems to work efficiently; enquiries receive a good response.

Although the Information Service does not prepare replies to questions asked in Parliament (as in most departments, this is a matter for the Minister's or Deputy Minister's staff), it does prepare explanations of new legislation. The Service, however, plays no direct rôle in alerting the Minister to a potentially embarrassing political situation.

Audio-visual Services

The Information Service has made scant use of audio-visual services. This is partly because of its organizational difficulties and partly because of a lack of expertise.

In some areas, radio stations do provide "job description" programmes, but these are entirely unstructured and depend on informal agreements between the individual station and the local Manpower Centre. Aside from occasional guests from the Department who may be invited to discuss policy, no use is made of open-line programmes. Even so, the Department has better contacts with some sections of the media — particularly with the CBC French and English television networks — than most other branches of government, and it has often succeeded in inspiring public affairs programmes to deal with matters relating to Manpower and Immigration policies. In more structured terms, however, present planning does not include any extensive use of radio and television as a means to inform the public of the Department's services and policies. In future, such planning might be undertaken in co-operation with Information Canada.

In his study, Professor Meltz suggests that the Department revamp its entire approach to radio and television. For television, he proposes experimenting with a daily five-minute show, modelled along the lines of the WKBW Buffalo programme "Employment File". In this programme, which appears from 7:25 to 7:30 a.m. each weekday, an employee of the New York State Employment Service discusses job opportunities and career hints and other employment matters, and the phone number of the local New York State Employment Office is prominently on display.

Professor Meltz also suggests that the Department sponsor open-line radio programmes in selected cities. Each day, for an hour or two, a Manpower counsellor would answer questions. This would provide an opportunity for direct feed-back and help clear up misconceptions about the employment service.

Publications

Although production and scheduling of the Department's publications has been seriously hampered by internal communications problems, there is reason to believe that the current reorganization may clear up most of these.

In broad terms, the purpose of the publications programmes is to support five major departmental activities: Employment Services, Federal Programmes, Immigration Canada, Environmental Development and Immigration Abroad. In terms of Manpower, the plans for 1969-70 call for a stress on the CMC's available services, particularly for employers; and to identify firmly as Federal Government programmes, such schemes as Occupational Training for Adults, Manpower Mobility and Rehabilitation. It is not yet possible, however, to list specific publications.

Within the reorganized Information Service, three programme officers will be responsible for publicizing particular programmes, and they will have support staff to develop publications. The programme directors will report directly to the Assistant Information Directors. One Assistant Director will be responsible for production, the other for Operational Support Services. All Manpower publications are printed by the Queen's Printer, who also contracts for graphic design services on the basis of the lowest tender.

The quality of the Department's design is only fair. No logos for both Manpower and Immigration have been designed, but the Department still lacks a co-ordinating graphics programme that takes its audiences into account. In this connection, the Information Service should obtain professional advisory services.

Exhibits and Displays

No specific policy governs exhibits and displays. The Department believes that changing techniques make a policy unnecessary. Apart from input by CMC management, there appears to be little evaluation on the exhibits programmes. Most feed-back is based on word-of-mouth reports of reactions to departmental exhibits at fairs. The exhibits themselves have been developed with the assistance of the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission, and the Commission constructs them.

Still Photography

The Information Service maintains a collection of 2,000 photographs used for annual reports, exhibits, publication

and advertising. Through a shared-cost programme, the Canadian Government Travel Bureau retains the negatives and maintains the collection. The Department pays for actual photography and keeps on hand a number of prints for ready reference. Most photo operations are carried out at short notice, and there is no evidence of long-term planning.

Advertising

The Department has given a good deal of thought to the use of advertising as an important part of an extensive communications programme to inform the public at large of the operations of the Canada Manpower Centres. The Information Service has developed a valuable advertising guide which could be used by other departments. But because the Manpower Centres across the country are not yet considered capable of handling a major increase in enquiries, the Department has so far delayed "the big push".

Up to now, the major campaigns have included
 a) Promoting winter employment ("Plan it Now" "Do it now"), b) Hire the Handicapped, c) Hire the Older Worker, d) A pilot test in the Prairie Provinces to promote the employment services of the CMCS. e) A general campaign directed to employers, promoting the employment services of the CMCS and student summer employment.

It appears that the Information Director and those of his officers who are responsible for advertising should have more direct control over the advertising budget. Senior management also needs to be informed of the benefits, the uses and limitations of advertising. When planning its major campaigns, Manpower, like other government departments, should find it useful to consult with the staff members of Information Canada who would be responsible for servicing the dependent advertising board recommended in Paper XVI.

Some Observations about First Principles

Staff and organizational difficulties have had an unfortunate effect on the Manpower Information Service. But the trouble goes deeper than that. It is rooted in the Department's philosophy of public information. There is evidence that at some important information decisions have been based on faulty premises. In this section we shall discuss some first principles.

Audiences

At the outset, the Department presents its Information

Service with a problem; its prime purpose, as laid down in the Department's Operations Handbook is, "to develop a unified total concept of Manpower services that is geared to the problems of the Canadian labour force."

This amounts to being in favour of motherhood. In casting its net so widely, the Department has given the Information Service little choice but to opt for the "total approach", to create an image that the Manpower Centres can do everything for everybody, and provide a total service to all employers and employees. As a result, it has been extremely difficult for the Service to release the energies and funds needed to aim specific information at the groups that need it most. It is not surprising then that some of the Department's key programmes have given short shrift to information.

For practical purposes, the Service's first director divided the audience into two groups: employer clients and employee clients. He believed that the Service should aim primarily at the first group: "One of the basic requirements for an effective placement service is a steady flow of job listings from employers. Only when jobs are available, will counselling have any effect. In order to obtain such a flow of information, the Division must inspire the confidence of employers. Employers must believe that the CMC is an efficient agent in the placement business. The task of winning the confidence and obtaining the co-operation of Canada's 500,000 employers is the most critical information problem of the Division. Until it is met, the Division cannot hope to function efficiently."

In line with this approach, the Service is currently aiming its "Hear Ye, Hear Ye" campaign - conducted, at a cost of \$567,000, through newspapers, magazines and business publications - at "winning the confidence of Canada's 500,000 employers" by promoting the Manpower Centres. The trouble is that the net has again been flung far too widely. Before so costly a campaign was launched, the Department might have assessed which types of employers would benefit most from CMC service, and then aimed the campaign accordingly. This would undoubtedly have resulted in a concentration of effort on certain industries, and on certain trade magazines. It would also have resulted in an effective use of the Department's services.

As far as employee clients are concerned, the Department's public information programme has been minimal. There was an assumption that a massive campaign would lead to a stampede towards under-staffed and under-equipped Manpower Centres. The available evidence, however, does not bear this out. In 1967, the Service undertook a \$50,000 pilot advertising campaign in the Prairie Region. It aimed at

"advising the public in a specific area about CMC's service in general, and training in particular". As a result there were, in Winnipeg, 169 employee inquiries; in Calgary, 131; and in Regina, 64. This was something less than a stampede. Astonishingly, the Department undertook no further pilot projects and indeed, it did not even circulate the campaign's results outside Head Office. However, some of the regions have undertaken small advertising campaigns. Since there appears to have been a surplus of more than half a million dollars in the Manpower Information budget over the past two years, it is clear that funds were available for any initiative the Department might have cared to take. Instead, it lost the opportunity to experiment fully with a variety of publicity media to see which were the most effective in interesting the public in the CMCS.

With few exceptions such as an ad that appeared in the *Toronto Telegram* and *Toronto Star* in March 1968 the Occupational Training Programme for Adults (OTA) has so far been advertised only in connection with the Canadian Manpower Centres, rarely separately. Little advertising has been aimed specifically at the unemployed, who constitute the OTA's major target. Even the OTA pamphlets are available only in CMCS, and not in such key spots as Unemployment Insurance and welfare offices.

Since the Immigration side of the Department's operations has been experimenting successfully with a "target" approach to the public, it is difficult to understand why Manpower has kept to its universal theme, Man and his Manpower Centre.

The Regional Offices

The insistence on "total approach" is one reason why the Information Service has concentrated so little on specific groups, but another is undoubtedly the fact that nearly all the information budget is allotted and spent at head office. Any central office is bound to take a "global view" and it is almost certain to be out of touch with day to day problems at the local level. It is the regional officers who know and understand regional publics and regional difficulties, and this underscores Professor Meltz's recommendation to strengthen the regional offices and make them responsible for implementing their own advertising and informational programmes. At the same time, the fact that central offices tend to be out of touch also underscores our own recommendation that Information Canada establish regional offices across the country. One of their prime functions would be to help get the regional information programmes of local Manpower offices off the ground.

Internal Programme Evaluation

The Department does a certain amount of cost-benefit analysis, but there is in effect no adequate evaluation of its programmes. Though a high proportion of staff resources has been devoted to publications and press relations there has been no attempt to find out if the time and money have been well spent, or whether radio and television might have been more effective. Nor is any attempt made to pre-test sample publications on selected members of the public.

The present reorganization programme calls for an evaluation unit. This could improve the situation considerably. Even so, it might still be useful for the Department to use the resources of outside organizations, and in this connection Information Canada could again be of assistance.

A Case Study -

The Information Service and the OTA Programme

As part of his study for the Task Force, Professor Noah Meltz analysed the Information Service's promotion of one of Manpower's most important programmes - Occupational Training for Adults. He was particularly concerned with comparing the programme's *actual* benefits (as indicated in the Department's Operations Handbook) with the impression given of OTA benefits in pamphlets prepared for the public. There were, he discovered, a number of anomalies.

According to the Adult Occupational Training Act, P.C. 1967/1021 (May 1, 1967), the purpose of the Occupational Training Programme is to provide training to assist an adult to "... increase his earning capacities or his opportunities for employment." Each year the department's regional office buy training courses, or places within the courses, from the provincial government and from private sources. During the programme's first year, 1967-68, the Federal Government spent \$150 million on OTA, in 1968-69, \$200 million. In 1968-69 it was estimated that about 300,000 Canadian were taking training under OTA.

The programme provides three types of training: basic training; skilled training; and language training for immigrants and others. In any one programme, the maximum training time allowed is 52 weeks full-time, or 1820 hours part-time. A course of basic training may be followed by a course in specialized skills, for a total of two years. A person who is interested in applying for OTA, fills out the basic form OTA-1, and a local CMC Counsellor interview him to decide whether he is eligible.

At this point the trouble starts. The three pamphlets

which the Department has prepared to describe OTA paint a better picture of training opportunities than actually exists. Indeed, after reading, "Is OTA the Answer for You?" "When do you know enough?" and "The Billy Goat is Dead - Thanks to OTA" and the booklet "Manpower Training in Canada", one is left with the impression that OTA is geared to help just about everyone in the labour force raise his or her income and get them a better job.

"Is OTA the Answer for You?" lists three criteria for applicants: whether the counsellor thinks the person is serious about pursuing the occupation for which he will take training; whether the person is capable of completing the programme; and whether there is a good chance of regular employment in the relevant occupation. The average applicant is bound to believe he will be eligible for training. This may be far from the case. On the basis of the regulations and guidelines drawn up in the Department's Operations Handbook and in its Instruction Manual on OTA, the programme is much more restricted than either the Act itself or the pamphlets imply. On the basis of these guidelines, several groups of people would most likely be excluded from OTA*. These include those whose education does not extend beyond Grade 4 (except those being trained for marginal jobs paying just above the minimum wage); people who are 45 years old or more, and whom employers may therefore be reluctant to hire; people who want jobs for which more than one year's training is required; and the hard-core unemployed, chronic welfare cases, and others whom OTA might regard as permanently unemployable.

Except for two quarter-page insertions in the *Toronto Star* and *Toronto Telegram* in March 1968, there has been little publicity about OTA. The Information Service's major effort has been to prepare the pamphlets we have just mentioned. In addition, there is the pamphlet "You and OTA" for those who have been accepted into the programme.

These pamphlets, at the time of our investigation, were available only at the CMC's and even there they were not prominently displayed.

Two new pamphlets are currently being developed - "Training and Retraining" and "How adults can learn more, faster" - but, otherwise, there appear to be no plans for informing the public more fully about the OTA programme. And yet, the public would appear to be uninformed about OTA.

In order to determine the public impact of Manpower information programmes, Recon Research Consultants inter-

* This hypothesis is based solely on the guidelines, and not on a detailed study of actual OTA operations.

viewed 200 people in Toronto, Montreal, Selkirk, Manitoba and Moncton, New Brunswick. The percentages were obtained from a random sample within a selected group, chosen to represent the lower socio-economic stratum in each of the four municipalities. Of those interviewed, 41 per cent had been unemployed during the past year; 52 per cent had collected unemployment insurance benefits at one time or another; one quarter were classified as unskilled labourers; and 17 per cent had been on welfare. Seventy-five per cent were between 20 and 44; 15 per cent were over 45; and eight per cent were 19 and under. Eighty-five per cent had been educated to a point somewhere between grade eight and grade 12. Only 10 per cent had left school before grade eight.

Most of those interviewed had a diffuse knowledge of the Canada Manpower Centres and, in general, those in the smaller cities knew more about them than people in Montreal and Toronto. This is not surprising. The Centres are obviously closer to daily life in small towns. It does indicate, however, that Manpower Services need extra promotion in metropolitan areas.

Six per cent of those who had drawn unemployment insurance benefits were unable to state the location of the nearest Manpower Centre. Another 14 per cent either did not know, or did not answer. Of those who had not drawn unemployment insurance, 22 per cent did not know the general location of the closest Centre.

Eight out of 10 respondents knew that the government had programmes to help retrain people. Forty-seven per cent knew something of the OTA programme, but their general awareness varied from city to city. In Selkirk and Toronto, more than half the sample knew of it (58 per cent and 54 per cent respectively) while fewer than half knew of it in Montreal and Moncton (40 per cent and 34 per cent). (The low figure in Moncton is surprising, since we might expect knowledge of OTA to be relatively higher in smaller cities.)

One would expect the unemployed to be most aware of OTA but, in fact, fewer than half of the people who had drawn unemployment insurance benefits knew of the programme. Similarly, of those who had been on welfare, only 47 per cent knew anything about OTA. Sixty per cent of those who knew of the training programme also knew where to go to apply for it. In Selkirk, nearly everyone interviewed knew; in Montreal, only about a third.

In Selkirk, Moncton and Montreal, three out of five who knew of the OTA programme had not considered applying for it. Toronto was the exception; there three out of five

had considered applying. Since two-thirds of the total group felt that they would like to have some training to find a better job, this finding is surprising. In Montreal, where 74 per cent said they would like to have more training, only a third of those who knew about the OTA programme had considered applying to it.

Only 15 per cent of the group had seen the OTA pamphlet. The high was 28 per cent in Montreal and the low two per cent in Moncton. They were asked to read the booklet, and then asked what new information it had given them about the OTA programme. Thirty-two per cent mentioned that the programme "pays while being retrained," while 13 per cent recalled that the programme provides "training, upgrading courses". Eighty-five per cent of respondents felt that the OTA pamphlet, "Is OTA the Answer for You?", explained the programme well.

Again, among those who knew something of OTA, the largest group, approximately two-fifths, thought the programme was financed by both Federal and provincial governments. Only in Ontario did the Federal Government get most of the credit for this programme.

There was even less knowledge of the Manpower Mobility Programme. A quarter of the sample were aware that the government has a plan to help move people to other cities for employment, but only four per cent correctly identified this as Manpower Mobility. When asked directly if they had ever heard of Manpower Mobility, only 13 per cent said they had.

Recommendations

In a sense, the Information Service of the Department of Manpower stands as a case study of what can happen when a government department's information policy is conceived in sweeping terms, developed without concise objectives, implemented hastily and without proper evaluation and, most seriously, put into practice without taking its audience into account. Many of the personnel and organizational difficulties we have noted are already being ironed out but before the Service can become truly effective, the Department must go back to first principles. It must reassess its information policies and objectives. These should be developed within the context of the government's overall information policy.

We recommend that :

1. The Information Service be involved not only in the

formulation of departmental policies concerned with immigration, but also with manpower.

2. The Information Service develop public affairs policies for consideration by departmental authorities consistent with policies referred to in (1) and in keeping with the government's overall information policy.

3. The Information Service, working in close consultation with programme officers, ensure that its specific programmes are designed to achieve the Department's public affairs policies referred to in (2); and ensure also that programmes reflect the needs of the various publics the Department is attempting to serve.

4. In promoting the use of services offered by Canada Manpower Centres, the Information Service make a special effort to inform hard-to-reach sectors of the public on the specific departmental programmes that could benefit them and, with the assistance of Information Canada, conduct additional experimental information programmes coupled with appropriate evaluation systems.

5. In keeping with the objectives of personnel policies outlined in Paper VIII, measures be introduced for staff development to improve planning, training, orientation and effectiveness.

6. The Information Service assume greater responsibility in keeping departmental staff abreast of public responses to its policies and activities, and aware of current developments in the Department.

7. The regional information function be strengthened, and channels of communication opened between the regional offices and headquarters. Programmes relating to the particular needs of the various regions should be developed in close co-operation with Information Canada, particularly with the regional offices of Information Canada.

8. The Department ensure there is a better balance between the use of print and audio-visual techniques in order to communicate more effectively with their various publics.

9. The recommendations concerning design and departmental identification stipulated in Paper IX be applied in this Department.

10. Relevant information publications of the Department be distributed by the most effective methods including Post Office sub-stations, Unemployment Insurance Offices, and other available public and private outlets.

The Department of Agriculture

Introduction

At both the federal and provincial levels, Canadian agricultural policy is undergoing its first thorough reassessment since World War II. The new policy will almost certainly call for a rationalization of the entire farm industry. As yet, few farmers realize just how complex a challenge it will be to turn agriculture into a dynamic commercial industry. If the transformation is to prove successful, improved communication between government and farmers is essential; information has therefore become a pressing concern of the Department of Agriculture.

Not that this concern is entirely new: over the years the Department has built up an impressive and generally effective information service. Time and again it has demonstrated initiative and imagination. Even so, there is evidence that the service has grown unwieldy and that, perhaps more seriously, it lacks proper policy direction. Sometimes it fails to identify the audience that it is trying to reach. Thus we have chosen to study the information operations of Agriculture to illustrate how a good information service might become a better one.

The Information Function

The Department of Agriculture is in itself a vast information network; in one way or another almost every one of its 11,000 employees is concerned with assembling or spreading knowledge. As far as the public is concerned, the Department's job is to provide facts about the food industry to farmers and to consumers. Internally, Agriculture maintains an elaborate network of research institutions that are concerned with the transmission of research data.

Because so many of the Department's activities involve direct communication with the public, and because its operations are widely dispersed throughout the country (60 per cent of its professional personnel work is outside Ottawa), many of its information programmes are conducted beyond the formally designated Information Division. For example:

The 26 research stations, 14 experimental farms, eight

research institutes and three research services operated by the *Research Branch* respond directly to media enquiries, and report progress and findings to local and regional media, as well as to scientific journals and departmental publications.

The *Scientific Information Section* has a staff of editors and writers who produce material aimed primarily at the general public. Some employees spend most of their time dealing directly with the public by organizing tours and visits, answering public enquiries, lining up interviews and broadcasts and arranging public lecture series.

The *Production and Marketing Branch* distributes market information and develops travelling exhibits aimed at consumers. Within the Branch, the *Food Advisory Service* disseminates consumer information to press, radio and television, while the *Market Information Section* distributes crop and market reports, investigates consumer complaints, conducts market surveys and takes an active part in trade promotion.

The *Economics Branch*, which has three regional offices, publishes periodicals and bulletins, many of these in co-operation with other departments.

The Department also includes the *Farm Credit Corporation* and the *Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration*, each of which maintains a form of information service.

In all, these extra-curricular information programmes account for a total of 103 positions directly related to public information (62 in Scientific Information, 40 in Production and Marketing and one in the Farm Credit Corporation).

Agriculture also maintains the largest departmental Library in the Federal Government. Formerly a part of the Information Division, it now operates autonomously and has a staff of 103, of whom 38 are librarians. Sixteen of these work in Ottawa, and the other 22 in branch libraries across the country.

The Information Division Organization

Objectives

The Information Division can be properly evaluated only in terms of its performance in helping Agriculture to achieve its overall objectives. Yet, although the Division is one of the largest in the public service, there appear to be no legislative or policy statements that deal with its responsibilities and functions, and a concrete set of objectives has yet to be formulated. So far, the Division has developed only a list of general guidelines:

The Information Division is responsible for an effective public information programme to make new knowledge

derived from research available to the farmer.

The Division should keep the agricultural industry and the general public informed of the policies and activities of the Department.

The Division should dispense to the public and in particular the farming community, through the mass media, information that is timely and essential.

The Division should provide the mass media with interpretative and explanatory material on policy and legislation so that they can in turn give an accurate and comprehensive presentation to their specific audiences.

The Division defines the specific functions of the Director of Information in this way: to co-ordinate the Publications and News Sections and to assure that their functions can be accomplished; to establish policy for the Division; to advise the Department on matters pertaining to information dissemination; and to ensure that the quality of performance of the Division is constantly improving.

The diffuse nature of these objectives makes it difficult to judge the Division's performance. What, for example, precisely, constitutes a contribution to "quality of performance"? What are the constraints on Division policy? We shall try to find some of the answers in our discussion of the Division's organization and programmes.

Costs

During 1968-69, Agriculture's total information costs amounted to approximately \$2 million,* divided as follows:

Information Services Division	\$1,300,000
Other Information Services	400,000
Cost of publications charged direct to programmes	140,000
Cost of scientific publications	160,000
	\$2,000,000

The total direct costs, including salaries were approximately:

Advertising	\$ 160,000
Audio-Visual Aids	275,000
Press Relations	125,000
Public Relations	90,000
Publications	390,000
Other	100,000
	\$1,140,000

* Agriculture's complex information responsibilities make it difficult to assess accurately the full cost of public information.

The rate of increase in the period 1966-68 was about 12½ per cent per year.

Structure

The Information Division has a total staff of 77, and is divided into three parts.

The Publications Section has a staff of 25; 16 editors, production officers and artists and nine clerical support employees. The Section plans, edits, produces and distributes reports, periodicals, pamphlets, and bulletins to supply information to farm operators, extension workers, the agricultural industry, consumers and the public in general. It puts out *Canada Agriculture*, a quarterly journal aimed primarily at extension workers and agricultural businessmen; *The Lighter*, a quarterly concerned with the tobacco industry; *Farm Letter*, a monthly sent to 420,000 farmers; and "What You Should Know About", a series developed in response to public demand.

The News Section has a staff of 23: 15 writers, broadcasters, media relations and visual aids officers, five technicians and three clerical workers. Its prime function is to serve the media. For print, it uses press releases; the weekly newsletter, "News, News, News"; and the monthly round-up, "This Month with CDA." For radio, it provides a weekly tape service for farm broadcasts; a monthly tape aimed at consumers; weekly livestock marketing reports to the CBC and daily reports to stations. For television, the News Section produces three or more five-minute film clips each month for farm broadcasts; promotional films in collaboration with the Food Advisory Service; and slide kits with keyed scripts. It also has a major film in progress and scripting has begun on another. The News Section organizes caravan exhibits for major fairs, and specialized displays. Along with all this, it administers special projects, answers queries from the media and operates a press clipping service.

The Administrative Section has a staff of 25: an administrative officer, a technical officer, a technician and 22 support personnel. It provides administrative back-up to the Division through its typing, transcribing and processing units. It is responsible for copy preparation, photostat service, mailing and shipping. The Distribution Unit responds annually to some 95,000 requests for publications.

The Information Director reports directly to the Deputy Minister and is an active member of the Senior Management Committee. He also meets frequently with other senior and middle managers. Generally, he is given a free rein to establish information policy, within the usual confines of

management approval and budget. It is his responsibility to convey all information dealing with policy to his staff and he does this at regular meetings. Six officers report directly to the Information Director. These include: the three section heads, a Public Relations Officer, the Programme Analyst and a Women's Information Service Officer. Two Unit Heads report to the Administrative Officer, four to the News Section Chief and three to the Publications Section Chief. No more than seven staff members report to each Unit Head.

The Division has no field or regional information offices, but plans are underway to establish regional services in Fredericton, Regina and in Summerland B.C., and to post an Information Service Officer permanently in Winnipeg. In addition, research and other departmental establishments are responsible for distributing information publications in their areas of interest. The Division has instructed the members of some of these services in the writing of news releases, and the use of cameras and tape recorders.

In the regions, agricultural specialists are always available to answer queries, mostly of a technical nature.

Planning

As part of the programme review system, the various specialists within the Division, under the direction of the Information Director, develop an annual public information programme for submission to the Department's Senior Management Committee. The Director also develops special programmes as required; these are usually approved by the Deputy Minister and discussed by the Senior Management Committee.

Apart from this, however, no comprehensive information services plan exists, and the annual review is in fact a review of practices rather than policies. A real plan should be developed. It should incorporate concepts, methods, objectives and activities, in line with the Department's policies, programmes, objectives and activities.

In terms of future planning, the Information Division is considering: increasing its emphasis on radio-television activity, which will require additional staff and equipment; build-up in mechanization (automation rather than computerization) to increase effectiveness in answering letters from the public; changing from an Information Division to a complete Information Service by consolidating within it the areas where duplication now exists, including the departmental Library; adding to staff economists, and people with backgrounds in sociology and psychology; producing a loose-leaf publication of research aimed at farm

operators, to fill the gap created by the decreasing number of farm journals; (the publication would include information on the economics of world agriculture; supplements and new inserts would be provided from time to time.) and support for the new departmental policy of providing record systems for the entire agricultural industry. (This is a joint federal-provincial project.)

Personnel

Of the Information Division's 77 positions, 32 are "officer" positions. The remaining 45 are support positions, and include a large roster of distribution employees.

The "officer" positions are broken down as follows: 26 Information Service Officers (ISO) — Six are vacant, two Administrative Service Officers (ASO), four Technical Officers (TO).

Of the 20 Information Service Officers currently on strength, nine have completed university and seven have either studied or have experience in agriculture or science. Eight have been in the same job for ten years or more. Although none of these officers had worked in other departments as ISOs, 17 had some related experience outside the government before joining the Division.

Six of the officers are able to originate copy in French. Another can handle oral inquiries in French. All these officers work capably in English, although English is the second language of five of them.

The Department provides no formal orientation training for new ISOs. Instead, individual supervisors take on the responsibility and adapt it to individual needs. The Department itself is very complex. It has about 30 acts to administer, operates some 500 programmes and has on staff more than 1,000 people involved in research. New information officers should either have studied agriculture or science, or at least be familiar with the Department's rôle. One officer said that even after five previous years of agricultural reporting, it took him two years to find his feet in the Department of Agriculture.

The Department is prepared to recommend and pay for the training of its officers, but the courses sponsored by the Public Service Commission in French and management skills are crowded and difficult to enter; and, in general, it seems that Agriculture makes little attempt to up-grade skills or to keep officers in touch with new developments in public information.

As a result, although communication within the Division appears to be fair, morale is not high. The Division's inability

to spell out its objectives and its possibly outmoded techniques of personnel management may both contribute to the fact that high levels of performance are not reached by some of the staff. Internal management and liaison within the Division might be improved by the following means:

1. The adoption of a "management by objectives" approach.

2. The adoption of a "working team" structure for specific and continuing projects to stimulate high levels of motivation and commitment.

3. The development of an internal communication procedure, including meetings with all Information Division staff from time to time, and newsletters.

4. The development of Information Division training seminars for staff members, with particular emphasis on new staff and on those with more than five years experience. Seminars should deal with the overall objectives and operations of the Division, as well as with techniques.

Relations with Senior Management

Since the publication of the Glassco Report, the Information Division has been treated less like a poor relative than it used to be and more like a working partner and, as we noted earlier, the Information Director is a member of the Senior Management Committee. Nevertheless, there continues to be a tendency not to involve the Information Division in the earliest stages of policy and programme development. Unfortunately, this is the very time when the Division's services are likely to be most valuable in terms of gauging public impact and suggesting time for the planning of information support services.

It is important that management take the Information Division into its full confidence, and ensure that the Information Director acts as an adviser at the moment that programmes and policy are being initiated. Management should also increase the flow of significant information to the Information Division, instead of expecting the Division to seek out facts in the manner of a reporter on a newspaper beat. Management should consult more frequently with the Information Director than it does now, and management's important directives and programme plans should include reference to the information aspects of the subject.

For its part, the Information Division must develop sufficient public affairs expertise to enable it to take an active part in programme and policy development. And since a prime concern of the entire Department is public information, it is essential that the Division produce a public affairs

handbook for the use of officers outside the Division.

The Information Division should also seek senior management support to develop seminars on public affairs for all levels of management. To ensure their credibility, such seminars might also include public affairs experts from other departments. The Division should organize public affairs sessions for new managers and, when possible, as part of the new managers' orientation, they should spend a week or two in the Division to familiarize themselves with its purpose and activities.

In addition, the Information Division should seek management approval to conduct an environmental information system for all Department personnel. Such an "in-house" programme would not be concerned with operating directives or regulations. Instead, it would aim to broaden the working environment of staff members through distributing important press releases, summaries of major statements on agricultural policy, details of public queries and answers, relevant excerpts from reports like those of the Economic Council of Canada, and a press index of stories relating to the Department.

Relations with other divisions of Agriculture involved in information

A number of divisions outside the Information Division are directly responsible for public information. In fact, the number of persons who deal with information outside the Division (103) is larger than the Division's own staff (77). This situation cannot help but lead to confusion and duplication. Nowhere, for example, is there a comprehensive record of public information activities carried on by all branches of Agriculture, nor an overall evaluation of the information services.

The Information Division generally has some input into the techniques used by non-information divisions and co-operation on a person-to-person basis is generally good, but the Division has minimal or no control over the content of literature and broadcast material prepared by all but one of the outside branches. (The single exception is the Food Advisory Service. There, the Division maintains some control over editing and design, and full control over printing and distribution.)

Public affairs training of non-information division writers and editors has been sketchy and haphazard. They have received no manual. (The situation is slightly better in broadcasting: the Division has instructed personnel from six field research stations on how to conduct radio interviews and

works with them in supplying tape service to radio stations).

The answer to these problems is relatively simple, and we note that it has priority on the Division's own planning schedule: the Information Division must be reinforced as the focal point for information services to the public and, therefore, all Ottawa personnel connected with information should be transferred to the Information Division, and the information functions of their branches consolidated within the Division.

Outside Ottawa, departmental personnel involved in information work should receive some training in public affairs and an information manual. They need a direct channel of communication to the Division and functional guidance from headquarters. They should be required to make a monthly report to the Division on present and planned information activities.

Relations with Provincial and other Federal Departments

The Task Force discusses the relations between the federal department of Agriculture and the provincial Agriculture Departments in Paper xvii. Here, we would only observe that, although the co-operation is good in some respects, in others it depends almost entirely on individual relationships and so far, in the case of some programmes, there has been little attempt to establish a formal system of inter-governmental communication.

Within the Federal Government, the Information Division has developed satisfactory working relationships with such central agencies as the Queen's Printer, the National Film Board and the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission. When it plans exhibitions, the Division also consults the Ontario Department of Agriculture – a prime user of exhibitions – to avoid duplication.

In arranging to provide farm literature for immigrants, the Division co-operates with the Department of Manpower and Immigration, the Department of External Affairs and the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce. However, there has been no real attempt to co-ordinate agricultural information programmes with programmes in other departments that have similar objectives and overlapping policies.

Audiences

Traditionally, the Information Division concentrates first on the farm operators and second on "agri-business". In the past, it paid little attention to the general public. Recently,

however, the emphasis has changed. Much of the Division's material for radio and television, for instance, is intended specifically for the consumer. As far as one can tell from the occasional attempts to analyse public reactions to specific films, and radio and television programmes, consumers are particularly interested in food production, technology, marketing and retailing.

In terms of farm operators, who remain the prime target, it appears that the Division should clarify its definitions and categorize its audience. The farming community has been defined in terms of commodities (eggs, honey, dairy, tobacco, etc.) but there's been little effort to distinguish between commercial and non-commercial farmers, or to define the suppliers, processors, distributors and others who are part of the agri-business complex.

A recent audience development has been the relatively sophisticated agricultural public created by farm extension and adult education programmes. The Department appears to be making some effort to reach this new group with specific material that is oriented to new research findings and written with the educational level of this audience in mind.

In a sense, the media have become a separate audience for the Information Division. The Information Director tends to rely on feed-back from the media, rather than from the public, for guidance on subject matter of general interest. Many of the media, however, operate as repeater stations for centrally produced materials. They are not always in close contact with their own audience, and they use much of the Information Division's material as "filler" that has little or no impact on its public.

Media Relations

Most decisions on news releases or news conferences originate at the Department's executive level. Once the executive has taken the decision, it calls in the Information Division for a briefing, and the general content is planned.

There is no established procedure for organizing news conferences. Most of them, in a normal year, take place outside Ottawa as a result of ministerial visits to agricultural areas. As a matter of policy, the information staff briefs officials on the lines of questioning to expect.

The Department's major contact with farmers is through rural and farm papers, and therefore, media relations have top priority in project programming. The Division's weekly news-sheet ("News, News, News"), which is mailed to all newspapers in the country, has particular importance. Apart from salaries, however, there is no separate budget for

media relations. The question of entertainment expenses is decided on an individual basis. No formal guidelines exist.

News releases are printed and designed in the Department's own printing shop. The print shop is a unique feature of this Department and its justification is the huge volume of material Agriculture puts out. A media mailing list of 1,700 English and 800 French addresses is maintained, and revised every two years. The Press Section makes a practice of issuing advance warnings of major announcements to special-interest media people. The releases are distributed by hand to the Press Gallery, National Press Building, CBC, CP, UPI and others, in that order. News of regional interest is distributed according to regional mailing lists.

Now that the Agriculture offices are located in the west end of Ottawa, contact between the Information Division and the media is mostly confined to telephone. For ten years, however, the Division has paid for Ottawa Press Club memberships for the Director and for the News Chief. They find it useful as a point of contact with press people. No written directives exist, but departmental officials are encouraged to develop direct contacts with the media.

The News Section's clipping service scans 50-60 dailies, 30 weeklies and all farm publications. Clips are mounted, reproduced and sent daily to all key officials. The same staff handles data collection and retrieval. Information officers say the system works so well that they turn to other sources only in the case of unusual research projects. More often, other agencies come to Agriculture for help.

The Information Division is not responsible for replies to parliamentary questions (this is a matter for the Minister's staff) but it does prepare background papers when new legislation is being put before Parliament.

Audio-Visual Production

We have discussed Agriculture's audio-visual capability at considerable length in the audio-visual section of Paper IX. Here, we would repeat that, outside the CBC and the NFB, Agriculture's hardware for the production of radio and television communication is so extensive that it is unique in the Federal Government. The point is that the imagination and initiative demonstrated by Agriculture in the building-up of this elaborate facility, has never been matched by any sort of permanent policy to govern its use, its growth, or its long-term relationship to the information objectives of the Department. The Task Force also believes that a study should be made to determine the extent to which the audio-visual personnel and facilities of the

Department of Agriculture should be transferred to Information Canada for the benefit of the government information services as a whole.

Publications

Publications are a giant operation in Agriculture: Each year the Information Division distributes nearly 14 million publications of one sort or another.

Most of these go to prepared mailing lists, but the Division also receives about 350 individual requests each day, or an average of 95,000 a year. In one instance, a single television programme inspired 30,000 separate requests for publications. A number of publications are also sold through the Queen's Printer.

The Division itself produces regular periodicals and it is also responsible for putting together the Department's annual report. Other publications originate elsewhere in the Department, but the Division is responsible for their editing and production. Most of these (85 per cent) come from the Scientific Information Section of the Research Branch. The balance comes from the Consumer and Markets Information Sections of the Marketing Branch, and from the Economics Division of the Administration Branch.

Programme planning and publications production is highly organized and efficient. Work flows through the Editorial Section which, together with the production-editing group and the graphic designers, determine form, content and layout. Once given final approval by the Director, or by the Head of the Publications Section, the manuscript moves on to the in-house printing unit or, occasionally, to the Queen's Printer. Nearly all the work, however, is done in the Department. Only particularly difficult jobs go to the Queen's Printer. In this connection, there appears to be an anomaly: although the Department pays the Queen's Printer and outside firms for work done, the Information Division, which handles a large volume of printing for the entire Department, receives payment for only part of production costs.

Some years ago, the Department set up a duplicating unit to speed the process of printing market reports. This unit operates under the Queen's Printer's direction, and deals with deadline emergencies. Regional offices have mimeograph services, and all regional requests for further service come to the Information Division.

The Administrative Section acts as shipping and distribution agent for the Division. Regional offices handle a certain amount of distribution as well, and provide special services to farmers and "agri-businessmen" who desire detailed information.

Standards of graphic design and typography are not yet as high as they should be. The Division has recently developed a new symbol, a tractor superimposed on a Canadian flag. It appears on newly-designed letterhead and it is due to be incorporated into publications. An evaluation team of three professional designers made a number of specific criticisms of both symbol and letterhead. They agreed that the letterhead itself is quite well-designed, but they pointed out a conflict between the two symbols used on it (the flag and tractor, and the Canadian Coat of Arms). They further commented that a tractor is not a good representative symbol of Canadian agriculture. Nor did they agree with defacing the flag. They suggested the Department develop a simpler, more forceful symbol. They also remarked that the general visual quality of Agriculture's publications was only fair and felt that much of the work reflected a lack of design concept and a lack of concern for design detail. They made the following suggestions:

1. The Information Division should show greater concern for standardization of formats.
2. Greater discipline should be shown in the details of layout, typography and use of visuals.
3. Consideration should be given to the use of fewer type faces in an effort to control and improve typographic work and establish a stronger departmental image.
4. More thoughtful consideration should be given to design in relation to the message to be conveyed and a simpler more positive approach should be adopted in this respect.
5. Steps should be taken to identify the Department in a more consistent manner.

Exhibits and Displays

Agriculture sponsors numerous exhibits and displays. During the fiscal year 1967-68, the Information Division had exhibits at 38 fairs. These were aimed primarily at informing the farming communities, extension workers, agribusiness, industry, and both rural and urban publics. In 1968-69, the Division's exhibition budget was \$50,000, allocated under the audio-visuals programme.

In former years the Visuals Section itself constructed entire exhibitions but this task, in line with recommendations in the Glassco Report has been assumed by the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission, and occasionally by private firms that the Commission has engaged. The Division is responsible now only for concept and design development. It continues, however, to produce its own smaller displays, and sometimes material for other depart-

ments, at short notice and low cost.

The internal machinery for producing exhibitions runs smoothly, and a review of exhibitions over the past 17 years indicated that significant improvements have been made in their design, balance and general attractiveness. There is, however, still room for improvement. Specifically, the Information Division and the Exhibition Commission should together develop a consistent set of design principles for exhibitions and displays. Expenditures should be controlled by those responsible for audio-visuals and not by departmental administrators. The operative principle should be "Good design at lower cost" rather than "lower cost regardless of design."

Still Photography

Agriculture maintains a library of some 13,000 photos on agriculture and related subjects. Its stock increases by about 1,200 photos each year and they are supplied by the photographic group, which consists of a supervisor and two photographers. The library is catalogued by the AGDEX system, developed at Iowa State University. There is, however, no departmental catalogue listing all the photo collections within the Department. There are, for example, photo collections in the research stations and regional offices. Most of the library's collection is not available from, nor recorded by, the NFB Still Photo Library, although the Division does use the NFB's services for bulk orders of prints. In 1968-69, the operating costs of the photo services amounted to about \$10,000. Financial allotments and projected costs are reviewed annually by the Information Director and his officers.

Photographic policy is conducted on an *ad hoc* basis and there is no formal schedule of projects. Instead, photographs are taken in answer to enquiries, to complement publications, to assist other government departments, to complement programme activities (e.g. conferences and seminars) and, generally, whenever the need arises. When the Visual Unit head cannot supply a photo, he records the order and, the following March, budgets for additional photographs. Most orders, however, are filled at short notice from the collection. Both the Visual Unit head and the Director of Information carry cameras on trips to collect random shots.

There is really no adequate way to evaluate the usefulness of the collection, nor to determine whether any photo planning takes place in relation to the total information programme. Professional standards appear to be adequate, but not high.

Advertising

The Department uses advertising only in a limited manner. During 1968-69 it spent about \$160,000 on advertising, chiefly on campaigns aimed at promoting the meat-grading programme and at explaining pesticide control procedures, and explaining national dairy policies and programmes. The Information Director and the Chief of the News Section are responsible for briefing the advertising agency, receiving agency proposals and approving final programmes.

There are several reasons why the Department advertises so little. For one thing, it finds it relatively easy to gain large blocks of air time on both private and CBC outlets. Thus it considers there is little need to advertise extensively on radio and television. Similarly, extensive use of materials in the farm press means that it gets a good deal of free newspaper coverage. An examination of issues of the *Country Guide* and the *Free Press Weekly* might give a reader the impression that close to half of their total copy comes from hand outs. Moreover, the services of the Department's advertising agency have not been uniformly good. (This may result from the government awarding of advertising contracts on a basis other than merit.) For its part, however, the Department does not appear to use the agency's services very effectively. The Director writes most of the copy himself, and the agency functions only as a forwarder of materials to the printer. The Department should take full advantage of the services of a qualified agency, selected in consultation with the independent advertising board that the Task Force recommends be established in association with Information Canada.

Internal Programme Evaluation

The Information Director continually assesses public attitudes and advises management on potential and actual public reaction to the Department policies, programmes, activities and services. But since policy-level contact between management and the Information Division is frequently only marginal, the Director has no clear objectives against which to assess his programmes.

The Division makes little attempt to evaluate the impact of individual services at either the farm or the consumer level. There is a programme analyst on staff, but his duties are chiefly confined to evaluating the need for publications and determining the quantities to be published. Few, if any, reliable surveys have been made, and apart from occasional contacts between farmers and Information Division staff,

officers have little opportunity to determine the real effect of their activities.

The Division relies mainly on the attitude of the media, particularly on the opinions of editors of farm and urban publications, and the programme directors of radio and television stations. Each year, a study is conducted in one or two provinces to determine the extent to which radio and television materials have been used. The 1967 study indicated that television films were being used up to three times on single stations, and achieved coverage of over 100 per cent on available stations. Each year, radio stations are canvassed for their opinions of the Department's material. There is, as we have noted, some reason for questioning the validity of this sort of feed-back.

It is true that as much as half of the content of some farm publications consists of re-written material, but the urban press remains generally unresponsive to the Department's efforts. It appears that further study should be given to turning out material for urban papers – particularly in view of the expanding rôle of the urban media in the lives of both consumers and farmers.

The Director applies a rough "cost benefit" appraisal to many projects. For example, a 1968 television programme on pesticide control was estimated to have cost \$9,000: it was used on television time which usually sells for half a million dollars. Similarly, a French-language television clip on Christmas poultry drew requests for more than 30,000 publications, and efforts are being made to determine the programme's effect on poultry sales.

The Farm Credit Corporation

The Farm Credit Corporation, which administers the Farm Credit Act of 1959 and the Farm Machinery Syndicates Credit Act of 1964, is a Crown Corporation reporting to the Minister of Agriculture. It has seven field branches, 127 field offices and includes 31 District Supervisors and 234 Credit Advisers.

A large Advisory Committee, consisting of farm leaders, helps the FCC to form policies. These are tested by discussions at major farm meetings. At the provincial level, appeal boards allow groups of farmers to judge difficult credit cases. Only twice has the FCC headquarters staff reversed the judgment of appeal boards.

The Corporation has two major publics: first, the farm operators, to whom its services are directed; and second, the urban residents to whom the FCC interprets policies and legislation.

The FCC has a reputation for taking prompt and vigorous action on enquiries, and farmers appear to respect it rather more than they do other federal agencies.

The FCC Chairman is responsible for establishing the Corporation's public information policy, which is outlined in Chapter I of the FCC Manual on Farm Services. A Public Relations Officer, who reports directly to the Chairman, co-ordinates information procedures and evaluates programmes. He is rarely involved directly with the Information Division, but the Division provides support services in printing and distributing press releases, radio and television shorts and other informational material. Co-operation is good. The Public Relations Director also answers inquiries from the public, and apparently finds no problem in dealing with language and regional differences.

The Chairman sums up his philosophy of public information in this way:

"The responsibility of informing the public concerning government programmes . . . must rest primarily with those persons responsible for policy development and programme implementation. This involves everyone from senior policy officers at Head Office to our Administrative staff in our Branch Offices, our District Supervisors and our local Credit Advisers."

"Within this framework the rôle of the information or public relations officer becomes one of planning and co-ordinating publicity and public relations activities in a manner which will best identify the policies and procedures of the Corporation with the interests of Canadian farmers and earn the understanding and acceptance of the public at large."

"He will devise and encourage ways of disseminating information and improving the image of the Corporation, providing technical guidance and assistance in all publicity programmes; assess the effectiveness of our information service and evaluate public attitudes towards our publicity and public relations activities."

"Of particular importance is his rôle in ensuring that those responsible for developing and implementing programmes at all levels appreciate and understand the most effective way of communicating with the farm and general public, that they recognize that such communication is their responsibility and that this responsibility cannot be sloughed off as an activity of information officers in which they are not concerned."

"The information officer should also ensure that the feedback relating to the effectiveness and acceptance of the policies is considered in the development and refinement of new programmes."

During 1968-69, the cost of the FCC's Public Relations Services was about \$40,000, though this does not include credit advisory services. Budgeting is done by a committee chaired by the FCC Comptroller of which the PR Officer is a member. Cost-estimating, expenditure and re-allocation responsibility are vested in the PR Officer.

The actual information policy is spelled out as follows:

- a) to inform the farming public of the services available to them from the FCC;
- b) to gain the confidence of other individuals, agencies and organizations serving the farming public; and
- c) to establish close liaison and co-operation with provincial and other agricultural extension workers and with radio, television and newspaper media within their field area.

These objectives might appear to be as vague as those of Agriculture itself, but in practice the FCC has been able to make an impact on the farming community in specific areas.

Policy is implemented chiefly by means of:

Literature: the booklet, "Credit for Profit" and the leaflet, "Farm Machinery Syndicate Loans" distributed through local banks and county and municipal offices.

Liaison: between field branch personnel, chiefly Credit Advisers, with other agencies, chiefly provincial and other agricultural extension workers.

Group Discussions: among branch officers and credit advisers and farm operators, through farmers' organizations, co-operatives and credit unions.

Media Relations: by branch officers and credit advisers who are encouraged to establish and maintain contact with radio, television and newspaper media within their field areas and to participate in interviews and panel discussions.

Advertising: on a modest scale in farm publications, to encourage farm operators to complete coupons in the FCC's publications and to inform farm operators of changes in acts and regulations.

Exhibits: a 20-foot exhibit constructed several years ago by the Exhibition Commission is available for display at major agricultural exhibitions.

TV and Radio Shorts: which have been produced and distributed by Agriculture's Information Division on behalf of the FCC.

There is little or no change in the Public Information Programme from year to year. It appears to have some minor problems: the urban public tends to identify the FCC as a private sector loan organization rather than as a federal agency. And, although there are some regional organs for field branch employees, the FCC has no corporate house organ. Such a publication might serve to provide environmental

information and guidance on Public Information matters; to maintain morale of head office and field staff; to provide a unifying link between the two; and generally to increase the effectiveness of the FCC's operations and information programmes.

The Recon Study

Using a limited sample of 300 families, Recon Research Consultants Ltd., of Toronto, examined case studies in the flow of information from government to public in Alberta, Ontario and Quebec; specifically, in the regions of Red Deer and Fort Saskatchewan, Sarnia and Cornwall, Sherbrooke and Quebec City. Besides conducting interviews, the research team reviewed queries and replies channelled through the Information Division in Ottawa, and local offices of the Farm Credit Corporation. They also telephoned FCC field offices to check the effectiveness of the field officer's on-the-spot replies and they sent sample enquiries to selected field offices to find out how long it took to get a reply, and how good the reply was.

These are the results of the survey:

Knowledge of Arda

Two-thirds of farmers had heard of ARDA. Twenty-nine per cent correctly identified it as an assistance programme for improvement and rehabilitation.

Knowledge of the FCC and its programmes

Sixty per cent of farmers interviewed had heard of the FCC. But recognition was much higher among English-speaking farmers (69 per cent) than among French-speaking (46 per cent). In Red Deer, 82 per cent of farmers knew of the Corporation, in Sherbrooke, 44 per cent.

Fifty-six per cent of farmers had some knowledge of the FCC standard loan, but only 20 per cent could answer specific questions about it. Thirty-two per cent knew something of the package-deal loan – ranging from 66 per cent at Red Deer to only 14 per cent at Cornwall. Only two per cent correctly identified the age limits, and only five per cent knew the amount of the maximum possible loan under the programme. Asked where they should apply for these loans, 28 per cent said the FCC. This broke down into 40 per cent of English-speaking farmers and eight per cent of French-speaking, and ranged from 66 per cent at Red Deer to four per cent at Quebec City. Asked to identify the most effective

source of farming information, 48 per cent of farmers cited provincial "ag-reps". Significantly, 70 per cent of French-speaking farmers cited the provincial representative. Farm papers and magazines were cited by 32 per cent of farmers, while 21 per cent relied on their own experience, and another 20 per cent on friends.

FCC Advertisement

Thirty-four per cent of farmers remember seeing the FCC's advertisement. The highest level of recall was in Quebec City – 44 per cent. The lowest was 20 per cent, in Sherbrooke and Cornwall. Eighteen per cent in the Fort Saskatchewan area recalled seeing the ad in the *Free Press Weekly*. But only 56 per cent of farmers knew enough about the FCC to be able to enquire for details, and the French-speaking farmer appears to be particularly disadvantaged. In this connection, the Recon team suggested that Agriculture and the FCC could do a good deal more in the way of increasing the flow of information from government to farmer. Specifically they suggested paid television advertising of specific points of the FCC programme.

Knowledge and Opinions of Farm Credit

The team's findings in this area reflected the general level of knowledge about the FCC itself. It is significant that positive comments (78 per cent) outnumbered negative comments (29 per cent). Asked to identify credit facilities available to the farmer, 34 per cent of respondents mentioned the FCC, and another 13 per cent noted the Federal Government. Forty-one per cent mentioned banks and 19 per cent specifically noted farm improvement loans. Thirteen per cent mentioned the provincial government.

Awareness of the FCC as an instrument of credit was highest at Red Deer (68 per cent) and at Sarnia (60 per cent). In Sherbrooke, only four per cent knew of it. Red Deer and Sarnia were also highly aware of bank credit (70 per cent) and (68 per cent).

English-speaking farmers were much more aware of a credit facilities than were French-speaking farmers: 48 per cent of English-speaking farmers mentioned the FCC, in contrast to 11 per cent of French-speaking farmers. Again 85 per cent of English-speaking farmers mentioned bank credit but only 17 per cent of French-speaking farmers.

Across the board, those interviewed identified the principal sources of information on farm credit as, the bank manager (49 per cent), provincial agricultural representa-

tative (33 per cent), and the FCC Credit Adviser (20 per cent). The bank manager was first choice at Red Deer (70 per cent), Fort Saskatchewan (74 per cent) and Sarnia (76 per cent) followed by the Credit Adviser (35 per cent, 28 per cent, 28 per cent) and the provincial agricultural representative (14 per cent, six per cent, 18 per cent). At Cornwall, Sherbrooke and Quebec the preferred source was the provincial agricultural representative (52 per cent, 40 per cent, 64 per cent) followed by the bank manager (30 per cent, 22 per cent, 14 per cent) and by the FCC Credit Adviser (six per cent, two per cent, 22 per cent). The variations appear to reflect language differences, and the availability of low-cost provincial loans.

The highest percentage (13 per cent) knew of FCC credit facilities by word of mouth, through "friends, relatives and other farmers." Only two per cent mentioned the *Farm Letter* as a source of information.

Sixty per cent of respondents were aware of provincial farm-loan programmes. Affirmative answers were highest in Quebec (Sherbrooke 86 per cent and Quebec 92 per cent). Given a choice between approaching federal and provincial authorities for farm credit, 40 per cent preferred provincial. Twelve per cent preferred the bank manager to any government adviser. The reasons given for preferring provincial sources were that the local representative is either "closer" or "knows the situation better" (16 per cent). Seventeen per cent of French farmers, but only six per cent overall, mentioned cheaper provincial loan rates.

Fourteen per cent overall – but 30 per cent of farmers in Red Deer – were aware only of the Federal Government as a provider of farm credit. In conclusion, eight per cent of the farmers always discussed money matters with their bankers.

Seventy-nine per cent of farmers recalled receiving the *Farm Letter*. Twenty-seven per cent read it often, while 29 per cent read it seldom or never. In the prosperous areas of Sarnia and Red Deer, 80 per cent read government publications compared with only 40 per cent in poorer districts. Most readers found them clearly written and informative, although French-speaking farmers did not find them as easy to understand as English-speaking farmers.

Fifty-two per cent of respondents felt that the Federal Government should maintain approximately its present level of spending on agricultural publications. The others were equally divided between those who wished to see more spending and those who would have preferred less. The most popular publications cited appear to be those on fertilizers (nine per cent), seed and grain (six per cent), sprays (five per cent) and prices and markets (four per cent). Three

times as many English-speaking farmers (33 per cent) use these publications as French-speaking ones.

Sixty-one per cent of farmers were aware of the Federal Retraining Programme. Knowledge varied from 80 per cent in the Cornwall area to 40 per cent in the Sherbrooke area. One-third of farmers knew some details of the OTA programme ranging from 60 per cent in the Cornwall area to 16 per cent in the Sherbrooke area.

Twenty-five per cent of farmers were aware of the government mobility programmes. The number ranged from a low of 12 per cent in Sherbrooke to a high of 42 per cent in Red Deer. Only 13 per cent of French-speaking farmers were aware of the programme.

Conclusions and Recommendations

As our examination indicates, the information programmes of the Department of Agriculture are generally thorough and, in most cases, reasonably effective. Even so, the following criticisms seem to apply:

1. The Department has no Information Policy nor a full set of working objectives for the Information Division. Information services have grown up to meet immediate needs and have not been effectively co-ordinated under a single policy.
2. The Department does not regard the Information Division as a source of information relevant to the making of policy, but merely as a means of publicizing firm policies and programmes.
3. Clear principles related to the responsibility and authority of information services and of senior personnel have not been developed.
4. There does not seem to have been any attempt to develop a long-range information programme for the Department, aimed at assisting the Department to achieve its long-run policy objectives.
5. There is little indication of a serious effort to co-ordinate agricultural information with information programmes in other federal departments having similar objectives and overlapping policies (Regional Developments; Industry, Trade and Commerce; etc.).
6. There is little indication of effort to co-ordinate formally the federal information programmes with the extension, education and information efforts of provincial departments of agriculture.

In considering the application of information policies in the Department of Agriculture, the Federal Government should assess the relative scope and level of its operations in relation to other departments and agencies, the possibility of

making greater use of private companies in the production of information material, and the possible allocation of responsibilities between departments and central agencies. The purpose of this review would be to find ways to integrate some of the information capability of the Department of Agriculture, one of the largest in the government, with other available information services, and to achieve a rationalization of personnel funds, and facilities:

We recommend that:

1. The Information Division of the Department of Agriculture be directly involved in the review of that Department's policies.
2. The Information Division develop public affairs policies for consideration by departmental authorities consistent with policies referred to in (1) and in keeping with the government's overall information policy.
3. The Information Division ensure its specific programmes are designed to achieve the Department's public affairs policy, and be responsible for co-ordinating all the Department's public information programmes.
4. The Information Division – in defining its objectives and activities related to such areas as national agriculture policies, federal programmes and the transfer of regional information – take into account the need for improved co-ordinating procedures in federal and provincial information services.
5. The Information Division prepare a handbook of public information for all departmental staff and other government extension workers. The handbook should set out the departmental information objectives and should be made available to interested provincial departments and the public.
6. Programmes and activities of the Information Division be constantly reviewed, and impartially evaluated, with the assistance of Information Canada, to ensure that they meet the objectives mentioned in (1), (2) and (3) and to rationalize departmental staff establishments in terms of the services which may be made available in Information Canada.
7. In keeping with the objectives of personnel policies outlined in Paper VIII, measures be introduced to improve staff development, including training and morale.

8. To improve the quality of its work, the Information Division have access to specialists in economics, sociology and other fields of special knowledge.

9. The Information Division assume greater responsibility in keeping departmental staff abreast of public responses to its policies and activities, and aware of current developments in the Department.

10. The recommendations concerning design and departmental identification stipulated in Paper IX be applied in this Department.

11. To ensure the fullest and most economical use of the Department of Agriculture's photo and exhibits resources, a departmental policy in these fields be laid down in line with recommendations on these subjects in the previous Paper.

12. The Department of Agriculture cease serving other departments in the audio-visual and exhibits fields as soon as an alternative common facility is available to all departments.

The Queen's Printer

Introduction

Nowhere in official Ottawa are the corridors more tortuous and reality more elusive than at the Queen's Printer. Nor is there any branch of government which, at least over the last ten years, has been studied so intensively, by so many people, to so little avail. To prevent this report from developing along the lines of a Kafka novel, or a Robbe-Grillet filmscript, we will attempt to sort out some key points at the beginning:

– For many years, the agency has been known by two titles “The Queen's Printer” (commonly used to refer both to its operations as a whole and to its Deputy Minister in particular) and, “The Department of Public Printing and Stationery”. In fact, both are misnomers. As the Glasse Report suggested, a more accurate name, in view of the agency's responsibilities, is “The Queen's Publisher”. Even so, for the purposes of this chapter, we shall call it “The Queen's Printer”.

– But the plot – or at least the title – thickens. For the name “Queen's Printer” is often used to refer to the Canadian Government Printing Bureau as well. In fact this is a quite

separate operation, essentially a support service which provides central printing facilities to government. In our terms, "The Queen's Printer" means government as publisher, the branch which has the complex responsibilities of co-ordinating, editing, selling and promoting government publications, rather than that of simply printing them.

— As it is presently constituted, however, the Queen's Printer neither initiates publishing policy, nor decides which books to produce. Individual departments develop their own publications programmes and, in effect, use the Queen's Printers' services to implement the mechanics of publishing.

Just before the Task Force began its research, the Queen's Printer entered a new state of flux: On July 12, 1968 it was announced that it would be merged, together with the Canadian Government Printing Bureau, into the new Department of Supply and Services. (As an interim measure, the Queen's Printer was immediately transferred to the then Department of Defence Production). In the opinion of the Task Force, this was an error. The Department of Supply and Services has been established to provide support services to government. The Queen's Printer is a public information service.

As its nostalgic if seemingly anachronistic name suggests, the Queen's Printer has been around for a long time; indeed the agency celebrated a centennial of sorts this year. On June 22, 1869 by Act of Parliament, the first Queen's Printer was appointed, to be responsible for awarding all printing and binding contracts, and for the supervision of all government printing. In 1886, with the establishment of the Department of Public Printing and Stationery, government began to do most of its own printing, and became responsible also for the purchase and distribution of all government stationery supplies. As the Secretary of State of the day, Sir Joseph Adolphe Chapleau, explained the move:

"Government always needs printing and stationery. In this connection, government is essentially a consumer and thus it must try to obtain the best articles at the best possible price — this is the purpose of the proposed law."

Except for a brief interlude between 1921 and 1926, when it reported to the Minister of Labour, the Queen's Printer remained the responsibility of the Secretary of State. By the nineteen-fifties, the size and scope of the Queen's Printer operations had led to incessant criticism from inside and outside government, and in the early nineteen-sixties it was examined in microscopic detail by the Glassco Commission. This Report's key recommendation was that the printing and publishing functions of the Department be separated, that, "The Printing Bureau be operated as a separate industrial

activity under the authority of the Director and Superintendent of Printing" and that,

"A new office, with the title of Queen's Publisher, be created with the responsibility for publishing all books and publications issued by order of either or both Houses of Parliament, or by any department of the Government, and with no responsibility for operating the Printing Bureau."

As a first step towards reorganization, the Queen's Printer was transferred briefly to the new Department of Industry. In February 1964, more reorganization took place: the Queen's Printer was restructured as a central government publishing establishment, responsible also for procuring print for books and publications, and returned to the Secretary of State. The Minister of Defence Production became responsible for the Canadian Government Printing Bureau, and for government stationery supplies.

Though the way seemed clear for a fresh approach, it did not materialize. In 1966, a report on the Queen's Printer submitted to the Secretary of State remarked ruefully:

"Not only has the government subjected the Queen's Printer to a series of upsetting changes of department, Minister and function over the last few years, but for some time now the government has not reflected on the publishing rôle of the Queen's Printer, nor clearly established its policy."

In July 1968, government made yet another attempt to make sense out of the Queen's Printer: the Prime Minister announced the formation of the Department of Supply and Services, and announced also that the Queen's Printer would be merged with the Printing Bureau. At the same time, a Task Force of federal officials, under the jurisdiction of the Treasury Board, was appointed to study how this integration would be effected.

This Task Force reported on December 6, 1968. On December 12, the Report was approved and the Queen's Printer and the Printing Bureau became part of the new Department. Specifically:

The Queen's Printer and the Printing Bureau were incorporated into a Printing and Publishing Division within the Department of Supply and Services.

The Purchasing Division of the Queen's Printer was absorbed into the General Purchasing Branch of the Department of Supply and Services.

A Printing and Publishing Adviser responsible to the Deputy Minister (Supply) was appointed to provide policy, planning and control support for the Printing and Publishing functions.

Unlike the other departments we have studied in this chapter, the Queen's Printer has no information division as

such. It is rather a vast information service in itself. As publisher to the Canadian Government, it provides professional and technical services to Parliament, and to federal departments and agencies in procuring and scheduling, planning and editing, designing and estimating, and pricing and distributing official publications. Despite the complexity of these operations, the Queen's Printer's functions can be fairly easily divided under the following headings:

Administration

An arbitrary category comprising those areas concerned with programme planning and development, personnel and financial management.

Print Procurement

A technical division established to apply efficient methods, systems and procedures for processing requests for publishing, purchasing print and print components, priority scheduling, classifying and cataloguing, pricing, protecting Crown Copyright, controlling progress of work and costs, and for keeping inventory records of official publications.

Publishing Production

This Division is responsible for applying economical and effective art and business techniques to the planning, print designing, production and copy editing, cost-time estimating, print specifications and quality control of government publications.

Sales Promotion and Distribution

These divisions are responsible for the sale and free distribution of government publications in Canada and abroad, and for the sale of the publications of international organizations in Canada. They also look after marketing and advertising, and operate central mailing and shipping services. Their bailiwick includes as well six retail bookshops in cities across Canada.

Because the Queen's Printer is primarily a publisher, we shall study its operations in relation to those of a normal publishing house. Like many publishers, the Queen's Printer maintains its own plant, – the Canadian Government Printing Bureau – and sometimes contracts a large proportion of its work to private firms. It maintains essentially the same facilities as commercial houses: administration, sales, stor-

age, mailing, financial management, advertising, promotion and distribution.

So far then, the Queen's Printer functions much as any publisher. Now, the comparison begins to break down. In commercial publishing houses, editors are on staff – or at least on contract – and authors are members of the public. With the Queen's Printer, however, both authors and editors are on the establishments of other government departments. Private publishing houses buy manuscripts from authors, turn them into books and, hopefully, sell them at a profit. Not so the Queen's Printer. It not only pays nothing for its manuscripts, it charges the author-department the major cost of producing them in published form. Nor, unlike commercial publishing houses, does the Queen's Printer have any authority to improve the quality or the language of its manuscripts. According to the "Policy and Guide on Canadian Government Publishing" issued by the Treasury Board in April 1967, "originating departments are responsible for the final text of their publications in the original language and in the translation." Thus, in relation to the departments, the Queen's Printer functions as what is known in the book trade as a "vanity publisher".

Vanity publishers are rarely concerned with distribution and sales. This is up to the author, and he is usually satisfied to have a few hundred copies to give to friends and to his high-school English teacher. But, the Queen's Printer, once the work is printed, stops acting as a vanity publisher. He decides how many copies may be sold through the agency's commercial outlets, adds that number to the press run, attaches a per-copy retail price, sells his copies, and then, loaded with revenue, he runs smugly to the Receiver General to be congratulated for his financial astuteness. All the author-department gets is the thrill of authorship, and such free copies as it is allowed for public relations purposes.

Perhaps this is over-simplified. But perhaps it also serves to illuminate the government's confused and inconsistent rôle as publisher. As a result of the convoluted internal structure of the organization, the confusions and inconsistencies multiply. For within the publishing operation, there is little or no communication, internally or externally, vertically or horizontally. There are no established lines of reporting and no staff meetings. Not only is senior management isolated from one another; but also everyone is sealed off in what appear to be communication-proof cells. The Production Branch ignores its relations with its Department-clientele and with its printer-contractors. ISOS throughout the public service have commented that the printing establishment seems to be primarily concerned with impeding the departments

from obtaining the services for which the departments are paying. As for the outside contractors, there is not so much as a simple leaflet available to explain contract procedures to firms interested in bidding for government printing jobs.

The publishing operation is sales-oriented. While this is commendable enough, it means that the Queen's Printer has little in common with departmental information programmes, or with the efforts of the Federal Government to communicate with the people of Canada. Thus many urgently needed publications, which have indeed been approved in principle, float like balloons over Ottawa, looking for some agency or department to accept the responsibility for writing them and for paying for their production. There is confusion even over existing publications. A case in point: the function of co-ordinating and issuing "The Organization of the Government of Canada" – a reference work compiled from material originating in departments throughout government – has so far fallen to the publishing analyst at the Queen's Printer, because the job came within no other department's terms of reference. Recently, it was recommended that this manual become the responsibility of the Treasury Board Secretariat. But in fact the Treasury Board has not the design, editorial or printing capacity to do the job.

Even so relatively routine a matter as mailing lists is curiously chaotic. Although the Distribution Services of the Queen's Printer maintains lists for 81 departments and agencies, no attempt has ever been made to co-ordinate them.

All this points towards the need for a centralized information service and indeed, the Glassco Commission recommended that the Queen's Printer develop as a central co-ordinator of government information services. From the point of view of distribution equipment and the presence of personnel who are already geared to handling huge mailings, such a system would have its advantages. But establishing such an agency would require a complete change in the Queen's Printer's administration, as well as changes in management personnel.

At about the time the Glassco Commission reported, the wind of change began to blow from another direction: modern methods of communication began to make some of the Queen's Printer's functions obsolete. While publishing and printing remain firmly under its jurisdiction, government departments can explore other methods of communication (films, radio, tv) more or less at will. If the changeover to new techniques is to be made without massive duplication of cost and effort, government will have to establish a central agency with technical expertise and central

facilities. There is no reason why such an agency could not be happily and efficiently harnessed to the publishing function.

Although the Queen's Printer maintains a commercial sales operation through its mail-order service and retail outlets, it is not really a commercial venture. Government publications are printed and distributed to satisfy the needs of Parliament and to assist in the implementation of governmental programmes. Certain of its publications are for sole use of departments and agencies, others are aimed principally at the public.

Under the Public Printing and Stationery Act of 1952, the Queen's Printer has a statutory obligation to print and publish the *Statutes of Canada*, the *Canada Gazette* and all such official, departmental and other reports as are deemed necessary. For these services, the departments pay what is termed a "fixed cost". The Treasury Board's Policy and Guide on Government Publishing defines "fixed cost" as covering the following areas: Preparation of text; artwork; print design; preparation of negatives and plates; typesetting; engraving; and make-up and make-ready.

The Queen's Printer also offers departments "free services" in terms of general publishing expertise and advice. Specifically, these services include:

The Sales Promotion Division, responsible for promoting the sale of government publications, chiefly through advertising and displays at book fairs. The Division employs three persons classified as Information Officers.

The Distribution Unit and the Bookshops, together with the Sales Promotion Division, inform the public on government publications. These units also pass enquiries on to individual departments.

Mailing Lists. The Queen's Printer maintains a mailing list for 81 departments and agencies, and distributes publications on a non-payment basis. If we extract the cost of publishing the *Statutes of Canada* and the *Canada Gazette* from the total cost of the Queen's Printer's operation, and subtract also the revenue recovered from such "commercial" operations as sales of publications, we arrive at the total cost of providing "free services" to the departments plus the real cost of the publications sold. Here, then, is a summary of these costs for 1968-69:

Summary of Costs of Publications sold plus provision of "free services" to departments	
	1968/69 Budget
Total Cost of QP operation	\$4,252,200
Less cost of <i>Canada Gazette</i> and <i>Statutes</i>	290,000

	3,962,200
Less sales of publications, etc.	2,545,000
Direct Cost	1,417,200
Add cost of major services not included in departments' appropriations	1,756,000
<i>Cost of Publications sold plus provision of free services to departments</i>	\$3,173,200

In terms of the "free services", the Chief of the Sales Promotion Division has estimated the salary and advertising costs as follows:

Cost of "Public Information Services"		
Information Services Division	1968/69	Budget
Salary	\$	28,364
Cost of Advertising		117,000
		145,364
<i>Other Sales Promotion Staff: Salary</i>		4,341
<i>Distribution Services: Salary</i>		46,864
<i>Retail Bookshops: Salary</i>		34,610
Salaries Total		114,179
Cost of Advertising Total		117,000

In addition, part of the cost of selling publications is included in the operations of the mail order room and the bookshops. Management reports by Queen's Printer financial staff indicate that these operations make a profit before any distribution and sales promotion costs are applied. For 1968-69, for example, the management reports run as follows:

	Mail order	Bookshops
Sales	\$1,440,700	\$ 894,300
Cost of Sales	574,623	353,707
	866,077	540,593
Operating Costs	342,933	223,352
Net Profit	523,144	317,421
Estimate of Cost of rent, etc.	44,532	135,468
Net revenue before adjustments of costs of sales	478,612	181,773

This looks like a healthy profit, but the figures are misleading. If we assume that, by and large, stocks of publications remain relatively constant over the years and, similarly, that payments in advance for publications are more

or less the same at the end of each year, it becomes clear that the figures denoted as "Printing, etc. for sale" in the Queen's Printer estimates and in the Public Accounts are a more reliable estimate of the true cost of sales than the management accounts indicate. On the basis of the Public Accounts figures, we arrive at the following result:

	Mail order	Bookshops
Cost of sales (per public Accounts)	\$1,326,522	\$ 821,573
Original cost of sales (per management account)	574,623	353,707
Additional cost of sales	571,899	467,866
Adjusted revenue	(273,287) loss	(286,093) loss

On the basis of these figures it is evident that the margin between sales and cost of sales is — to put it mildly — insufficient to pay for the direct costs of the bookshops and mail order room. The additional costs of distribution and sales promotion will increase the losses still further.

Thus it is obvious that if the Queen's Printer intends to make the sale of publications more or less self-supporting, something will have to be done about the cost of its publications. The trouble is that as matters now stand the reports prepared by the Financial Division are not sufficiently detailed to allow management to fully control the cost of publications, particularly in relation to selling price.

To put it bluntly: before publication costs can be controlled, it is necessary to know exactly what they amount to, and when they arise. Treasury Board has ruled that the retail selling price must be three times the variable cost of the publication. Therefore, when the selling price is established, the cost of sales figures should be calculated at one-third of that amount, and be reflected on the purchase invoice for the publication. Any difference between the actual costs and the cost of sales figures must show up as a variance of buying and must appear in the monthly management statements.

In order to control the bulk stock of publications, a financial control account must be established, again using the cost-of-sales figures calculated on the basis of the selling price. All issues and receipts must be entered into this account. When sales are made to departments, the gross sales figures and the discount allowed must be indicated, in

order to show the relationship between the cost of sales and the sales figures.

We note also that in September 1966, the Management Analysis Division of the Public Service Commission surveyed the financial activities of the Publications Section of the Queen's Printer. One of their recommendations was that "approval should be sought from Treasury Board to change the method of financing the operations of the Department from the present appropriation system to the working capital advance method." Their reasoning was that, because the Queen's Printer is engaged in a commercial buying and selling operation, it is ideally suited to use the working capital method — which permits the use of industrial-type accounting whereby the efficiency of the operation can be measured and control can be maintained over the purchase of stock for sale. The Public Service evaluator who studied the Queen's Printer's financial operations for the Task Force fully agrees with this recommendation, and suggests that Treasury Board again be prevailed upon to change the system.

Personnel

The Queen's Printer has a total of 272 positions on its establishment divided as follows:

Office of the Queen's Printer 6, Executive Assistant 1, Special Projects 2, Research and Development 2, *Canada Gazette* 7, *Statutes of Canada* 4, Administration and Personnel Services 12, Financial Services 19, Print Procurement 21, Production 25, Purchasing 10, Sales Promotion 57, Distribution 106.

Although there is no Information Division as such, 12 of the 272 positions are classified as Information Service Officers (ISOs), spread throughout three units: *Statutes of Canada* 4 ISOs, *Canada Gazette* 5 ISOs, Sales Promotion 3 ISOs.

From a career point of view these officers are badly located, and since the functions they perform (especially in the *Canada Gazette* and *Statutes* Divisions) are unique in government, there is doubt whether they should be classified as ISOs at all.

In any event, because they are completely isolated from exposure to the full range of government information work, transfer to other departments is almost impossible. These positions may have to be regarded as a special case in the development of any career service for ISOs.

Besides these ISO "irregulars", certain other staff members are responsible for providing information to the public:

Within the *Special Projects Research and Development Division*, an officer designated as the *Publishing Analyst* directs the publication of the 300-page manual, "Organization of the Government of Canada."

The *Library* staff prepares the daily check list of publications and research for "important customers." It provides these services in both French and English.

Within the *Mail Order and Distribution Services Division*, the Credit Manager claims that all five of his staff spend 100 per cent of their time providing the public with information about publications, in both official languages.

Within the Bookstores it is estimated that the senior clerk in each of the six shops spends 50 to 60 per cent of his time on what might be considered information work — answering public enquiries, dealing with librarians' problems and helping to develop local opportunities to promote the bookshops. Only in Ottawa and Montreal are the senior clerks bilingual.

Activities

We are primarily interested in the Queen's Printer as a publishing operation, and in this section we shall study in some detail the activities of its Publishing Production Division. This Division is responsible for editing, design, estimating and print planning. In particular it is charged with:

- Applying modern publishing concepts to the production of all Parliamentary and departmental publications;
- assisting authors and other departmental staff in planning their projects and evaluating these editorially;
- determining the format, style, size and face of type, printing process and material used in printing and binding government publications, and effecting economies and preventing misunderstandings and delays in the ordering and delivering of graphic art work, engravings, etc.;
- providing departments with final specifications for publishing projects, including cost and time estimates, based on modern graphic art techniques and printing processes;
- providing expert services in all phases of copy preparation, including layout, print design, art work and typography;
- establishing publishing standards and quality controls for all federal publications;
- studying new publishing techniques and methods of communication, conventional and automated, as a means of rationalizing the costs and increasing the effectiveness of departmental publishing programmes;
- recommending freelance artists and commercial studios to carry out publishing assignments, and keeping an up to

date register of graphic designers and design studios, typographers and type-setters and advertising agencies; – and maintaining a record to indicate the quality of performance and the price paid for material produced under contract.

Despite this brave array of services, the Publishing Production Division has been the target of an almost incessant barrage of criticism. The trouble, as many departmental ISOs see it, is that many of the regulations which have been imposed to rationalize costs are in fact increasing them. One critic described the situation in this way:

“Under the present system, it can take three weeks to process routine typographic work through Queen’s Printer services – that is, to transfer copy from the department to the Queen’s Printer to the typesetter, and back to the Queen’s Printer to the department. This procedure must be repeated four times: Manuscript, first galley proofs, corrected galleys and final reproductions. Because the Queen’s Printer will not deliver proofs and typographic material by hand, the system is further delayed. If, as in many cases, a professional outside designer is used, one must allow additional time for his approval of the proofs.”

Arrangements for printing are equally vexing:

“If the printing bureau decides it cannot handle a job, the manuscript, art work and final layout are returned to the Queen’s Printer for tendering to commercial printing houses. This takes at least thirty days; sometimes it takes two and a half months to guide a single production through the printers.”

“In addition, the Queen’s Printer often changes departmental printing specifications, or fails to detail the requirements properly and if the final result is of poor quality, there is often friction between the Queen’s Printer and the departments about who is to blame.”

“Nor does the system for tendering printing always allow for production deadlines. One printer will base his price on a normal working day, another will base his price on overtime to meet the deadline, but the lowest bidder, even though he may disregard the deadline, gets the contract.”

“If the system for tendering printing is difficult, the process of tendering for graphic design is equally confused. Again regulations require that the lowest bid be accepted. This may be fair business practice, but it completely ignores the necessity for design, which can be developed in the early stages only by using a single design service. Only when design style and formats have been firmly established, can visual identity remain consistent when a number of design services are used.”

Not all this criticism, however, is entirely justified. The staff of the Publishing Production Division deals with an endless stream of unco-ordinated requests. Even within a single department, a number of people unfamiliar with publications work insist on dealing directly with the Queen’s Printer. Some officers by-pass their own publications manager, and a major complaint of the division is a lack of long-range planning by departments.

Without doubt, there is room on both sides for improvement in the planning and production of publications; this is all the more true if government is to keep pace with the increasing demand for information and with new communications technology.

Graphic Design

During 1967-68, 55 contracts were let outside to private design studios. In addition, a number of departments, notably Agriculture and Industry, Trade and Commerce, maintain their own art and design services.

All too often, the level of design quality in government publications is poor. Many government publications maintain the same format they had when they were first issued and, indeed, many of them look like left-overs from the Depression. Elsewhere in this volume we deal at more length with the question of graphic design. Here, we merely reiterate that the only standard worth aiming for is excellence.

Media Relations

Media relations have been neglected in the Queen’s Printer and the present staff situation offers little hope for improvement. Two information officers, one clerk and two support staff are responsible for advertising copy-writing, book-fair promotion and replies to written enquiries. One officer is occupied solely in the preparation of advertising copy for the 18 international organizations publications for which the QP is agent in Canada.

The Queen’s Printer prepares very few news releases or any of its new books, not even those of major importance. This is left to the author departments. Of the books distributed free to the media, scarcely five per cent result in published reviews.

Advertising

The limited advertising the Queen’s Printer undertake is the responsibility of the Director of the Sales Promo-

tion Division. During 1968-69 about \$117,000 was budgeted for this purpose. Most advertising took the form of "notices" inserted in daily newspapers and in specialized trade and business publications. It is aimed chiefly at promoting the sale of government publications or those, purchased by the Queen's Printer, of international organizations.

There is no evidence of any sort of integrated sales and promotion programme, nor of any market research. Indeed, the Division does not use its advertising agency properly. In the case of daily newspapers, for example, the Sales and Promotion Division prepares the copy and then raises a requisition which is forwarded to the agency. It does not ask the agency to produce layouts, and the setting-up of the ads is left to the individual paper. When the agency returns the invoice, along with tearsheets, it is sent to the Financial Section and not to the Sales and Promotion Division which, presumably, sees the ads only by chance. In the case of specialized publications, the agency is not even asked to handle checking and billing; the Division raises its own requisition or insertion-order and directs it to the publication. As far as bookstore advertising is concerned, the local manager chooses the publication in which advertisements are placed, writes the copy, places the advertising, and handles the invoices.

The entire advertising philosophy at the Queen's Printer needs to be overhauled. Basic objectives must be established, market potential determined, and budgets carefully calculated against projected results. In particular, the advertising agency must be asked to do more work.

The Reorganization of the Publishing

Function

On the basis of the tale we have just told, even Sir Joseph Adolphe Chapleau would agree that his protégé has got out of hand: the Queen's Printer stands in desperate need of reorganization. Patchwork will not be enough; the entire operation must be put on a new foundation. And indeed, in merging it with the Printing Bureau within the new Department of Supply and Services, the government has taken a major step towards reorganization. But, in our opinion the step has been in the wrong direction. In this section, therefore, we shall first discuss the Queen's Printer vis-à-vis the Department of Supply and Services, and then outline our own thinking on the way it should be reorganized.

The Task Force on Government Reorganization

On July 12, 1968, the Prime Minister announced that the Canadian Government Printing Bureau and the Department of Public Printing and Stationery (Queen's Printer) would be merged together into a new Department of Supply and Services. (On the basis of the Glassco Report, these functions had been separated in 1964, when the Queen's Printer was made responsible to the Secretary of State and the Printing Bureau became part of the Department of Defence Production).

To study how this integration might be effected a Task Force on Government Reorganization was appointed, headed by R. W. Rapley of Treasury Board, and this in turn appointed a sub-task force charged specifically with suggesting an organizational structure under which the Queen's Printer and the Printing Bureau might operate. The principal proposals of that sub-group, as outlined in the Report of the Task Force on Reorganization, of December 1968 were these:

The printing and publishing functions should be integrated into the existing purchasing and supply functions.

Printing and publishing would become the responsibility of an Assistant Deputy Minister (Material Management).

Within this framework, Publications Distribution and the Retail Bookshops would be incorporated into the Canadian Government Supply Service, which already handles the distribution of furniture, stationery, office supplies and other material. In the opinion of the sub-task force, although the distribution of books to non-government recipients was somewhat outside the lines of the Supply Service's normal operations, it was not really a new departure in principle, since the Department was already involved in selling directly to the public through the Crown Assets Disposal Corporation. *It was not unreasonable (the italics are ours) to view publications, books and printing merely as particular commodities to be bought, stored or distributed like any others.*

The new Department of Supply was entirely satisfied with these proposals.

At this point, the Queen's Printer entered the picture. And it was not surprising that he raised strong objections; he argued that the two functions – printing and publishing – should be joined under a separate Deputy Head. Accordingly, Treasury Board, recognizing that the views of the sub-task force and the Queen's Printer were diametrically opposed, decided that before the printing and publishing functions were merged, a number of additional studies should be undertaken.

Unlike its sub-task force, the Task Force on Reorganization was well aware of the fact that publishing is a strange bird in government. To quote from its report:

"If publishing were simply a matter of deciding whether a departmental publication had a public market, ordering the copies and selling them, these functions could be fitted into the Department of Supply quite happily . . . (but) publishing in the Canadian Government is not done solely to make a profit. The Publishing function of the Queen's Printer is one means through which the government can inform the public, both in the sense of letting the public know what its government is doing and in the sense of creating a public image of government. In addition, these publishing functions can make a positive contribution to Canadian culture At the same time, decisions have to be made as to the degree to which the government wishes to subsidize . . . these functions. The Department of Supply does not seem to be an appropriate place to make such a decision."

And the Task Force went on to say:

"... associated with the cultural aspects of government publishing, the government might consider a corresponding area of fostering and assisting the publication of non-governmental works. Perhaps there would be value to supporting Canadian literary, cultural, historical and similar authors by facilitating the publications and dissemination of their works and fostering the interest of the Canadian public in cultural and other publications of Canadian origin" "The function of assisting the creative arts would be inappropriate to the Department of Supply."

Thus among its proposals for additional studies of the Queen's Printer, the Task Force recommended:

A study of government policy regarding dissemination of information to the public through the medium of publications. (To be undertaken either by Treasury Board or the Privy Council Office.)

A study of government policy on development of the publications media for the purpose of supporting Canadian literary, cultural, historical and similar authors. (To be undertaken by Treasury Board, the Privy Council Office or the Secretary of State, or a combination of all three.)

This is how matters stand now in so far as the merger of the Queen's Printer with the Department of Supply is concerned.*

The point that this Task Force wants to make is that the Canadian Government's official publisher has no place in the Department of Supply. Unlike the Sub-Task Force on Reorganization, we do not believe that a book is "a commodity to be bought, stored and distributed like any other."

Nor, for that matter, do we agree with the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce's definition of a book as "a by-product of the wood industry." We believe rather that the government publishing function might be incorporated into a branch of Information Canada. We believe that such a branch or new institution should be known as *Documentation Canada*.

Documentation Canada

Even in the age of "total communications" and in the country of McLuhan, the printed word often remains the most efficient and the most effective means of informing the public. Thus, publications are likely to be vital to government for many years to come. Indeed, government as publisher might well bid to rank with government as broadcaster (CBC) and government as film-maker (NFB). But, as we have seen, government as publisher has been sadly neglected. He has in effect, been a governmental dog's body, damned by many, loved by few, unable to initiate publishing policy, nor even to co-ordinate it. At the same time, the scope of his operations has worked actively against the development of the commercial publishing and printing industries in Canada.

Yet somewhere under the "ramifications" and the "terms of reference" and the "directives" lies the nucleus of a dynamic and sensitive publishing operation. Already, the Queen's Printer has a vast stock of publications, a fund of expertise about governmental publishing programmes, and a relatively efficient distribution service. More important, the Queen's Printer is already identified as a source of information about government; each day the agency receives scores of enquiries from the public, and maintains a network of bookstores.

But, in order to make the best use of all these assets, we believe that the publishing function of government should be put on an entirely new basis.

The first step, as we see it, is to incorporate all the publishing functions of the Queen's Printer, including its sales pro

* Small wonder that the reader, at this point, identifies with Alice at the tea-party. The situation as it stands is that the Queen's Printer, within the last *six months* has been scrutinized by (1) The Task Force on Government Reorganization, (2) the Sub-Task Force on Government Reorganization, and (3) our own Task Force on Government Information. Only seven years ago, the QP was examined in exhaustive detail by the Glassco Commission, and three years ago by a special study under the auspices of the Department of the Secretary of State.

tion, distribution and purchasing divisions within a branch of Information Canada, to be known as Documentation Canada. The Director of Documentation Canada would become responsible for developing and executing a general publishing policy for government. The Canadian Government Printing Bureau, already well integrated into the Department of Supply, should remain there.

Documentation Canada should become an imaginative and sensitive publisher: its chief aim would be to work towards a deeper knowledge of Canada by all its citizens, and to promote the image of Canada abroad. We are not suggesting, however, that it take in hand existing departmental publications programmes; individual departments would continue to be responsible for determining their own publication priorities. Documentation Canada would be responsible for providing central documentation facilities to government, for producing those governmental publications which are of a *multi-departmental, general or national character* and for developing several series of new publications intended to plug existing gaps and to fill specific needs.

All Documentation Canada publications would be carefully and consistently designed, so that each is instantly recognizable, and each would carry a symbol to identify it as belonging to Documentation Canada.

In addition, Documentation Canada should be empowered to initiate improvements in the design, increases in the production, and much wider distribution of departmental publications than they receive now. It would also take the lead in sorting out, classifying and regrouping government publications into specific areas (i.e. political, economic, sociological, judicial, cultural) the point of this being to achieve more direct publicity and better distribution than currently exists.

In order to achieve all this we believe that Documentation Canada should control its own funds, and that its budget should be provided out of the total allocated for Information Canada.

We mentioned a moment ago that Documentation Canada should assume responsibility for certain existing publications. The following could form the basis of Documentation Canada.

The Canada Year Book: This is the principal official reference work of the Government of Canada, and it is a "natural" for Documentation Canada. Published annually in French and English editions, presently under the auspices of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, its more than 1,200 pages include information on Canada's resources and institutions, and on its social, political and economic develop-

ment. In addition, the Year Book incorporates statistical material covering almost every measurable aspect of national development, and it draws from data provided by federal and provincial departments of government and by private industry. It documents Canada's growth year by year. *Canada Handbook:* Also produced by DBS, this is essentially a shortened version of the *Canada Year Book*. It is profusely illustrated, and emphasizes the economic, social and cultural life of Canada. Smaller in format than the *Canada Year Book*, and relatively inexpensive, it is widely used in Canadian schools and extensively distributed abroad. *Organization of the Government of Canada:* This loose-leaf manual, currently produced by the Queen's Printer, (it has been recommended that it be transferred to Treasury Board) is a practical guide to the maze of Official Ottawa. In view of the recent government reorganization, it stands in urgent need of updating, and it needs also to be enriched by including within it an explanation of the organization and function of Parliament, and perhaps a concise index aimed at helping the reader to determine where to go for specific information.

As a visit to a Queen's Printer bookstore or a browse through a Queen's Printer catalogue will instantly prove, the existing government publications allow one to scrutinize Canadian life with a magnifying glass, if not with a microscope. Indeed, the mycology of Canada is better represented than its human geography. It is easier, for example, to get information about the rôle of mushrooms in Canadian life than about the contributions of the French, British or Ukrainian community. Not that one can blame the Queen's Printer for this; as matters stand now, he has been allowed to publish only what departments wanted published. No provision was made for asking members of the public service or outside authors to write books that would be of general interest to the Canadian people.

We have considered the type of new publications which Documentation Canada might initiate, and we have based our suggestions on a careful review of existing Canadian publications and of the best examples provided by other countries. These are our suggestions:

Guide to the Parliament of Canada and to the legislatures of the Provinces and Territories of Canada * While this is really the responsibility of the Parliament of Canada, it might be produced in conjunction with Documentation Canada.

*A *Canadian Parliamentary Guide* has been produced privately for many years. Each edition bears on its title page the following note, "Edited with the Patronage of the Parliament of Canada and of the Legislatures of the various Provinces".

Abstracts from Parliamentary Publications

Because the press run of *Hansard* and other parliamentary papers is limited, we believe it would be valuable for Documentation Canada to make available, at cost, offprints or reprints of selected abstracts of debates and discussions dealing with specific regional, national and international matters. Sometimes the off-print might concern one self-contained subject: "Air Pollution" for example; in other instances abstracted material could be grouped under subject headings like "Regional Development" or "Federal-Provincial Relations." The service might also be extended to important speeches by members of all parties. While these abstracts could be assembled, produced and distributed by Documentation Canada, the editorial control would be the responsibility of the Speakers of the Senate and the House of Commons.

A New Periodical

As a supplement to the *Canada Handbook*, Canadian missions abroad need a quarterly review specifically designed for controlled distribution to foreign opinion leaders. Published in the two official languages, this review might also be translated into other languages.

Canadian Chronologies

As a supplement to the *Canada Year Book*, writers, researchers and officials would welcome the publication of annual, annotated Canadian chronologies, emphasizing Canadian political, economic and cultural events. These chronologies might be consolidated every five years.

Canadian Dossiers or Occasional Papers

This series of booklets would be illustrated, and would deal with such topics as federalism, achievements in the Arts, Letters and Sciences; the Eskimo and the Indian, the New Canadians, Canada's Northland; natural resources and their development; Canada's external relations; economic development, etc.

Canadian Documentary Series

This group would provide at low cost abbreviated versions of such important government documents as royal commission and task force reports, background papers on current issues and important white papers.

Special Documentary Series

Once the new series of publications dealing with Canada has been successfully launched, Documentation Canada might consider producing a series of documents on foreign countries – initially, the United States, Britain and France.

One further important point to make in connection with all government publication, is that the government should make full use of the creative talents and publishing abilities currently available inside and outside government. We believe that in many cases Documentation Canada should employ outside experts and contract writers (retaining, of course, editorial control). We further believe that many existing and projected publications should be produced in co-operation with the private sector of the publishing industry.

Bibliographies, Catalogues and Relations with Libraries

In a submission to the Task Force, Dr. H. C. Campbell, Chief Librarian of the Toronto Public Library, pointed out a number of serious inadequacies in the National Library information retrieval system, and also in existing Queen's Printer cataloguing systems. In particular, he noted that "Because the National Library does not possess an automated information retrieval system, a researcher attempting to put together a selected bibliography must search through perhaps 60,000 titles in 17 annual Canadian Government catalogues, or search through the National Library's *National Union Catalogue* of 10,000,000 titles."

And Dr. Campbell also said:

"The Government of Canada will remain ill-equipped to produce special or selected bibliographies or detailed subject reading lists until its catalogues are computerized, and the meantime, anything approaching a scientific quantitative or qualitative assessment of its publishing efforts is currently impossible."

To solve this problem, we suggest that the Government of Canada take urgent steps to install an automated information retrieval system in the National Library, whose studies are currently under way. This could be done in close consultation with Documentation Canada.

Documentation Canada should also take steps to improve the quality of cataloguing and information that is presently provided to libraries by the Queen's Printer. Dr. Campbell points out:

"Not enough (only 14) sectional catalogues are published and even these are years behind schedule."

Monthly catalogues and daily checklists are out of date and unco-ordinated."

Many important federal publications have not been consolidated since 1955."

Important publications are out of print, nor have they been preserved on microfilm."

And these constitute only Dr. Campbell's major criticisms of the present services. There are many other additional difficulties.

Relations with Commercial Printers and Publishers

We must come to grips with one of the chief criticisms made of the Government and the Queen's Printer: that the QP's activities as printer, publisher and bookseller are actively harmful to the printing, publishing and book-selling industries in Canada.

Back in 1886, the chief reasons for establishing the Canadian Government Printing Bureau were to ensure secrecy, economy, uniformity and efficiency. Perhaps the greatest of these was economy. As the Canadian printing industry sees it, however, economy has yet to be achieved, and as proof they point a gleeful finger at the mammoth \$16 million printing establishment in Hull. In a brief presented to the Minister of Industry in October 1966, the Graphic Arts Industries Association, which speaks for the printing industry, summed up its general position:

The Act of 1886 is obsolete for all practical purposes. Recent organizational changes by government emphasize the fact. Now is as good a time as any to recognize that the entire history of printing by the Canadian Government has been marred by misconceptions of cost and efficient service, is not properly organized, and continues to the prejudice of the taxpayer industry as well as the best public interest." "If we are correct in believing that the foundation of a healthy national economy is and will continue to be the healthy continuation of productive, taxpaying enterprise, then the government quite clearly should channel the greatest possible proportion of its business to taxpaying industry, which must meet all the tests of good management in order to survive." The great weight of evidence is that the Bureau has been an extravagant, over-extended, and largely impractical enterprise throughout its history. It is detrimental to this industry and to its tens of thousands of employees and their dependents. It is a needless burden and endless distraction for government and Parliament."

While the industry accepts the fact that government must continue to undertake some printing activities, it would pre-

fer to see these principally limited to security publications and to areas which the private printing industry cannot easily satisfy (i.e. *Hansard*, official gazettes, *Statutes*, NRC and National Defence papers). In other areas, it believes government should limit itself to such quasi-printing procedures as office duplication and "cold-type" composition.

Even when printing contracts are let out to private printing firms, the industry believes it is dealt with unfairly. In its submission to the Task Force, the Graphic Arts Industries Association stated its case:

"When given the opportunity to bid on government business, taxpaying printers do not regard the Government Printing Bureau as a fair competitor because it is, in effect, subsidized. They are frequently dissatisfied with conditions laid down by the government. There is a strong feeling that invitations to bid should be made public and not restricted to a particular list which is obviously difficult to keep up to date. There are vigorous objections to slow payments and, in the case of jobs taking a long period of time, to the absence of progress payments. The government frequently will initiate commercial contracts while delaying completion of the job. One member of our executive has had three government jobs simultaneously awaiting completion for more than a year due to governmental hold-ups. Work-in-process billing should be authorized under such circumstances. Another complaint is that typesetting jobs have been given to the computer industry on which bids should have been invited from commercial typesetters and printers."

We believe some of these arguments are justified, and therefore we have recommended that, as far as possible, the government should take advantage of the resources of the Canadian printing industry.

If the printing industry believes it is the martyr of the Queen's Printer, the Canadian publishing industry believes it is the Queen's Printer's victim, and not without reason. In English-speaking Canada, in order to stay alive, commercial publishers act mainly as agents for American and British publishers. At the same time, they must stand by and watch the government publish best-selling books. Nor, as the commercial publishers see it, does the Queen's Printer justify its existence by doing experimental work outside the capability of commercial houses, by setting standards of design and printing, or by offering advice and help to publishers. Related professions suffer as well. Freelance writers go without work while valuable publications are postponed or cancelled because civil servants cannot take time from their regular tasks to write them. In a submission to the Task Force, the Canadian Book Publishers Council stated its case:

"The Canadian book publishing industry, in so far as this Council is able to speak for it, is rigorously opposed to and could never accept the establishment of a competitive creative publishing service underwritten by public funds and intended to exploit commercially the considerable advantage which any public service of this kind might command. Every publishing success which such a programme might achieve would represent a corresponding loss to the Canadian book publishing industry, and every publishing failure would represent a loss to the Canadian taxpayer."

"It is essential, in the opinion of Canadian book publishers generally, that the practice of subsidizing Government publications to sell at prices far below true cost recovery levels should be sharply limited, e.g. to necessary public service documents. And in these cases the fact that public subsidies are involved should be prominently advertised in every copy."

In our opinion, this argument contains much validity. It is difficult to see why government publishes certain of its books at all — why commercial publishers were not given the chance to produce them in the first place. It should be a first principle that only publications which are not feasible for commercial publication should be published by government alone.

Within the new publishing framework which we envisage, the Director of Documentation Canada would be responsible for maintaining close liaison with the Canadian publishing industry. Though government, of course, would continue to control the editorial content of its publications, the actual publishing, as much as possible, would be left to commercial houses.

In many cases, government and private enterprise might develop co-operative publishing ventures. For example, books like *Birds of Canada*, or *Canada, A Year of the Land*, which are enormously expensive to produce, might have their first editions produced by government, and all subsequent editions by commercial publishers. This would be relatively easy to arrange: the government would sell plates, and type, etc. on tender to a publisher, on a guarantee that the work would be kept in print for a number of years and that quality would be maintained. In this way, government could recover all or most of the costs of such publications, including royalties, while the industry would receive a much-needed boost.

The Queen's Printer maintains bookstores in Montreal, Halifax, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver. Few booksellers favour this type of competition from government. Their preference is that the Queen's Printer sell its wares by private arrangements with the private booksellers. Though some such arrangements do exist, there appears

to be no provision for extending them. As far as the Queen's Printer is concerned, the trouble seems to be that private booksellers are interested only in a few titles, not in maintaining a large stock of publications that have a low turnover.

The government bookstores might be broadened in scope. And, to the extent to which our proposed regional information offices are located in the same city as a bookstore, the two should work closely together. The staff of the bookstores might include trained information officers. Such officers could work towards developing a feed-back system to determine the effectiveness of government publications and to single out new requirements. In addition, extra publications outlets should be established, perhaps in post offices. Documentation Canada should also work for increased co-operation with private booksellers.

There is an argument, too, for establishing government bookstores abroad. *L'Association des éditeurs canadiens* and the Canadian Book Publishers Council are both in favour of an agreement on this. In a submission to the Task Force, the CBPC put the case for it:

"Adequate facilities of this kind in London and Paris, for example, and in due course perhaps in New York and a few other centres beyond our borders, could contribute immensely to the establishment of a true Canadian book presence abroad. If this were to be achieved, it would be necessary for such centres to provide more than a retailing service. They would have to be coupled into normal distribution systems established for Canadian books abroad, acquiring their stocks from local publishers where such editions exist. But they could provide a useful basis for the development of Canadian book exports, and if wisely planned they would receive the closest co-operation from the many Canadian publishers who are anxious to project their books into foreign markets."

Recommendations

In the light of the continuing misadventures in the long twisted and unfortunate modern history of the Queen's Printer; and in harmony with our other recommendations to bring about an improvement in the information services of the Federal Government, we recommend that:

1. The publishing functions presently vested in the Queen's Printer, including its sales promotion, distribution and purchasing divisions be incorporated as a branch of Information Canada to be known as Documentation Canada.

The director of Documentation Canada be given the necessary authority and resources to carry out his duties within the framework of the policies defined by the government.

The director, using the technical resources available in Information Canada, be responsible for the drawing-up and implementation of a general publishing policy.

The director be kept informed of the publications programmes of the various departments and agencies in order to advise them on their own publishing policy and where necessary, to ensure a wider distribution of those publications of general interest.

Documentation Canada be given the responsibility for publishing a number of existing works under his authority and for new publications of general interest.

The director be made responsible for the bookstores of the Queen's Printer; be concerned with enlarging the role of the Queen's Printer with regard to regional information and, more particularly, with regard to the free distribution of certain publications of public interest; and be authorized the necessary means, including advertising, to attain his objective.

In co-operation with the National Library, Documentation Canada establish close ties with private bookstores and public libraries in order to ensure a wider distribution of books published for the Federal Government. Agreements should be concluded with a greater number of private bookstores so that they may become the official repositories of government publications and be able to inform the public regarding these publications.

In co-operation with the National Library, the branch prepare catalogues of the works produced for the Federal Government and draw up lists of publications intended for specialized public.

In order to correct the anomaly by which the Queen's Printer is given no control over the quality of the language of the publication, the director be granted the right of inspection in this area both with regard to linguistic quality and the quality of the publication as an instrument of communication.

10. In co-operation with Canadian editors and book-sellers, Documentation Canada study all possible ways of improving the distribution of Canadian publications abroad.

11. In the event that the Canadian Government Printing Bureau is unable to satisfy the needs of Information Canada, of departments or agencies, or is unable to do so within the required time, the director be given the authority to entrust the work of publishing and printing, through tender, to private firms.

12. The Canadian Government Printing Bureau, already integrated within the Department of Supply and Services, have no other responsibility than that of printing for the Federal Government documents which, for reasons of security, economy and efficiency, cannot be given to private firms (Hansard, Canada Gazette, Statutes, National Research Council, National Defence, etc.).

13. Documentation Canada be responsible for agreements with the appropriate international agencies and certain foreign countries in order to ensure, in the latter case, a better reciprocal distribution of publications.

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics

Introduction

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics is an information service in itself, and one that has a statutory obligation to publish. Its object is to obtain facts and figures relating to almost every facet of Canadian life, and to translate these into statistical data for use by government, industry and the public at large. From time to time, DBS also undertakes surveys. Though it is at the service of all government departments and agencies, the Bureau is established within the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Commerce.

The Dominion Statistician, who holds the rank of Deputy Minister, is responsible for DBS policy, and for its general direction. Three Assistant Dominion Statisticians (Administration, Finance and Personnel; Integration and Development; Socio-Economic Statistics) report to him, and there are four Directors-General (Economic Accounts; Economic Statistics; Financial Statistics; Operations and Systems Development). The branches under these officials are in turn subdivided into a number of functional divisions. In addition, there are eight regional offices in St. John's, Halifax, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Van-

couver. In the past, these offices operated primarily as data collection centres, but they are now being expanded to deal with data dissemination as well.

Since the *raison d'être* of DBS is the collection and distribution of information, the scope of its information activities extends far beyond the Information Division. Because DBS deals directly with private industry, economic institutions and the public at large, it must practise good public relations at all levels. Although respondents are required by the Statistics Act to provide DBS with certain information, the Bureau is well aware that an adequate statistical system cannot be built on compulsion, but rather on the active co-operation and goodwill of the community. For these reasons, the Task Force did not limit itself to studying the Information Division alone, but examined the information function of DBS as a whole. We conducted a number of detailed interviews with senior and middle management, and with major users of DBS statistics in various parts of Canada. We also studied two lengthy documents prepared by DBS: a comprehensive two-part brief prepared especially for the Task Force, and an equally comprehensive brief prepared in December 1968, for the Senate Special Committee on Science Policy.

We shall begin by looking at the DBS Information Division.

Within DBS there are in fact two divisions that have a special responsibility for getting information to the general public: The Information Division proper; and the *Canada Year Book* Division, which is responsible for producing the two official government reference works, the *Canada Year Book* and the *Canada Handbook*. (Until 1962, the Information Division was responsible for producing these publications. In that year, they were set up as a separate division). The Year Book Division is also responsible for maintaining the DBS library, which serves the Canadian economic community as well as government itself.

Responsibility for recommending public affairs policies rests with the *Co-ordinator, Information and Year Book Divisions*. In February 1969, this officer became a member of the DBS Executive Committee. As yet, however, there is no complete policy statement outlining the responsibilities and functions of the Information Division, nor has a formal list of information objectives been established. General DBS objectives are passed on to the Division by means of discussions between the Dominion Statistician and the Co-ordinator.

The Information Director is responsible for establishing the information programme; this is principally aimed at publicizing the Bureau's product, statistical data. The Divi-

sion appears to be doing a relatively competent job in this area, but it has made little attempt to give the Bureau a "public image".

Since the publication of the Glassco Report there has been some improvement in the flow of information between the Division and senior management, but the Division is still largely in the dark with respect to important senior management decisions and policies. There is reason to believe, however, that the Co-ordinator's appointment to the Executive Committee will improve this situation.

The DBS Information Division has a staff of 22. It is the focal point for the release of DBS material to the media and to the public, and is divided into five sections:

1) *Inquiries*

This is a central unit which responds to mail, telephonic and personal visit requests for statistical information. It has a staff of four, chiefly recruited from other divisions of the Bureau. During the first 11 months of 1968, they dealt with 4,564 enquiries by mail and 9,485 telephone calls. (All enquiries from the public, unless they are specifically addressed to an individual or a division, are routed through the Inquiries Section).

2) *Publications Service*

This section is responsible for producing the following regular publications:

The Daily Bulletin summarizes each day's accumulation of statistical data for the mass media and for the public. *The Weekly Bulletin*, a digest of the *Daily Bulletin*, principally aimed at the weekly press and at trade magazines. *The Statistical Observer*: Launched in 1968, this will probably become a quarterly, distributed free, and aimed at a professional audience interested in statistics, statistical research and the social sciences.

The Publications Service also provides consultative editing and support services to other branches of the Bureau.

3) *Publicity Services*

This Section has a staff of six (a chief, four ISOs and a secretary). It is primarily concerned with meeting the publicity and public relations needs of the Bureau; to this end, each ISO is assigned one or more subject divisions. Priority has been given to promoting the three divisions that are most directly involved with the public — census, manufacturing and primary industries, and agriculture. Publicity Services is also responsible for preparing photographs on DBS activities, for developing a DBS Style Manual.

maintaining the Minister's Handbook and for supporting the Bureau's recruitment programme. Though press relations and mass-media publicity also fall within its jurisdiction, these are considered to be of secondary importance. The reasoning is that the media are kept well-informed of DBS activities by means of DBS publications and, as a whole, the Bureau encourages direct contact between newsmen and statisticians.

4) *Statistics Use Development*

The prime purpose of this section is to make users and potential users aware of DBS facilities. It arranges seminars, conferences and visits to DBS for the industrial and commercial communities. As far as public relations is concerned, perhaps the most innovative feature of the Section's work is the visits to companies that it arranges for information officers and statisticians. It also undertakes a certain amount of research.

Art and Design

This Section was established in 1967 to co-ordinate an improved design programme for all DBS publications and printed material. Its staff of two—recruitment is underway for another senior artist—has undertaken a restyling of all current publications; so far 116 of these have been given new cover designs.

post

As the following figures indicate, between 1966-67 and 1969-70, the total direct cost budget of the Information Division increased by 43 per cent. As a proportion of the Bureau's total budget, however, it has held virtually steady just over one per cent:

	1966-67	1969-70
Total DBS Budget <i>Direct Cost</i>	\$28,327,091	\$31,362,000
Information Division <i>Direct Cost</i>	291,040	417,415

In terms of allocations by media, the Division's budget was as follows:

	1966-67	1969-70
Advertising	\$ 169,051	\$ 105,898
Audio-visual	4,942	9,250
Press Relations	8,142	27,432
Public Relations	35,149	114,130
Publishing	73,756	160,705

Considering that during 1966-67, the Division spent \$113,000 on advertising the 1966 census alone, it is clear that the Division is presently using the various media to a much greater extent than in former years.

Personnel

Compared to such Departments as Agriculture, and Manpower and Immigration, DBS has a small information establishment. In fact, despite a major increase in workload, there are today fewer people on the staff of the Information and Year Book Divisions than there were in 1960.

Of the 22 positions, 17 are officers and five are support staff. Of the 17 officers, eight are ISOs, three are economists and six are technical officers.

The DBS information function is unique in government, and this means that its information staff has serious problems in job classification, recruitment, and career development. While, to some degree, the DBS Information Division carries out the standard activities of any government information service, at least some DBS Information Officers require a much more sophisticated background, in terms of economics, statistics and the social sciences generally than do other government ISOs.

But the Public Service Commission – which is currently reclassifying all positions throughout government according to a new central plan developed by the Bureau of Classification Revision – does not take these specialized requirements into account. As a result, DBS ISOs are difficult to recruit – indeed, most of them come from outside government – and once there, it is difficult for them to move on to other departments. As in other departments, these personnel difficulties point to the need for an improved system of classification for all government ISOs and for the development of a career Information Service whose officers can move freely throughout the public service, and even into the ranks of senior management. While Information Officers must be first and foremost communications specialists, provision must also be made for them to become familiar with the workings of the departments to which they are assigned. In branches of government that are as complex and specialized as DBS, the system must be flexible enough to take account of special requirements and possibly special training programmes.

In comparison to the situation in other divisions of DBS, the Information Division's general capability in French is

considered strong. But as long as English remains the only working language of the Bureau as a whole, it is impossible to provide equal job opportunities to French speaking Canadians unless they are bilingual.

The Dominion Statistician reports that although more bilingual officers are needed, in the Bureau as a whole, they are extremely difficult to recruit. Only three of the 41 DBS staff members who receive a salary of more than \$17,000 are of French-speaking origin. The DBS translation service is understaffed, and slow. Moreover, it is frequently unable to cope with technical terminology.

Media Relations

Media Relations have little priority in Information Division operations, nor are they allocated a separate budget. Frequently, however, the Information Division prepares the ground for DBS projects and surveys by assembling descriptive material for the media, and by arranging for ISOs to make personal visits to media offices.

The Information Division usually decides when press releases should be prepared, and has the right of final approval of their content, as well as the content of the DBS *Daily Bulletin*. The eight regional offices deal with many public enquiries each day but they do not issue their own releases. They are usually informed in advance of the content of special releases from Ottawa.

News conferences and briefings are rare – the Director remembers only six in the past two years – but reporters have occasionally been invited to meet groups of DBS experts to discuss the interpretation of statistics. This technique seems to work well, and the Information Director is considering using it more extensively. He would also like to prepare manuals on such subjects as the use of economic indicators, as well as articles on the social and economic implications of various statistical findings. The trouble is that the resources of the Division are already stretched to the breaking point.

Audio-visual Services

Except for an all-media advertising campaign which publicized the 1966 census, DBS involvement in audio-visual programmes has been marginal. The Information Division has no audio-visual facilities, nor is there any audio-visual expert on staff.

A number of discussions have been held with the NFB and with Crawley Films, but no films or filmstrips have been

produced. The Bureau, however, is very much interested in using ETV as a medium for recruiting staff and for explaining statistics to the general public and, to prepare for this, it seems essential that an audio-visual specialist be available to the staff. The basic medium of information transmittal at the Bureau will almost certainly continue to be print, but DBS is the type of operation that would benefit greatly from a central audio-visual centre in government if it does not add a specialist in this field to its staff.

Publications

Publications are the meat and drink of the DBS information operation; last year the Bureau distributed about 1½ million individual copies of publications to approximately 10,000 subscribers (double the number of subscribers in 1960). And this figure does not include the *Daily* and *Weekly Bulletins*, which have a total distribution of some 880,000 copies per year.

At last count, there were 1,140 separate publications, of which 110 appeared monthly or more frequently; 39 appeared quarterly; 376 appeared annually; and 24 appeared every two or three years. The remaining 600 appear on an occasional basis. These include 278 which resulted from the 1961 census and 122 from the 1966 census.

Between them, the Census, Education and Health and Welfare Divisions put out 628 publications, and these are available in both French and English. The other 512 publications are divided among 12 divisions; 154 of these are bilingual. In the six months prior to October 31, 1968, another 20 or more publications were converted to bilingual format.

About 85 per cent of DBS publications are produced by a printing unit within the Bureau, operated by the Queen's Printer. The remainder – which require more sophisticated techniques, such as the *Canada Year Book* – are produced through the QP's main plant.

The Publications Distribution Unit, which operates as an arm of the Queen's Printer, handles the distribution. Its activities are controlled by Queen's Printer's directives and policies, and therefore this unit is primarily sales-oriented and concentrates on the dollars and cents of the distribution operation. It has considerable potential for a feed-back system, but so far there has been no attempt to develop it as such. As matters stand now, the unit does not even maintain records of buyers of DBS publications, let alone use such records for analysis and follow-up.

Regarding the appearance of DBS publications, the three professional designers who reviewed Bureau material for the Task Force agreed that the Art and Design Service, though woefully under-staffed, is doing a good job of re-vamping design and typography. There is, however, still room for improvement, particularly in typographic detailing and in printing quality. The design team also suggested that DBS develop a more consistent method of identifying its material than it employs now.

Exhibits and Displays

DBS is just beginning to move into the field of dynamic exhibits, incorporating slide presentations, tape-recorded material, etc. Though the Information Division has neither the staff nor the budget to do much in this line, the Information Director has a fresh and enlightened approach to the use of exhibits and, given the resources, the Division has the potential for excellence in this field. The DBS, however, like all other government departments, should develop a co-ordinated communications media programme, with the use of exhibits and displays as one of its integral parts.

Still Photographs

Though the Information Division has a small budget for photographs, and has an interesting collection of historical photographs, it has made little attempt either to sort out the existing stock or to plan for the future. Negatives are kept either by the National Film Board, or by the commercial photographers who have been employed to take specific shots.

Advertising

DBS use of advertising has been most limited. Indeed, until 1965, apart from publicizing the national census, the Bureau undertook no advertising at all. For 1969-70, \$97,000 has been allotted to a campaign aimed at "broadening and extending the use of statistics, increasing public appreciation of the importance of DBS information and, possibly, achieving beneficial results on respondents to DBS surveys."

There is no doubt that senior management recognizes the importance of advertising as a tool for communication with the public but, as in so many other departments, there is evidence of a lack of understanding of basic advertising

practices and techniques. Nor has much attention been given to developing a total approach; instead the emphasis is on limited objectives and, all too often, DBS personnel write their own advertising copy.

It is important that the Bureau develop a set of clear-cut objectives, and then give its agency the scope to develop an overall programme. The agency should be treated as a working partner. In particular, it should be kept fully informed of the research DBS is now undertaking to measure the effectiveness of its advertising.

Statistics and the Audience

The Task Force made an informal survey of the major users of DBS data to determine its impact on the audience. Some 30 interviews were conducted with representatives of government, industry, and with members of such institutions as the Bank of Canada, the Economic Council of Canada the financial press and universities across the country. We also analyzed discussions and submissions from such organizations as the Canadian Adult Education Association, l'Institut canadien d'éducation des adultes, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and from interested private citizens.

Our survey in no way constitutes a formal sample of opinion. Nevertheless our respondents were all relatively well-informed about the structure, basic policies and operations of DBS. Most had a professional knowledge of economics, finance, business or other fields that are directly related to the use of statistics. And they were all regular users of DBS material. We believe that our findings are representative of the opinions of what one might call the "better-informed" users of the DBS. The general observations of all our respondents were strikingly similar, and this reinforces our conviction.

Nearly all our respondents were aware of the complexity and scope of DBS operations but, broadly speaking, they found more to blame than to praise. Their criticisms can be grouped into eight general categories:

1. *Timeliness*: Most people were critical of the time lags in publishing DBS statistics. There was a consensus that—considering today's computer capabilities and a general willingness to be "less fussy" about margins of error—"DBS ought to be able to do something about speeding release of data." At the same time, everyone agreed that the basic quality of DBS data should not be allowed to deteriorate.
2. *Usefulness*: Timeliness is in itself an important component of usefulness. In addition, most respondents felt that DBS continues to publish too many statistics that are

of interest to only a very few people and, at the same time, ignores more useful data on such subjects as education, trade movements, consumer credit and prices, and regional conditions.

3. *Clarity:* Many respondents remarked that the written presentations that accompany DBS statistics are frequently "full of jargon" and "mere prose-form repetitions of what the numbers say," when what they need are straight-forward explanations of "what caused the numbers to do what they did."

4. *Channels of Communication:* Many respondents have developed entirely satisfactory contacts with individual DBS divisions, but others complained that it is sometimes difficult "to get to the right people." This appears to be a particular problem outside Ottawa. Regional officers are invariably helpful and co-operative, but they are often unsure of "who to go to at headquarters" for detailed explanations of data. Most respondents also commented that many potential users are not aware of just how much DBS has to offer or "how to get at it."

5. *Secrecy Rule:* Respondents appear to be frustrated by what they termed the Bureau's "overly strict" interpretation of the provision in the Statistics Act which compels the Bureau to treat as confidential the information provided to it unless the suppliers give written permission for wider use. The result is that almost all DBS information is published in aggregate form. This undoubtedly contributes to the problem of timeliness, and results in large duplication of effort by other Federal and provincial government departments, industry, associations and other collectors of statistics.

6. *Duplication of Effort:* Respondents agreed that the secrecy rule may be one of the reasons for duplication of effort, but they also suggested that a contributing cause is a lack of co-ordination between DBS and other government departments, and within DBS itself.

7. *Power Base:* A number of respondents, principally those who know their way around official Ottawa, felt that DBS could be more effective if it had a "stronger power base" within the Federal Government. DBS has the potential to contribute a great deal to the development and assessment of national policy but, as long as it is considered to be essentially a service operation, it will rank low in the order of priorities of the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Commerce. These respondents believed that DBS should have a loftier, more central, and more independent position within the government structure than it has now.

8. *Recruitment and Morale:* Most respondents believed

(and the DBS itself confirms the fact) that the Bureau faces considerable difficulty in recruiting and retaining qualified professional personnel, and that the chief cause of the difficulty is that Bureau staff are not given sufficient opportunity to initiate challenging research projects, and excessive emphasis is placed on routine collection of statistics.

The DBS Information Function as a Whole

Our study of DBS was not designed to test the validity of user complaints about the Bureau's services. The Task Force study was simply an attempt to gauge the effectiveness with which DBS is communicating with the various public groups to which it is (or perhaps should be) oriented.

DBS is in a state of transition. It has recognized and isolated a number of its specific problems and has taken, or is preparing to take, steps to resolve them. There are already considerable constraints on the human and financial resources at DBS, and very real difficulties in trying to "shift gears" in so vast, highly ordered, and bureaucratic a structure. The steps must therefore be realistic and potentially productive.

Some progress has already been made. Virtually every user of DBS statistics that we interviewed complained about the lack of timeliness. Not one respondent seemed to know that for well over a year a committee of senior Bureau officials – headed by Dr. S. A. Goldberg, an Assistant Dominion Statistician – has devoted high priority to improving the timeliness of several key monthly series. The September 1968 edition of the *Statistical Observer* reported some of these improvements:

– *Index of Industrial Production.* Target: To reduce time lag from over 60 calendar days to 45 days or better by March 31, 1968. Achieved: Release date dropped from 64 days after end of reference month for January 1967 to 40 days for March 1968.

– *Employment and Payrolls.* Time lag cut from 121 days to 77.

– *Man-hours and Hourly Earnings.* Time lag cut from 121 days to 80.

– *Imports by Commodities.* Release lag in early months of 1968 reduced by some seven weeks over early 1967.

– Similar improvements have been achieved in such series as current commodity surveys, monthly retail trade figures, current shipments, inventories and orders, and other series of equal importance.

– The current focus of attention is on the quarterly national income and expenditure accounts, which have typically been

deased from 12 to 14 weeks after the relevant quarter-year end. DBS expects to cut the lag by six to eight weeks by the end of this year. This would substantially narrow the present gap in release times between the Canadian and U.S. figures.

These examples illustrate that DBS is moving to resolve some of its more fundamental problems or, at the very least, beginning to "catch up with its critics." But they also indicate that DBS is surprisingly ineffectual in its efforts to fulfil its general total information function. For all its continuing efforts to improve timeliness without damaging quality, DBS has apparently not succeeded in informing users of the steadily improving service that they are now receiving. Indeed, there has been a curious reluctance even to try. A senior official observed that DBS had considered "doing a real publicity job" on the drive for better timeliness but decided against it for fear that public reaction might be "about time!" or "Why don't they speed up everything else?"

Effective communications cannot be expected to flourish in so defensive and naïve an atmosphere. This is not to suggest that DBS should mount a vast and aggressive programme to publicize its every undertaking. We raise the matter only because it is symptomatic of the attitude that has coloured the traditional performance of the Bureau's information function.

The overwhelming impression is that the Bureau's principal preoccupation over the years has been the purity of its statistical product – a "statistic for statistics' sake" approach. The distribution of the product appears to have been very much a secondary consideration. An analysis of the most common complaints shows clearly that, while users tend to take the high quality of DBS statistics for granted, their main concerns are with aspects of communication: timeliness, usefulness, clarity and accessibility. DBS accepts timeliness now as an essential component of quality, and the ultimate aim is to improve the timeliness of all statistical measures.

In other areas as well, DBS is moving to resolve problems. Its programme to improve computer capacity appears both well-advanced and impressively thorough. A newly created position, Director of Central Planning, has the responsibility to prepare a planning system that will enable the Bureau to develop clear priorities and objectives that are relevant to overall needs. Recruiting efforts, especially at the specialist and professional level, have been intensified. An easing of the secrecy rule is under consideration. Many statistical series are now available on tape or in forms that can be read by machines. A number of other improvements and plans are underway. Whether or not they are fully adequate to meet the needs of the future is largely a matter of judgment.

The important fact is that DBS management is aware of many of the problems that the Bureau faces, especially in the operational areas, and is trying to resolve them.

The problems and shortcomings evident in the information function, however, are far from being resolved. The bulk of evidence indicates that, even if all the current short-term plans are fulfilled, capabilities will still fall well short of the apparent need.

In order to improve the performance of the Information Division, the Task Force believes, it will be essential to make changes with regard to the whole Bureau.

DBS should be given an opportunity to play a more important rôle in serving statistically the whole of government, and also a more important rôle in terms of its general information function. DBS personnel are already involved in many inter- and intra-governmental committees. But there is little doubt that the Bureau's relatively low "power base" prevents it from making a maximum contribution toward government policies and actions at the federal level, and from assisting provincial governments when needed. If rapidly rising government and public demands for statistical data – and more importantly their needs to comprehend those data – are to be effectively met, the DBS mandate must be interpreted less narrowly. This broader interpretation is unlikely to happen within the present framework.

A much more active exchange of professional staff in DBS and other government departments should be established in order to achieve more direct involvement in government activities. For the higher-grade professional civil servant, a working knowledge of statistical research and development should be important. DBS is unquestionably one of the best possible places to obtain that knowledge, and, conversely, the statistician would undoubtedly benefit from seeing how his statistics influence policy and the making of decisions.

The necessarily unique structures required by DBS to perform many of its functions should be recognized and steps taken to exempt the Bureau from any government-wide organizational requirements that demonstrably hamper its basic responsibilities. This is a sensitive and complex area. Any large government must standardize many of its structures and operations; exceptions tend to undermine the system. But there is considerable evidence to suggest that forcing DBS to "fit the system" designed for other departments has hampered its effectiveness. This appears to be particularly true in respect to DBS information officers, who require specific knowledge in social sciences, economics and statistics; but it also applies in respect to DBS publications. The channelling of all printing, and much of the distribution of DBS

publications, through the Queen's Printer has created a number of unnecessary obstacles to fulfilling a basic and essential DBS responsibility.

There is at least one recent example of how exemptions from the system can be achieved. Frequent users have sometimes requested — and offered to pay for — special studies to be undertaken by DBS. But because the revenue must be paid into the government's consolidated revenue fund and would not accrue to DBS, the Bureau could not accept the assignment, however valid, unless the cost of the study could be covered in DBS's normal operating budget. The result was that many worthwhile requests from users could not be met. The problem was resolved early in 1969 when Treasury Board approved a request from the Dominion Statistician for a \$250,000 working-capital advance. DBS may use these funds, with Treasury Board approval, to undertake, at cost, valid requests for special studies. Payment from users is applied against the advance. The result is a revolving capital fund, and a much more flexible DBS service than it could offer before.

Recommendations

The Task Force's recommendations, relating to the DBS as a whole and to its Information Division, point clearly to a simple truth: the communications function of DBS has been, and remains today underdeveloped relative to both need and potential.

This is not meant as a blanket condemnation of the Information Services Division; on the contrary, many of the Division's techniques and activities have been well-designed and productive. This is especially true in such areas as relations with respondents, whose co-operation is absolutely essential to DBS operations; and in the creation of the Statistics Use Development Section, which is a commendable though still limited effort to foster wide use and understanding of the Bureau's statistical products.

Nor is our conclusion meant to suggest that DBS management has deliberately refrained from developing its information function. The problem is that several factors have combined to strengthen the Bureau's rôle as a collector and processor of statistics, and to de-emphasize its function as an efficient communicator of statistics. The factors include management's own long orientation primarily towards statistics for their own sake; a structure that, until very recently, seriously restricted access by skilled information people to the deliberations of management; the limits on human and financial resources that, given the low priority on information, served to restrain its growth even further; an

internal system of traditional priorities which tended to perpetuate certain continuing activities, especially in respect to statistical series and publications; and, perhaps most relevant now, an audience of users that, until fairly recently, tended to accept or simply ignore, the statistical offerings of the Bureau. Now, users and potential users are becoming increasingly sophisticated and increasingly demanding in their search for statistical aids to decision-making. DBS will not be able to meet those demands effectively unless it immediately devotes a higher priority to its information function.

The general information rôle of the DBS is so critical to the government and to important and various Canadian and foreign publics that we have determined to go beyond a narrow interpretation of our terms of reference in drawing up our recommendations on it. Because of the Bureau's special relevance to the Canadian information function, we recommend with respect to the Bureau itself that:

1. In the development of a government information policy the DBS be recognized as having a major and specialized information rôle to play in serving government departments, agencies and various publics.
2. As a consequence, DBS be transferred from its present position within a Ministry which has its own special public to one which would be more compatible with the Bureau's central service functions, and that its autonomy be preserved.
3. The recently introduced policy, which has made it possible for DBS to undertake projects for persons and organizations outside government on a fee-for-service basis be confirmed and the resources for this purpose increased.

With respect to the *Information Division* of DBS we recommend that:

1. The Information Division develop public affairs policies for consideration by the Dominion Statistician and consistent with the overall information policies laid down by the government.
2. This policy reflect both DBS' major information function, and the need to give information a higher priority and status than it enjoys at present within the Bureau.
3. The Year Book Division continue to work in close co-operation with DBS but as a unit in Documentation Canada.

. The DBS Catalogue be revised so that it can be used readily and easily by a larger number of Canadians. The possibility of its being issued annually should be examined.

. Information programmes directly concerned with the output of specialized statistical divisions within the Bureau be expanded by the Information Division.

. The Information Division endeavour to improve the public's understanding of the various services DBS offers and can perform on request.

. Programmes and activities of the Information Division, and selected publications of the Bureau as a whole, be constantly reviewed and impartially evaluated with the assistance of Information Canada. Such reviews should include the information functions of the DBS regional offices.

. The Information Division assume greater responsibility for keeping departmental staff abreast of public responses to its policies and activities and making them aware of current developments in the Department.

. Personnel policies be reviewed in order to ensure better classification, recruitment and career development for the staff of the Information Division.

. A more comprehensive multi-media approach be developed in the Information Division with the assistance and guidance of Information Canada.

Conclusions

The four information services we have studied are dissimilar in many ways, but they share some common problems. In their day to day operations, for example, not one of them has the basic expertise to get the best out of an advertising agency. More profoundly – and much more seriously – they often seem to exist outside the decision-making processes of the senior management in their departments. It is small wonder then that none of them has been able to develop a clear-cut set of objectives for information policy.

Our examination of the Department of Agriculture indicates that traditional departments have trouble identifying their publics; their information programmes often duplicate efforts made by newer branches of government. For their part, because there is no unified approach, the newer departments – such as Manpower and Immigration – find it hard to get their public information programmes off the ground, even though these are launched with high hopes and the best will in the world.

Thus, the difficulties of the departments we have examined underscore two fundamental needs of government: a federal information policy that incorporates both a clear statement of policy priorities and a concise set of objectives; and an information agency, designed to help individual divisions to co-ordinate their programmes, and to provide a central pool of advisory and technical expertise and services.

In terms of policy, a basic principle must be that of two-way communication between government and public. For the public must know the details of current policies and programmes, and must be able to comment on them effectively. The public is becoming increasingly interested in helping to make policy and increasingly able to help make it. In order to help the public achieve its rights, information about government should originate close to its departmental source and should be close to the people with whom each department is most concerned.

Each department then, should become responsible for establishing its own information objectives, related to its function and to its audience. These objectives should be established by the executive committee of each department, in co-operation with the Information Director. While these goals would be consistent with the aims defined by the Government of Canada, they would also provide specific guidance to public information workers within the departments, inside and outside Ottawa. Again, the information divisions must be given a larger rôle than they are given now in departmental decision-making. But at the same time, the

onus is on the information divisions to sharpen their assessments of public attitudes, and to identify with their audiences much more than they do at present.

The federal policy must also stress the importance of continually evaluating information programmes; without this the size and cost of service is bound to escalate. The unbounded activity of the audio-visual section of the Department of Agriculture is a good example of what can happen without continuing appraisal. Similarly, the absence of proper stock-taking in the Department of Manpower resulted in a low level of public awareness of the Department's services. In these connections, the expertise of the proposed information agency could be a great help.

The federal policy and the new information agency should also work towards improved interdepartmental co-operation, particularly in the case of information programmes that cut across traditional departmental lines. Where it is possible, inter-governmental co-operation is equally important. Now that decentralization has become a major component of all government policy, an increase in informative federal-provincial programmes should be considered.

XI Case Studies in the Current Information Process

The papers that immediately precede this one may be roughly described as a review of how and why the government information services operate the way they do. This paper is a selective examination of some results of this operation. It concentrates on the policies and practices of government information services in three specific cases. The cases may be regarded as complementary to the Task Force's more general studies. They originated in three different departments during October and November of 1968 and, in each of them, we have tried to record the steps in the preparation of Government information for the media.

The Task Force enquired into the involvement of information staff at the policy level, when a release was first discussed. It noted the time given information officers for the preparation of material, and their qualifications for the assignment; the channel of approval by senior officials; and the time for translation and the time for checking the accuracy and quality of translation. Other subjects of study were the printing and distribution arrangements, news conference facilities (including simultaneous translation), and the availability of departmental officials for briefing purposes.

The three stories were the Federal Budget in October of 1968; the Ministerial Mission to Latin America in October and November; and an interim report, in November, on progress in a long-term Fisheries resettlement programme in Newfoundland.

The Budget was a story of national importance and of the widest public concern. It was released to the media and the public through complex departmental machinery that has grown up for this purpose over many years. The Task Force suspected the Budget would provide an outstanding example of a government information effort at its best, and one against which other information practices might be measured.

The Ministerial Mission to Latin America was a major government project in the international field. It was of less concern to the general public than the Federal Budget, but it was significant to a number of special publics, both at home and abroad. It was the government's intention that the Mission be treated as an important operation in public relations. The Prime Minister, in announcing the Mission, told the Commons that "it was intended to lay the groundwork for a better understanding of Latin America on the part of Canadians." The Mission was an interdepartmental body, and information about its purposes required advance co-ordination both in Canada and Latin America. The challenge of interdepartmental co-ordination had special interest for the Task Force.

The press reported progress in the Newfoundland resettlement

programme in early November. The Task Force selected the story because, although it was a relatively minor one, it concerned long-term federal involvement in a regional project. It involved the movement of people from isolated areas into larger communities and therefore appeared to have some interest for Canadians in other parts of the country.

The case studies are too few to be the basis for generalization but they do illustrate some of our chief concerns. One story raised the fundamental question of the public's right to know about government programmes. Another revealed uncertainties about the uses and proper extent of information and publicity; and demonstrated the need for expert co-ordination of interdepartmental activity in information. Another proved the impact of having a highly qualified information officer at every stage of a major departmental information project.

The Federal Budget, October 1968

The Budget is an event of great concern to the Canadian public, and information about it is released to the news media through departmental machinery specially geared for the purpose.

In the case of the October 1968 Budget, there was one unusual circumstance in the information process. The Finance Department's Information Officer had left in September to take on a new assignment. Five days before the Budget's presentation, his successor had still not been appointed, and he was loaned back to Finance. In previous years, he had been active in preparations for three weeks before Budget Day. He happened to be the first Information Officer that Finance had ever employed, and he had impressive qualifications. A former Canadian Press Reporter, and member of the Press Gallery, he had been Executive Assistant to a Minister of Finance before establishing the Department's one-man Information Office. He received a draft of the Minister's Budget Speech on Friday, October 18 (Budget Day was the following Tuesday), and he was asked to note possible ambiguities of meaning, to suggest re-phrasing, and to mark the sections of the Speech that he thought needed the most explanation for the press and public. The Minister's Special Assistant received the same assignment, and both men were asked to attend two meetings with the Minister during the weekend. The Deputy Minister and two senior officials also attended the meetings on Saturday and Sunday. At both meetings the Information Officer was asked for editorial comments on the Speech. He played the rôle

of the "man on the street" at a session to decide the parts of the Speech that needed special elaboration in the news summary. The Budget was more complex than usual, and it was agreed that the 1968 News summary must be longer and more detailed than it had been in the past. In addition to the customary policy briefing, there would be a separate technical briefing. On Sunday, when the Budget Speech was in near-final form, the Information Officer began to draft "highlights" of the Speech for the first two pages of the News summary. Both he and the Special Assistant listed questions which the media could be expected to put to officials at the afternoon briefing session on Budget Day. On Monday, October 21, the Information Officer met the Deputy Minister and senior officials to decide the contents of the news summary. The draft was done from material submitted in memos to the Minister, and checked by a senior official and the Deputy Minister. The Minister did not see the final draft before it was taken by hand to the Translation Bureau. There, a specially chosen six-man unit translated both the Budget Speech and the news summary.

Early in the morning of October 22, a departmental official took the news summary from the Translation Bureau to the Finance Department Printing Unit. Time was short. The translation was not checked against the original text.

In the morning, all senior departmental officials who would meet the media in the afternoon attended a "dress rehearsal" of the briefing session. The Information Officer gave them three single-spaced pages of questions that he thought the media might ask on technical and policy matters. Apparently every major question that was asked later in the day was anticipated at the dress rehearsal.

Traditionally, the Budget Speech and the news summary are given to Press Gallery members at 2:30 p.m. on Budget Day in the Railway Committee Room in the Parliament Buildings. On this occasion, the Information Officer and the Minister's Special Assistant decided to give the media earlier access to the complicated papers. There was a danger of tipping off the afternoon papers and the stock market that there was something unusual about the Budget; and, when the two men passed the word around the Press Gallery that arrangements were ahead of schedule, they were careful not to draw attention to the unusual timing. Journalists could enter the Room at 2:00 p.m., and 20 of them took advantage of the invitation.

One hundred and twenty journalists were eventually admitted to the Railway Committee Room. They signed an agreement to remain until 8:00 p.m., — the time the Minister was scheduled to address the House — and to

respect the embargo restrictions on the release of information. The first part of the Minister's speech, up to the heading "Current Fiscal Strategy", could be released the moment he started to speak. The balance of the speech, the information in the news summary, and the tax-change resolutions could be transmitted on a "hold for release" basis when the Minister began speaking; but they could not be released until he reached the "Current Fiscal Strategy" heading in his address. Representatives of the news media were the only people admitted to the Railway Committee Room. Representatives of the Opposition Parties or of the financial, commercial, and industrial communities were not invited.

Copies of the Budget Speech, Budget Resolutions and the news summary were all available in English and in French. A two-page list of "Budget Highlights" prefaced the 24 page press summary, and the content of the summary was arranged under headings which paralleled those in the actual Budget Speech. The media said later they found the summary clear and concise.

Shortly after five o'clock, the Information Officer announced that a technical briefing on the Budget was about to begin in the adjoining Senate Banking Committee Room. After that, there would be a general policy briefing. Departmental officials would attend both briefings, and the Information Officer reminded the media of the basic principle observed on such occasions: that nothing said by any official was for attribution.

Six officials attended the first briefing, but the senior official in the chair answered all the questions. The session lasted fifty minutes, and it was entirely in English. Newsmen came and went, their numbers varying from twenty to forty at any one time. The second briefing, on general policy, began at 6:00 p.m., lasted one hour and was also in English. Nine more officials, including some from the Department of National Revenue, joined the group at the head table, and the Deputy Minister of Finance took the chair. Once again, the Chairman answered all questions.

The briefing ended shortly after 7:00 p.m., and newsmen then had roughly forty-five minutes to question individual officials. Most were personally unknown to the journalists and the Information Officer pointed out the experts in the various taxation fields. Some newsmen complained later that there was not enough time for questioning individual officials. The officials themselves, however, thought the time was sufficient, and observed that, throughout the session, the journalists' questions, did not occupy them fully.

The Department noted the general accuracy of the report that followed the briefing session. (There was only one in

stance of a complete misunderstanding).

While both official briefings were conducted in English, as in previous years, the Deputy Minister had designated a senior official to answer any questions posed in French. No announcement was made about this man's availability, however, and no questions were asked in French.

The Information Officer, when questioned about the possibility of using simultaneous translation equipment, stated that such a system is costly and complicated and, in his experience, of questionable value. It has occasionally been installed at government conferences, but French-speaking reporters have made little use of it. Simultaneous translation has never been seriously considered for the Budget briefings. A French-speaking reporter said he found the technical briefing "very heavy going". Another said he depended on his English-speaking colleagues' record of the explanations offered at the briefings.

The Finance Minister's radio and television appearances were arranged ahead of time by his Special Assistant. As soon as the Budget date was announced, the Assistant posted notices on the Press Gallery board, and called the network representatives of CBC and CTV. The Minister, after delivering the Budget Speech, met by prearrangement with radio reporters, and then with television interviewers from CBC and CTV. After a half-hour press conference, he left to appear on a live CBC Public Affairs programme.

The Minister felt that his French was not adequate for answering questions on the Budget, and he therefore appointed his Parliamentary Secretary as his French-language spokesman on Budget night. The Information Officer notified French-language radio and television interviewers. A Radio-Canada reporter later expressed dissatisfaction with the arrangement. He felt that, had he been able to interview the Minister himself, he would have got far more information than he did.

The day after the Budget it is customary for the Minister to give a lunch for the media, and to invite out-of-town financial editors and selected members of the Press Gallery to meet with him and senior departmental officials. In previous years, only financial editors and specialists attended the lunch, but in 1968 the Minister's Special Assistant extended the list to cover general reporters so that they would have every opportunity to understand the Budget and the ensuing Budget debate.

The Budget is released through agencies other than the media. When the Minister reached the release point in his speech, the Department of External Affairs sent a Budget summary to all missions abroad. This summary was the

work of the International Economic Relations Division of the Finance Department. It was prepared in English, by a junior officer, who was given the text of the Budget Speech at 11:00 a.m. on Budget Day. He finished his summary at 7:00 p.m., too late for it to be checked by a senior officer. He delivered it personally to the External Affairs' Communications Centre, and from there it was released on receipt of a telephone call from a Finance Department official at the moment the Minister reached the release point.

Each year mimeographed copies of the Budget Speech – wrapped in special, wax-sealed packages – are sent air-express to the eight Bank of Canada agencies in Halifax, St. John's, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Regina, Calgary and Vancouver. The packages are held unopened in the agency vaults until the Minister's release point. Then, a Finance Department official telephones the Bank of Canada Head Office to authorize the release. A telex message informs each agency to break the seal and distribute copies to the people who have assembled at the agency to receive them.

The distribution list, for the Bank of Canada operation, is limited to the 1,500 English and 300 French copies which can be produced in the available time on Finance Department equipment. The Department feels the number is adequate. The list includes industrial, financial and commercial interests that require the complete Budget Speech as soon as it is delivered. Major metropolitan newspapers are also on the list; and so is the Head Office of Canadian Press in Toronto.

The Finance Department also makes special arrangements to serve people in cities where there is no Bank of Canada agency. At the release point, the nearest Bank of Canada agency puts previously addressed copies in the mail.

On the morning of Budget Day, wax-sealed packages of the Budget Speech are taken to the External Affairs' Communications Centre, where special couriers stand by to take them to New York, Washington, London and Paris. The packages remain unopened in the vaults until the Finance Department's telephone call reaches the Communications Centre and it issues a release signal.

The necessary security precautions are something of a handicap for External Affairs Information Officers in the major centres abroad. They are expected to explain the Budget's significance to those who inquire but they receive no briefing on its contents, they have no access to the departmental news summary, and no early access to the Budget Speech itself.

To meet an immediate, post-Budget need, the Finance Department arranges each year for a speedy reprint of the

relevant section of the Budget Day Hansard. This includes the Budget White Paper as well as the text of the Minister's speech, and the reprint is ready within a week to ten days. The Queen's Printer publishes a more permanent edition, in a coloured binding, and this is available a month or six weeks after the Budget.

Conclusions on Government Information and the Budget

A highly qualified Information Officer was involved at every important stage in the Budget speech information process. He was assisted by impressive departmental machinery that was geared specifically to dispense information about the Budget to the news media and selected members of the public. The Budget is a recurring event, and the prior arrangements are a matter of long practice. In 1968 all the essential matters were settled in advance, including the division between the various competing media of the Minister's available time on Budget Day.

The Finance Department's information machinery can be faulted for operating less efficiently in French than in English. Two very technical media briefings on Budget Day were conducted entirely in English. The Budget news summary was not checked for accuracy in the French version.

Only English-language viewers saw the Minister on television. They saw short interviews taped immediately after the Budget's delivery and they saw the Minister defend his Budget on thirty-minute network programmes of CBC and CTV. French-language viewers never did see the Minister talking about the Government's Budget. A question arises. Why does the CBC French network not take advantage of simultaneous translation — used so effectively at the 1969 Federal-Provincial Conference — to allow French viewers to hear the Minister's explanations? Finance Department officials did discuss the possibility of asking a senior French-speaking Cabinet Minister to stand in for the Finance Minister in French-language interviews. The idea was rejected on the grounds that the Finance Minister was the only person qualified to answer questions on the technical aspects of the Budget.

While the distribution system for the Budget Speech was most carefully arranged both within Canada and abroad, there was an unfortunate lack of briefings for Information Officers abroad. It would be practical for these officers to be briefed in Canada immediately before the Budget's presentation.

The carefully arranged Budget briefing facilities are currently available only to the news media. It is possible that,

in future years, it would be a good idea to admit at least a limited number of representatives of the financial, industrial and commercial communities.

The Ministerial Mission to Latin America, October — November, 1968

In July 1968, the first arrangements were made for the Ministerial Mission to Latin America. It was tentatively scheduled to leave Canada in late October; its composition, its exact itinerary, and its date of departure were not settled until a few days before it left Canada. Co-ordination of this interdepartmental Mission was in the hands of the External Affairs Department.

The Mission was supposed to reflect the full range of Canadian interests in Latin America and, from the beginning, one of its more important members was the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce. In August the Trade and Commerce Publicity Branch, Trade and Commerce, was told that the government considered the Mission an important opportunity in public relations. Trade and Commerce heard nothing more about publicity arrangements for some time, and it eventually made contact with the External Affairs press office in the second week of September.

External Affairs convened most of the people concerned on September 18, when the Subcommittee on Press, Publicity and Information of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Ministerial Mission to Latin America met for the first and last time. The Secretary of State's Department, and the Export Credits Insurance Corporation were involved in the Mission, but were not invited to the meeting.

The meeting recommended that the Prime Minister announce the Mission. It was also agreed that all the departments and agencies concerned should prepare their own contributions for a media briefing to be held before the Mission's departure from Canada. They were to send the material to the co-ordinator of press and publicity, a foreign service officer in External Affairs Latin American Division. His duties of co-ordination were limited to the notes for the news briefing.

Twelve seats would be available to newsmen on the ministerial plane, and contact with the Press Gallery was the responsibility of the External Affairs Press Office. Trade and Commerce suggested that representatives of particular newspapers be approached individually.

The need for publicity officers on the Mission was discussed. Trade and Commerce suggested there be three aboard the plane, one each for External Affairs, Trade and

Commerce and the Secretary of State. External Affairs said accommodation for more than one would be difficult, and the "matter of publicity officers was then postponed for further reflection." The Sub-committee did not take the matter further for the simple reason that it never met again.

Some of the later problems over media coverage of the Mission stemmed from this meeting of September 18, and from the fact that the departments failed to appoint an overall co-ordinator of media and publicity arrangements. Conflicting ideas on the purpose and use of publicity were apparent at the meeting. Trade and Commerce worried about the short time available to make the Canadian public aware of the Mission and suggested a pre-departure party. It would be complete with a Latin-American band, and the presence of Mission members, Latin-American ambassadors, and the press. External Affairs emphasized the tight budgetary conditions currently in effect and the serious nature of the Mission and frowned on the idea of such a party. External Affairs' proposal was for a pre-departure news conference, followed by a reception at which light refreshments would be offered to Mission members and the press. Later, however, External Affairs' Latin American Division decided the reception might be more appropriate when the Mission returned. Pre-departure publicity was limited to the news conference.

The conflicting ideas on publicity had more serious results in the arrangement for publicity officers to accompany the Mission. Trade and Commerce was accustomed to sending a publicity officer ahead of an official party to arrange maximum local media coverage. During the visit itself, he was expected to help the accompanying Canadian press representatives, and also to feed news back to his Department for release in Canada. To Trade and Commerce, it seemed impossible for one publicity officer to handle all these matters for an interdepartmental Mission. It welcomed the External Affairs' decision to send an official from its Press Office, along with a man from Trade and Commerce.

External Affairs considered their man's prime responsibility on the Mission would be to make arrangements for the accompanying press contingent. But the contingent proved unexpectedly small and, on the eve of the Mission's departure, External Affairs withdrew their Press Officer. The Trade and Commerce publicity official was left with the entire responsibility for publicity during the Mission's tour. This overburdened official ended up working an average 18-hour day; and he was still unable to help the Canadian media contingent in ways he thought would have been valuable.

Officials concerned with information and publicity about

the Mission also laboured under a severe handicap which was not of their own making. An official announcement of the Mission's composition and itinerary was expected in early October but, in the absence of a firm indication of the Minister's intention, it was not made until October 24. That was only three days before the Mission departed. In the circumstances, External Affairs officers were reluctant to send news briefing materials to Canadian Missions in Latin America for advance distribution. Their reluctance was understandable; in the recent past, after publicity arrangements had been made in Latin America, a similar Mission had been cancelled at the last moment.

An early announcement of the Ministerial Mission would have permitted a greater advance distribution of information and publicity, but Mission organizers were not entirely unhappy with the timing of the official announcement. They felt the lateness of the announcement gave it impact. The point is debatable.

The September 18 meeting agreed that all departments and agencies involved would begin to prepare their contributions for the intended news briefing, and would submit them to External Affairs' Latin American Division in the first week of October. Contributions duly arrived from the Canadian International Development Agency, and from the Export Credits Insurance Corporation. External Affairs prepared two items: the Mission's itinerary, and notes on Canada's political and cultural relations with Latin America. These notes were approved by the respective division heads. The Secretary of State was not asked to provide background material for the news briefing, nor to advise on the cultural note. A departmental official later remarked that the account of Canada's cultural relations with Latin America failed to mention either the National Film Board's office in Buenos Aires, or the CBC links in the area.

Trade and Commerce failed to submit its background note in the time required, apparently because it had misunderstood its obligation. Two days before the October 24 press conference, External Affairs enquired about the missing material. Then, two men in the Trade Relations office hurriedly prepared the note, and the Head of Latin American Division, Trade and Commerce, approved it. Since it contained only factual material, it did not require the approval of other senior officials. The note went to the departmental translation Unit on October 23, and was translated only three hours before the scheduled news conference. The copy was rushed to the printer unchecked, although experience had taught Information Officers that checking was important. In this particular translation, the Task Force found some

ambiguities, and one apparent change of meaning.

The Prime Minister announced the Mission's forthcoming departure in a speech to the Commons on October 24. The draft speech was prepared by the Chairman of the Inter-departmental Committee on the Mission. The draft had been considered at a meeting on October 23, attended by an Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; an Assistant Under-Secretary, Department of the Secretary of State; an Assistant Deputy Minister from Trade and Commerce; the Chief of that Department's Trade Publicity Branch, International Division; and by the Prime Minister's Press Secretary.

The Prime Minister's Press Secretary drafted the general news release, which included the text of the Prime Minister's statement of the Mission's purposes, a list of the countries to be visited, and the ministers concerned. Without going into details, the release said that travel plans had been staggered so that no one minister would be absent from Ottawa for too long a period.

The draft was reviewed by the ministers concerned, while they attended a Cabinet meeting at 11:00 a.m., October 23. The text was then sent to the Translation Bureau, and 1,200 copies were printed late in the morning of the 24th. The Press Gallery received its quota about 2:30 p.m., the time the Prime Minister was due to make his announcement to the House.

On October 18, the External Affairs' Press Office had notified the Press Gallery that a news conference was tentatively scheduled for October 24. The date and time were confirmed on the 23rd. Half an hour before the news conference was to start, the co-ordinator of news materials and his assistant arrived with the French and English briefing materials from External Affairs, from the Canadian International Development Agency, and from the Export Credits Insurance Corporation. Copies of the Prime Minister's news release were waiting for them.

The External Affairs' Officers expected to find the Trade Publicity official there, with the background trade note, and some folders which Trade and Commerce had offered for the purpose of enclosing the various briefing materials. But the official arrived late, and without the French version of the trade note. It was still at the printers. Overwhelmed with work that day, after learning that he would have sole responsibility for media and publicity on the Mission, the harassed Trade and Commerce official mistakenly brought to the news conference some English-language copies of *Canada, the Bountiful Land*. This, although it had been prepared some months earlier with a German audience in

mind, was now intended not for the press conference in Ottawa, but for distribution in Latin America.

The press filed in, and the three officials hastily stuffed the folders with briefing materials, filling about 25 or 30 with the intended documents. None of the French folders, however, were complete. Some did not include the Prime Minister's statement, and all lacked the background trade note, which arrived after the conference began.

The news conference was unfortunately timed in mid-afternoon, while the House was in session; and, on this particular day, a vote on a government amendment was imminent. As a result, fewer than twenty newsmen came to the conference, and two of the five Ministers involved were unable to leave the House. The other three made a brief appearance, each speaking for two or three minutes on the Mission's purposes. Then, just at the time when questions were invited from newsmen, the division bells began to ring in the House and within five minutes the three Ministers were gone. The Minister of External Affairs had time to describe the itinerary of the various ministers, and to list the number of officials who would be on the tour.

Since the reception suggested by External Affairs at the September media and publicity meeting was not arranged to follow the press conference, the press had no further opportunity to question the members of the Mission. Latin American Division in External Affairs had decided that the appropriate time for the reception would be after the Mission's return. A post-mission reception was indeed held at Rideau Gate, but the only journalists invited, apart from the few who accompanied the Mission, were four senior members of the Press Gallery.

The two-page news release, prepared by the Prime Minister's office, went to a regular mailing list of one thousand people, both in English and French. It listed the countries to be visited and the ministers travelling, and it contained the Prime Minister's speech to the Commons explaining the purpose of the Mission. The background news briefing materials, however, were not distributed outside the press theatre in the Norlite Building in Ottawa. Since only 14 to 20 Press Gallery representatives attended the conference, distribution of the briefing materials was unusually limited. It is customary for such documents to go to the Press Gallery.

The Trade Publicity Officer took the left-over materials from the news conference to Latin America. On October 24, copies of the news briefing materials, and biographies and photographs of participating Ministers were sent to

Canadian Missions in Latin America for distribution. They were wired to the first country on the tour, Venezuela.

The background briefing materials, in the form in which they were issued, were possibly not suitable for wide Canadian distribution. They needed tying together and, in at least one case, the cultural note, needed enlarging. For such work, a full-time professional press officer would have been required. The External Affairs Co-ordinating Officer was not only inexperienced in handling news materials, but he also had to cope with other demanding duties in connection with the Mission.

When the press and publicity officers met on September 18, they had assumed that an official announcement of the Mission's membership and itinerary would be made early in the second week in October. No one had anticipated a delay that lasted until three days before the Mission's departure. The delay meant that the External Affairs' press officer assigned to get in touch with the news media could make no official announcement to the Press Gallery during the first three weeks of October. Unofficially, he reached the President of the Press Gallery, and it was agreed that a notice would be posted there, to invite interested newsmen to sign their names.

Fifteen names appeared on the list but, by October 24, the day that the Mission was finally announced, only two newsmen were definitely scheduled to go: A Radio-Canada newsroom employee, and a representative of the CBC International Service. A CBC public affairs television crew had made tentative arrangements to go. The absence of anyone from Canadian Press was particularly noticeable.

During the three weeks that the "unofficial" notice was posted in the Press Gallery, the External Affairs Officer in charge of Mission press arrangements discussed the tour with the Ottawa bureau of Canadian Press, and with some members of the Press Gallery. The Department felt it could give no details until the formal announcement of the Mission.

Newsmen who had removed their names from the list were individually canvassed before the departure of the Mission. They themselves were interested in the Mission but their editors had concluded that the results were unlikely to justify a month's working time and relatively heavy expenses. Living expenses for newsmen travelling with the Mission were estimated at between \$1,000 and \$1,200, and wiring copy back to Canada would have added to the cost.

The length of time and the expense involved in covering the Mission made it desirable that government information people make early and individual contact not only with members of the Press Gallery but also, perhaps, with news-

paper editors and media programme organizers. The late date of the official announcement of the Mission, however, made such contact difficult. Mission co-ordinators were well aware of the lack of Canadian interest in Latin American affairs. And by October 24, when the Prime Minister spoke of the Mission in the Commons, they presumably knew that he hoped the Mission would "lay the groundwork for better understanding of Latin America on the part of Canadians." It is unfortunate that they were not in a position properly to exploit the opportunities that the Mission offered for interpretive and feature stories on the countries visited.

There was concern among the Ministers on the Mission when they learned there would be virtually no media representation. Senior officials at the Canadian Press and the CBC were approached, but without success. The CBC Television News Department failed to send a crew. Canadian Press explained that it had a tight budget, no roving reporters to spare and, most important, a conviction that the Mission lacked the essential "hard news" angle. (The Canadian Press sent a reporter on the Governor-General's Caribbean tour in February 1969. The most CP could offer was a promise to alert its Latin American stringers and its affiliates, Reuters and Associated Press.)

The reports by the stringers and the two agencies, plus *Agence France Presse*, varied considerably in quality. In two or three of the larger countries visited they provided prompt, comprehensive coverage of the Mission's activities, and of the Minister's news conferences and speeches. They did not, however, provide the sort of background and interpretative writing that might have increased Canadians' knowledge of Latin America. That, perhaps, is why the Canadian news media gave very little play even to the better reports.

A Southam News Services correspondent joined the Mission at mid-way point, and travelled with it for two weeks. A Toronto Telegram reporter was another late arrival but, because he was instructed to send his copy back by mail, his reports lacked a sense of immediacy.

In mid-November, there was a tentative plan to fly four Canadian newsmen to Latin America for the last leg of the Mission's tour. A Cabinet Minister had returned to Canada for a few days in November, and planned to rejoin the Mission on November 19, taking a Department of Transport plane to Chicago and a commercial flight to Mexico City. A senior information officer, after seeking an Assistant Deputy Minister's approval, approached various newspapers and television stations. He found four media representatives willing to join the Mission, provided they could travel with the Minister, without cost.

When the Information Officer suggested that the newsmen's fares from Chicago to Mexico City (\$105 each) should be paid out of the Mission's budget, the entire plan collapsed. There were no budgetary arrangements for paying newsmen's fares, and a senior official questioned the right of newsmen to travel on the Government plane taking the Minister to Chicago. The Department expressed unease at the extra publicity which could accrue to their Minister, through his travelling in the newsmen's company, and which might offend the Senior Minister on the Mission. The four media representatives, rather than pay for one-way tickets from Canada to Mexico, cancelled their arrangements to join the Mission.

The question of how much publicity could, or should, be accorded to an individual Minister was a recurring problem. When one Minister returned to Canada for a few days in November, a CBC television interview was arranged through a departmental Information Officer. Senior officials became so concerned about the amount of publicity that their Minister might get in the absence of the Mission members who were still in Latin America, that interview arrangements with three major newspapers were abruptly cancelled.

It is possible that, had there been a co-ordinating media officer, he would have reached the same decisions, but they would not have sprung from a basic uncertainty about the desirable amount of publicity for any individual Minister. At this stage of the Mission there was in Ottawa no co-ordination of media and publicity. The External Affairs officer's responsibility for co-ordination had been limited to news briefing materials, and had ended with the October 24 press conference.

At the midway point on the Mission, the Secretary of State for External Affairs left Latin America for the NATO Conference in Brussels. As there were about 18 Canadian journalists at that Conference, he took the opportunity to give a televised press conference there on the results of the Mission up to that point.

On November 24, the External Affairs' Press Office notified the Press Gallery that the returning Ministers would give a news conference on November 29 at 12:50 p.m. on the Mission's immediate return; there was also a news conference, with television cameras, at Uplands airport in Ottawa. Three Cabinet Ministers attended the Press Gallery conference, as well as one Parliamentary Secretary. About 20 members of the Press Gallery were there, and the conference lasted one hour. As it opened, the Secretary of State for External Affairs summarized the main points in the speech he had made to the Commons that morning. The speech was

available at the news conference, in English and French. Attached to it there was a list of participants in the Mission; an itinerary; an hour-by-hour account of Mission members' activities in every place visited; a list of economic and commercial topics discussed in Costa Rica; a speech the Honourable Mitchell Sharp had made in Mexico; and his letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Mexico about the establishment of a Joint Mexico-Canada Committee.

Several questions were asked in French. The Norlite Building conference room has a simultaneous translation system but Press Gallery officers had made no arrangements for translation that morning. As a result, some of the newsmen missed a number of interesting answers.

The news briefing materials ran to 42 pages, and the contents were decided upon by the Assistant Deputy Ministers of External Affairs and of Trade and Commerce. The release was put together in the final days of the Mission by Latin American Division officers from External Affairs. The draft was brought back to Ottawa ready for translation and release on the night of November 27.

The Department of External Affairs decided, however, that the 42-page briefing intended for the news conference need not be reproduced in 600 copies for the regular mailing list. Copies were printed for the Press Gallery only, the English language copies on November 28 and the French language ones on the morning of the press conference, November 29. The Translation Bureau's central services had completed the translation in twenty-four hours. There was no time to check the translation for quality and accuracy.

The decision not to distribute the 42-page news release outside the Press Gallery was understandable. Twenty-six pages of the document consisted of the hour-by-hour account of Mission members' activities, and the release was criticized in the Commons as "little more than a travelogue . . . long list of all the lunches and receptions which the Ministers attended."

Both immediately before and immediately after the Mission, however, detailed information about its purposes and its activities was available only to a very limited number of media people. On November 29 Press Gallery members were the sole recipients, and on October 24 distribution had been restricted to those few Press Gallery members who attended the press conference.

The Task Force made no systematic check of Canadian news media coverage of the Ministerial Mission, but officials interviewed in External Affairs, Trade and Commerce and the Secretary of State's Department agreed that the coverage was sparse and disappointing. In their opinion, the absence

f Canadian Press representation on the Mission was largely to blame. It is possible that, in the absence of expected media representation, the Mission should have sent an official reporter to Latin America. His material might have been released in Ottawa to the Press Gallery, through a departmental Information Officer.

Again, the Prime Minister said in October that the Mission was in part intended to "lay the groundwork for better understanding of Latin America on the part of Canadians." It seems probable that both immediately before and after the Mission's tour, there might have been a lively interest in the Mission among business, cultural and academic groups in the community. No one made any attempt to reach these people, to tell them about aspects of the tour that might have held immediate interest to them.

At the November 29 news conference, the Secretary of State for External Affairs told reporters that an interim report on the Mission would be ready "in a week or so." Preliminary Report was eventually tabled in the third week of January 1969. It was prepared by External Affairs Latin American Division, with contributions from Trade and Commerce and from the Canadian International Development Agency. The cultural section was drafted by External Affairs and submitted to the Secretary of State for comment. The Preliminary Report was released to the Press Gallery and to a mailing list of 600. In the weeks following the release, many requests for the interim report were received by both External Affairs and Industry, Trade and Commerce. Requests came from universities, business firms; members of the public, government departments and Members of Parliament. The report was reprinted, and by the end of March 1969, External Affairs had distributed a total of 1,832 copies in English and French, and Industry, Trade and Commerce had distributed 1,000 English-language copies.

conclusions on the Ministerial Mission to Latin America

This case study focussed on the handling of government information in Ottawa. It made no attempt to assess the Mission's success in Latin America or in the Latin American press. According to the participants, it was indeed successful in Latin America. The Latin American Mission cannot be considered typical of the handling of Ministerial Missions abroad; many tend to follow a set pattern that, from the point of view of information, is not unlike the handling of the budget. The circumstances of the Mission to Latin America made it somewhat difficult to plan. The study, however, has

inspired some suggestions that might contribute to an improvement in information systems.

From the outset, the Mission suffered from an absence of any clear policy on the purposes and uses of publicity. No one determined the kind of pre-departure promotion which would have made the Canadian public aware of the Mission's purpose. No one considered the problem of publicity for individual Ministers involved in an interdepartmental mission. The Mission required both a detailed and clearly stated policy on publicity and a skilled co-ordinator to interpret and administer it. Canadian public awareness of the significance of the Ministerial Mission was detrimentally affected by the lack of properly co-ordinated press, publicity and information activities.

Planning should have begun much earlier than it did. The Sub-committee on Press, Publicity and Information could have been convened in July or early August, and it should have continued its meetings until all requirements were clear and all necessary decisions taken. Every department and agency involved in the Mission should have been represented on the Sub-committee. Its chairman should have been a full-time, experienced co-ordinator, with responsibility not only for news briefing materials, but also for news media representation on the Mission, and for all publicity requirements. He could also have made contact with interested representatives of the commercial, academic and cultural communities and provided information about the Mission within their spheres of interest.

A co-ordinator who was working closely with the Mission organizers could have made them fully aware of the problems inherent in the long-delayed official announcement, and could perhaps have suggested an informal and well-prepared approach to key news media two or three weeks before the Mission was due to leave. In the circumstances he might also have made arrangements for belated media representation on the Mission.

The Newfoundland Fisheries Resettlement Programme

The Canadian Press story that first attracted the Task Force's attention reported that between 70,000 and 80,000 people will have been moved from remote Newfoundland communities by 1980, under a federal-provincial programme which began in 1965. Since the programme had started, 8,000 people had been moved, at a cost to the Federal Government of \$2,100,000. The Federal Government was committed to pay two-thirds of the programme costs.

The Task Force enquired at the Fisheries Department and

at Canadian Press, and learned that the story had not originated in a news release. The resettlement programme had been described briefly in the Minister's opening statement on October 29 to the Commons Committee on Fisheries and Forestry. The statement was belatedly distributed to the media, but the Canadian Press reporter based his story on replies to Committee members' questions on November 5. He was the only newsman present.

A senior Information Officer in the Fisheries Department told the Task Force that no departmental publicity had been given to the programme since its inception in March 1965. At that time, the media got a detailed release. The Information Officer said that when the programme was instituted, "there was a Ministerial decision that it should not be overpublicized for several reasons." One reason was that the programme was administered by a provincial Government, another that resettlement was purely voluntary. Eighty per cent of the households in an isolated community must not only agree to move, if they are to be included in the programme, but must also petition the government. Therefore, "it was strongly emphasized that no pressures be exerted on the people, and too much publicity might be a form of coercion."

The Newfoundland resettlement programme raises the fundamental question of what information should or should not be given to the public by a government department. And in this particular case, a distinction must be noted between the dangers of "too much publicity" and the virtual absence of publicity.

Resettlement is both long-term and costly. For the three-year period from March 1965 to March 1968, when 7,695 people were moved, the cost to the Federal Government was \$2,136,000. By 1980, when a further 50,000 to 60,000 people will have been moved (the Canadian Press figure of 70,000-80,000 was inaccurate) the Federal Government will have contributed a further \$13,000,000 and possibly more.

Despite departmental reticence in seeking publicity, the resettlement programme has been described in the press and the other media. The CBC English television network carried a programme about it in July 1968, and the *Globe and Mail* ran an article in its magazine on November 30, 1968. In that same month, Farley Mowat's book *The Rock Within the Sea* was published. It attacked Newfoundland's centralization programme, of which resettlement is a part.

Since the Minister's October 29 statement to the Commons Standing Committee on Fisheries and Forestry did mention the resettlement programme, and since it was released to the media, the Task Force checked the various stages by which the release was made.

On Thursday, October 24, a senior Information Officer was informed by his Deputy Minister that the Minister required a speech to be drafted on the overall activity of the Department. The draft was required Monday, October 28, and the speech was to be delivered October 29 to the Commons Standing Committee on Fisheries and Forestry. With the assistance of two junior Information Officers, the senior man made contact with directors of each division within the Department. He began work on the actual speech late on Friday, October 25, and submitted the draft to the Assistant Deputy Minister on Monday, October 28. It went on to the Deputy Minister and then to the Minister's office. In the final version, the Newfoundland resettlement programme was given one paragraph just under 270 words.

The text of the Minister's speech was not released on the day he made it, Tuesday, October 29. It was retyped in the Minister's office on Wednesday, October 30, and the text was then given to a senior Information Officer. He immediately took it to the departmental printing office, and gave a copy to the department's four-man Translation Unit.

On Thursday, October 31, English-language copies were sent to the Parliamentary Press Gallery, and the National Press Building. Two hundred copies were mailed to people who regularly receive texts of the Minister's speeches. Apart from magazines specifically concerned with fishing, no publications are on this list.

The departmental Translation Unit sent the French version of the Minister's speech straight to the departmental printer on October 31. No one checked the French version for accuracy. Copies were ready for distribution on Friday, November 1, and were sent to the Parliamentary Press Gallery, and the National Press Building.

Conclusions of the Newfoundland Fisheries Resettlement Programme

The delay in releasing the Minister's speech to the press deserves some attention. The text was two days late in the English version, and three days late in the French. It is a noteworthy that the French version was not checked for accuracy. As the other case studies show, translation often goes unchecked because of time pressures.

General Conclusions

None of the three case studies relates easily to another, but there are some striking contrasts between the circumstances of the Ministerial Mission and those of the Federal

Budget. In the case of the Budget, an efficient co-ordinated departmental machine has been built to dispense information about a recurring event. The mission, by contrast, required a quickly established, temporary information system of equal efficiency. Either style of organization requires professional people to run it. The Department of Finance had a highly-qualified Information Officer. He was completely in command of the information process. The Mission's organizers appointed a press and information co-ordinator – outside the ranks of the Information Division or Press office of the Department concerned – with no previous knowledge of the field, very limited responsibility and little authority.

The three case studies revealed one common situation: information service in French is not as efficient as it is in English. The translation of materials originally prepared in English is frequently not checked for either accuracy or general quality. The budget news summary was distributed unchecked. So was the Fisheries Minister's speech, which mentioned the Newfoundland resettlement programme. In one instance, before the Ministerial Mission, a Trade and Commerce background note was hastily translated into French, and the translation contained several ambiguities and one change of meaning.

The service in French was insufficient in other respects as well. Two news briefings about the Budget were conducted entirely in English, causing difficulty for at least some of the Press Gallery's French-speaking members. The Budget study drew attention to another part of the information process, in which a minister explains his policies directly to the public on television. Only English-language viewers were able to assess the Finance Minister's explanation of his Budget on a national television network.

There is a need for further study of the comparative quality of government information services in English and in French, and for a government-wide policy that states basic requirements of the French service. A central information authority would be in a position to ensure these requirements were observed.

The Budget study showed a departmental awareness of both regional requirements and the information needs of a special group of Canadians: the financial, commercial and industrial community. Copies of the Budget Speech were distributed simultaneously in Ottawa, and in major regional centres, to members of this group.

In the case of the Budget, the interested group was easy to define, and special distribution arrangements can be made for an infrequent but recurring occasion. The study of the Ministerial Mission indicated the need for research

into the needs of interested groups within the various regions of Canada. The Mission might have been much better publicized if its organizers had been able to release information that was prepared with an awareness of the interests of different groups.

Two of the three case studies revealed the most important problem in government information: the lack of any clear policy concerning the government information services. In the case of the Ministerial Mission, there were conflicting views between departments on the purpose and uses of publicity; and a single publicity officer was eventually sent on an interdepartmental mission that was intended to be an important public relations exercise. The study of the Newfoundland resettlement programme revealed a three-and-a-half-year-old Ministerial decision to avoid "too much publicity." This had been interpreted to mean issuing no detailed information at all. A government information policy might settle the conflicting approaches to publicity observed in the Ministerial Mission. It might also be a basis for decisions on informing the general public about such long-term federal-provincial programmes as the Newfoundland resettlement project. Finally, practical guidelines are impossible without the prior establishment of a philosophy of government information.

! & ?

XII Canadian Information Abroad

Papers VIII, IX, X, and XI defined some of the problems that afflict government departments and agencies in their efforts to spread official information among the Canadian people. These same problems, however, have ramifications not only domestically but overseas as well. They beset Canada's official information abroad, just as they hamper its dissemination at home.

A recent government report advanced a well-reasoned explanation for Canada's need to engage in information activities abroad: "People are no longer content to leave things to 'the government': they demand to know what the government is doing and why. This holds true in international as well as domestic affairs. If Canada is to play her full part in the comity of nations, foreign governments and at least the élite groups in foreign populations must have an accurate, sharply-focussed picture of what modern Canada is and does. The basic objective of an information abroad programme is to provide foreign governments and populations with lively, precise knowledge of Canada and to help them form favourable attitudes toward our country and its people."

A Canadian information programme should be designed to achieve a number of more specific objectives as well. It should not only improve overseas understanding of developments in Canada to ensure helpful attitudes, but it should also contribute to a broad appreciation of Canada's foreign policy and the efforts of Canadian diplomacy to reduce international frictions. It should increase Canadian external trade, encourage the flow of tourists to Canada, familiarize investors with the facts of Canadian life, and stimulate investment. It should also attract suitable immigrants, including qualified Canadians who have left the country.

A programme of basic information that is designed to make Canada better known than it is should provide the foundation for all such specialized programmes as efforts to increase exports or attract immigrants. The director of the Travel Bureau has suggested that "General information provides the show window in which we display our goods."

The Canadian Government's structure for information abroad does not lend itself to simple analysis. The prime responsibility rests with the Department of External Affairs. In effect, its rôle is to carry out the programme of general information. External Affairs is assisted by an Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad. Other federal departments and agencies, however, retain responsibility for information related to their specific objectives. As a result, roughly 20 different departments and agencies have an interest in information abroad. For half a dozen departments, information activities constitute a significant part of

their operations. This work is carried out in one way or another at all of the 90-odd Canadian missions. At some of these, several different departments or agencies have staff who perform information functions. They do not always work in harmony. In fact, the government has no central body to give a general direction to Canada's information programmes abroad, to provide common services for the various departments and agencies, or to assess the effectiveness of their information efforts.

A comprehensive study of all Canadian information abroad would therefore involve detailed investigation of a large number of departments and agencies that have overseas information programmes, a tour of at least a cross-section of Canadian missions, and an unprecedented effort to assess the impact of the programmes on their target areas.

The Task Force does not claim to have attempted so comprehensive a survey. It did order the preparation of analyses of the work of the principal departments involved but its primary effort was devoted to identifying the main problems. We paid particular attention to the Department of External Affairs and the Interdepartmental Committee because their rôles are key ones. It was discovered that while there are many good elements in the present programmes, there are also major deficiencies in the system and in the resources for information abroad; and these deficiencies have prevented the achievement of many of the very objectives for which the system was designed. These deficiencies are apparent in many areas: lack of clear government policies, priorities and leadership; inadequate interdepartmental co-ordination of long-term programmes and of current information both at home and abroad; inadequate training of some of the personnel; and in some cases insufficient staffing at home and abroad. These are only the most glaring of the deficiencies.

The Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad

Theoretically, the Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad co-ordinates the activities of its several members. It has its roots in the Second World War. Canada, along with other nations, realized at that time that there was a crucial need for a centralized and co-ordinated effort in public information. To this end, the Wartime Information Board was established. Its object was to ensure "an informed and intelligent understanding of the purposes and progress of the Canadian war effort," both at home and abroad. The Board's domestic activities were discontinued

in 1945, but its overseas work survived in the creation of the Canadian Information Service. Its voice, at a time when government had not developed information policies was sometimes discordant however, and, in 1947, the CIS was terminated. Its functions and its personnel were integrated with the Information Division of the Department of External Affairs.

Under the Order in Council that made this change, External Affairs was given responsibility for doing "such acts and things as may be considered necessary for distributing abroad information concerning Canada, and for co-ordinating and assisting the public services of the government in connection with the distribution of information concerning Canada." External Affairs was to have the assistance of an Interdepartmental Committee composed of representatives of External Affairs, Trade and Commerce, the National Film Board and the CBC.

On April 5, 1956, the Cabinet reaffirmed the responsibility of the Department of External Affairs for the co-ordination of Canadian information abroad, and set up an enlarged Committee of 16 members to "assist" the Department. The members were expected to keep the Committee informed of the information activities of their own departments, and the Committee as a whole was charged with studying the co-ordination of information abroad and proposing recommendations. A few years later, the Glassco Report was sharply critical of the Committee's activities. Annual meetings at the Deputy Minister level had been proposed – to review membership, terms of reference, policies, principles, priorities and facilities – but these meetings had never taken place. Meetings at a lower level were infrequent, and they dwelt on trivia rather than principles. "The results," the Glassco Report concluded, "have been disappointing."

Following this criticism, the government reorganized the Committee, and in April of 1965, the Cabinet approved a new mandate for it. The new terms of reference were intended to strengthen the Committee, to give it more authority than it had had, and a clearer definition of Canada's information objectives abroad. Its membership rose to twenty, and its general purposes were as follows:

1. to advise the government of objectives, priorities and areas of concentration for information activities abroad;
2. to assess and co-ordinate information activities that government departments and agencies undertook abroad; and
3. to advise Treasury Board, upon its request, on the financial implications of information programmes abroad

by individual departments and agencies. The new terms of reference made it clear that the immediate objectives of immigration, trade and commerce, and travel promotion were to remain the responsibility of the relevant departments but that in so far as they were of interest to information abroad, these programmes would also be the legitimate concern of the Interdepartmental Committee.

A six-member Subcommittee was established with the idea that the full Committee would meet only once a year and the Subcommittee would meet more often as a working group. The Committee and the Subcommittee made a good start. Departments sent senior officials, and they immediately set themselves the task of formulating a policy for Canadian information abroad. Before long, however, the senior departmental officials appeared to lose interest. They began to send substitutes, and the head of External Affairs' Information Division replaced the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs as Chairman. Only three years after the creation of the executive Subcommittee, it became necessary to revive it. Since the revival, it has met briefly about every two weeks. The full Committee defined the tasks of the Subcommittee on June 20, 1968, as follows:

1. to be a working committee, meeting regularly, and limited to those departmental divisions and agencies that are actively and continuously engaged in information abroad;
2. to provide for effective co-ordination of all operations in the field of information abroad;
3. to exchange budget information with a view to establishing total expenditures on information abroad and to ensure the efficient and rational use of funds;
4. to undertake joint programme planning;
5. to assist the Department of External Affairs in the development of a coherent policy framework for information abroad, within which the various departments and agencies might fruitfully operate.

The Chairman of the Subcommittee is the head of the Information Division of External Affairs. Its membership includes representatives of Industry, Trade and Commerce; Manpower and Immigration; the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission; and, in an advisory capacity, the Treasury Board. The Subcommittee has created working groups, including one to deal with films, and it has tackled such subjects as the possible commissioning of an independent professional survey of government information abroad, the pooling of the use of public relations firms abroad, and the desirability of combining resources to produce a first class film on Canada that would be useful to

all departments. This, at long last, appears to be a reasonable start toward bringing order to Canada's information efforts abroad but, in the light of past experience, the Task Force would question the ability of the Subcommittee to achieve good results unless some of the elements of the whole system are changed.

Departmental Information Structures

The Department of External Affairs has four divisions that are involved either directly or indirectly in information activities. They include the Information Division and Press Office, both of which are primarily engaged in information work. The Information Division's chief responsibilities are planning and carrying out the Department's programme abroad. The Press Office informs the press of Canadian views and policies on foreign affairs, and it also tries to send timely information to posts. The Cultural Affairs Division expends part of its effort on providing information about Canadian cultural activities, and the Historical Division sends publications to posts abroad.

All four divisions report to the same Assistant Under-Secretary. He is also responsible for supervising the work of four other unrelated divisions while acting as the Department's legal adviser.

The Head of the Information Division rarely sees the Minister or the Under-Secretary and he is not a member of the Senior Management Committee. He attends meetings when general information policy is under discussion but he does not act as a regular adviser to management on public relations. The Head of the Press Office, on the other hand, has access to the Minister, the Under-Secretary and his assistants in order to seek their guidance and to advise them on the handling of press queries. He also attends certain policy meetings.

The Industry and Trade Publicity Branch of the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce has two main audiences: the producers of Canadian products with an export potential, and the foreign purchasers and distributors of Canadian exports. The Branch's objectives are clearly defined. The Director reports to the Director-General, Promotional Support Services. He has close contact with the Senior Assistant Deputy Minister but little contact with the Deputy Minister. He is not a member of the Senior Management Committee. The Canadian Government Travel Bureau enjoys virtual autonomy within the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce. The Director reports to the Director-

General of the Office of Tourism. He has frequent contact with the Deputy Minister and contributes advice on tourism and public relations. The Task Force found that the Bureau had perhaps the most clearly defined information goals of any department, and had achieved an impressive level of performance.

The Department of Manpower and Immigration has a single Information Service to handle the information requirements of all sections of the Department, including its foreign operations. The Information Director has clear instructions concerning his objectives, and unlimited access to the Deputy Minister. He serves as a public relations adviser to senior management.

Finances

The Task Force had considerable difficulty in estimating the government's expenditures on information abroad. For the most part, the departments and agencies do not identify in their budgets all of the costs of whatever programmes they may have for information abroad. Some organizations, such as the CBC International Service and the Travel Bureau, are devoted almost solely to such work and their expenses can be identified relatively easily. In most of the others, however, the information work is part of other activities, and many of their staff perform information duties on a part-time basis. Some draw no budgetary distinction between their information programmes within Canada and those overseas. The Task Force therefore intends the figures that follow to be only a rough guide to the amount that the government may be spending on information abroad. Except for the amounts budgeted by Industry, Trade and Commerce for world exhibitions, and entered in the book of *Estimates*, the figures were identified and evaluated for the Task Force by the departments themselves.

The Department of External Affairs carries out information activities in four divisions at headquarters and at some 86 missions abroad. At only five of these missions does it have officers who are formally assigned to do full-time information work. In Washington, there are three. In Paris, one is listed as Press Counsellor and four other staff combine information and cultural functions. In London, there are two. In Dakar, there is one. At the Consulate General in New York, there are three. A sampling of key posts, however, indicated to the Task Force that, as a rule, perhaps 20 per cent of the work of these posts is related to information work. The Task Force applied this approximation to

the Department's budget and arrived at the following figures:

	1968-69	1969-70
Programme expenditure at headquarters (including Information, Cultural Affairs, Historical Divisions and the Press Office)	\$1,475,524	\$ 2,574,339
20 per cent of costs of operations abroad	6,819,306	7,454,073
Total	\$8,294,830	\$10,028,412

The Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce could not provide an estimate for the cost of its very extensive information programme. (It is next to impossible, for instance, to distinguish between trade promotion activities and their information component.) However, as much as 50 per cent of the activities of the Trade Commissioner Service at 71 offices abroad (not to mention headquarters costs) may be related to information work, and applying this estimate, costs would be:

1968-69: \$6,484,770. 1969-70: \$7,321,056.

In addition, the Department has primary responsibility for Canadian participation at nearly 50 international trade fairs each year. The costs for these, according to the book of *Estimates*, are the following:

1968-69: \$2,394,000. 1969-70: \$4,979,000.

The Travel Bureau operates offices in nine countries. It has 15 offices in the USA alone. Its budgeted costs are almost all attributable to information abroad. They amounted to:

1968-69: \$10,806,743. 1969-70: \$11,636,784.

The Department of Manpower and Immigration operates 36 immigration offices in 20 countries; at three offices — Paris, London and Geneva — full-time information officers assist the Regional Directors. The cost of information programmes varies greatly from year to year in line with fluctuations in government policy concerning the desirability of encouraging immigration. Budgeted costs are:

1968-69: \$848,726. 1969-70: \$671,890.

The CBC International Service directs its activities almost exclusively to information abroad. Its budgeted costs are:

1968-69: \$3,565,000. 1969-70: \$3,608,000.

The National Film Board's overseas operations include both theatrical and non-theatrical distribution. Theatrical distribution produces revenue. The non-theatrical distribution is largely handled and paid for by the Department of External Affairs. The Task Force has estimated, however, that the Board spends an annual amount of \$500,000 in support of overseas film distribution.

The Task Force cannot provide a full picture of the expenditures because much of the data is too heterogeneous to allow valid comparisons. What matters, from the Task Force's standpoint, is that the amounts spent are very large and, that both for long-term programmes and in those requiring an immediate response to new situations, they call for a good deal of co-ordination if the most effective use is to be made of them.

Information Activities

For Canadian and foreign consumption the Department of External Affairs produces four series of information sheets in both official languages, and these are distributed free of charge both abroad and in Canada. Through its posts, External Affairs distributes booklets in a variety of languages in response to enquiries, as presentations at exhibitions, and in kits for students and teachers. An example of the special attention that the Department now devotes to the United States, is its current distribution of 175,000 students' study kits and 25,000 teachers' kits to American schools.

Following the distribution in 1965 of a Spanish edition of the *Canada Handbook*, the Department is now publishing a special Spanish edition of the government's Centennial publication "Canada One Hundred: 1867-1967." It is intended for selective distribution by our embassies in Latin America and Spain.

Daily news bulletins are sent to most posts by wire or air-mail and they are supplemented by the dispatch of the more important policy statements made in Canada. Some of the missions abroad produce information bulletins locally. The Embassy in Paris publishes *Canada d'aujourd'hui*, quarterly that is produced and distributed by a French public relations firm. The High Commission in New Delhi has been publishing the monthly Canadian Bulletin for ten years, and has turned its production over to a local firm. The High Commission provides the material. Posts in Dublin, Pretoria, the Hague and London all issue mimeographed bulletin. Canadian missions abroad are also supplied with a wide range of books, periodicals and newspapers from Canada. The Embassies in Paris and Washington, Canada House

London, and the Consulate General in New York are depositories for the Queen's Printer's publications as well. The missions use their material primarily to keep informed of developments at home, but also to maintain reading rooms for people who want information about Canada and, on occasion, to present books in both official languages to libraries abroad.

The Canadian International Development Agency has begun production of a series of booklets on Canadian development programmes in various countries written by nationals of the relevant countries. An Indian writer, for instance, has been commissioned to write one in English for India. The next booklet to be commissioned will be for Pakistan.

The Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce produces a tabloid, the *Courier*, to acquaint businessmen in other countries with the range of Canada's exports. It appears six times a year in English and twice a year in French, German, Spanish and Arabic. The Department also produces a variety of publications on such specific matters as Canadian wires and cables, and exhibition catalogues and publicity kits. In addition, it prepares feature articles for publication in trade magazines abroad.

The Department of Manpower and Immigration produces printed counselling aids and material for replies to enquiries. These include a series of booklets on topics such as housing, living conditions and opportunities for employment. The booklets appear in English and French editions, and in seven other languages. The Department has an up-dating problem with these publications, however, because they deal with such fluctuating conditions that they frequently contain discrepancies. A partial answer has been the introduction of "electronic counselling devices" as a pilot project. They are now in use in the Immigration offices in London and Cologne, and they consist of synchronized slides with sound track.

Fairs, Exhibitions and Displays Abroad

Every year, Canada participates in 40 to 50 fairs or exhibitions abroad. An *ad hoc* committee, consisting of representatives of several interested departments, discusses the programme annually. The Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce (which was responsible for the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission until the Commission's recent transfer to Public Works) sponsors most of the Canadian pavilion and exhibitions abroad, but the Department of External Affairs also contributes material and staff to many of them. In support of each display, there is a

working committee. It may include representatives of the Exhibitions Commission, a Trade Fairs Abroad Officer, a Commodity Officer and a Trade Publicity Officer from Industry, Trade and Commerce. Its function is to plan participation in advance – pre-show promotional work, press relations, and advertising and informational material to be distributed at the exhibition. The working committee also prepares a follow-up report on the impact of Canadian participation.

Some displays may relate to single commodities. Others offer a chance to present a broad image of Canada and they may employ a combination of one or more exhibits, handicraft or art collections, lectures, film showings and even performing artists from Canada.

The Exhibitions Commission not only prepares Canada's contributions to fairs and exhibitions, it also designs and produces portable displays for posts abroad. The posts have used these to provide material for requests from local organizations, and as an accompaniment to such information work as film showings and lectures.

Films

The variety, quality and popularity of Canadian films – particularly those of the National Film Board – make them one of the most effective ways to enhance Canada's image in most countries of the world. NFB films have been produced in 39 languages.

The NFB's high reputation abroad is of course because of artistic and technical achievements, but it is also because of the realization by viewers that, as one Canadian diplomat put it, "they are looking over the shoulders of Canadians looking at Canadians."

Most of Canada's diplomatic posts abroad have film libraries to distribute NFB films for free showings. Some posts organize prestige showings of recent NFB films for viewing by small groups of local leaders or relevant experts. The National Film Board also arranges its own distribution abroad. In 1968 this accounted for 44,478 screenings seen by more than six million people. Some NFB films also appear on foreign television.

External Affairs considers there is a need for a good general film on Canada. The only available film on the Canadian political system is "The Sceptre and the Mace." Since it is 12 years old posts are reluctant to show it.

The relationship between the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce and the National Film Board in the use of film for trade promotion is not entirely satisfactory.

In 1968, the Department sponsored "I am a Country." Its purpose was to present a fresh image of Canada as a modern industrial country, and it was to be used abroad by the Department's industry and trade publicity offices. The production of "I am a Country" caused some friction between the Department and the National Film Board. They could not agree on the treatment of the subject and, after six months of delay, the National Film Board agreed to "contract out" the film to a commercial film producer.

The Department is now trying to implement procedures under which the operational branches of the Department propose the films, the Assistant Deputy Minister for Operations establishes the priorities, and these are then passed on to the Industry and Trade Publicity Branch for implementation by the Audio-visual Section.

The Travel Bureau has a very small budget for films. This does not enable it to produce, but it does do some versioning of films produced by other agencies for foreign audiences. The Bureau also draws the attention of private industry to the need for specific films, seeks sponsors, and produces three-minute TV clips.

The Department of Manpower and Immigration also uses some films to inform prospective immigrants. Through the National Film Board, it has sponsored such films as "Why Canada?" a collection of success stories of real immigrants; "Week-end," illustrating life in a small community; and "*En octobre*," the story of a French immigrant family and how they feel about the differences between life in Canada and in France. The Department also uses general films which were not specifically produced for its purposes, but have some relevance to immigration objectives.

Radio and TV

The CBC International Service, created in 1942, reaches a wide audience in Europe and Latin America and, to a lesser extent in Africa and Australasia as well. It employs shortwave broadcasts from Canada, and relays transcriptions prepared for the radio stations or networks of other countries. The CBC-IS broadcasts 90 hours weekly in 11 languages: English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian and Russian. The broadcasts include 23 news bulletins a day, news commentaries, interviews, talks on current events, music, and programmes of special interest to short-wave fans.

The CBC-IS distributes a multi-lingual Programme Schedule quarterly to 150,000 people abroad. The 25-year old transmitters at Sackville, N.B., are now virtually obsolete, and they

are supplemented by relay facilities rented from the BBC. New transmitters and antenna arrays have been authorized, and are expected to be in full operation by January 1972.

The short-wave scheduling is supplemented by relays, transcriptions, and since 1962 by television programmes, distributed by Canadian missions in 26 countries.

Since April 1, 1968, the IS has been fully integrated with the CBC as part of the External Services Division and the Corporation's other international activities. Close liaison continues with the Information Division of the Department of External Affairs. It provides guidance and information on government policies. Representatives of the National Service and the International Service of the CBC and the Department of External Affairs have formed an Advisory Committee on Broadcasting to consider the policy and scale of operations of the IS; to advise on relations between the CBC and foreign broadcasters and governments; to establish policy on sales of CBC programmes abroad; and to keep the CBC informed of Canadian foreign policy.

Media Relations and Timely Information

Most people learn of foreign countries through their own national press, radio and television. For the most part, the media acquire information about Canada from the news agencies, and they in turn depend upon the Canadian Press for news about Canada. Canadian missions abroad seldom affect the flow of news from the wire services. Many of them, however, attempt to maintain close contact with the press in their area, to make themselves known as reliable sources of information, and to create a receptive climate of opinion for Canadian news items.

The Department of External Affairs sends "Policy Statement Telegrams" to overseas posts to inform them of major government pronouncements, particularly those that concern foreign policy. They are sent in English to 62 posts by wire and 25 by air-mail, and in French to 22 posts by wire and six by air-mail. These, however, seldom arrive in time to compete with wire-service copy. They cover only a few of the subjects that may be of interest in other countries. Background information that might interest the press abroad is provided to the posts more rarely although there have been a few notable occasions on which posts have received material of this kind that is both suitable and sufficiently well in advance to be useful. The Constitution Conference in 1968 was one such occasion. Budget presentations are another.

The posts that have full-time press officers — Washington,

New York, Paris, London — have more frequent contact with the Press Office in Ottawa, and receive some material that might interest the press in their area.

Canadian Press prepares a nightly news bulletin in English and this is sent to 59 Canadian missions abroad by wire and a further 35 by air-mail. The Montreal Newsroom of *Radio Canada* provides a similar service in French. It goes to 12 posts by wire and to 20 by air-mail. The number of posts receiving this bulletin has doubled in the last four years. They are those for which the Department has a leased line or those which can be reached by inexpensive telex. Adding to their number is highly desirable but it would also be highly expensive; each Latin American post added to the wire network, for example, would cost an estimated \$11,000 per year.

Visiting Journalists

In recent years, the Department of External Affairs has begun to regard its Visits Programme as one of its more effective information efforts. Until 1966, its budget for visits was limited to \$5,000. For the fiscal year 1966-67, Centennial celebrations inspired an increase to \$50,000. In 1968-69, the budget for the Visits Programme was \$70,000 and, for 1969-70, the expenditure will hopefully rise to \$80,000. The Department of Manpower and Immigration, too has made a modest beginning to a visiting journalist programme. Industry, Trade and Commerce recently followed up Canada's participation at the Paris Air Show by inviting a group of aviation journalists to Canada. It was also involved with a recent trans-Canada tour of Japanese journalists in a promotional effort to support the Tokyo Trade Fair. The assistance that External Affairs gives to visiting journalists and broadcasters is financial, facilitative or both, with no conditions attached.

A Subcommittee on Visitors' Programmes has been formed by the Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad to bring together representatives of various government departments and agencies involved in such programmes. The Subcommittee meets sporadically. Departments do not automatically advise one another of their coming visits. The nature of these programmes is such that there are continuing contacts between departments, but more could be done to give advance notice of visits, and thereby facilitate, on occasion, more joint sponsorship among departments than currently is the case.

External Affairs' lack of regional offices within Canada is a second problem. It is not so serious, however, when the

journalists themselves have wide interests that fall within the scope of other departments. In these cases the co-operation of departments that do have regional offices is readily obtained. Otherwise *ad hoc* arrangements are made by External Affairs for each visitor.

Advertising

Advertising techniques are extensively used abroad by the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, by the Canadian Government Travel Bureau, and by the Department of Manpower and Immigration. Industry, Trade and Commerce concentrates largely on advertising its trade fairs and exhibitions. Manpower and Immigration uses advertisements to attract potential immigrants with high qualifications for employment in Canada. The ads promote the image of Canada as a good place in which to work and live, and appear to be effective. The Canadian Government Travel Bureau aims its advertising at the tourist market and the results are highly satisfactory. The Department of External Affairs makes virtually no use of advertising in its general information programme.

Speakers Programme

The Prime Minister and other Ministers normally take advantage of trips abroad to address appropriate groups. The main responsibility for speaking to audiences interested in Canada rests with the Canadian representatives abroad. The establishment of a speakers' bureau within the Information Division of the Department of External Affairs has been under study for some time with a view to sponsoring talks abroad by distinguished Canadians.

Cultural Affairs

Cultural relations and Canadian cultural activities abroad are closely related to information activities because, quite apart from their intrinsic value, they serve to demonstrate an important aspect of the Canadian image. Demonstrating the cultural achievements of Canada helps to serve the objectives of the Canadian Government Travel Bureau, the Departments of External Affairs and Manpower and Immigration, and several other government departments and agencies. The feed-back is not unimportant in assisting Canadian artists and in fostering a sense of national identity.

The Cultural Affairs Division of the Department of External Affairs was created in 1966 as a direct result of the

increasing priority in relations with French-speaking countries and the signing of the *Accord Culturel* with France in 1965. Canada has signed cultural agreements with Belgium as well as with France, and a Canadian cultural centre will shortly be opened in Paris. Abroad, there are Canadian cultural attachés in Paris, London, Rome, Brussels, Moscow and Washington. Posts have been established for The Hague and Bonn, but they have not yet been filled.

The Department of External Affairs, the Canada Council, the National Gallery, the National Arts Centre, the Department of the Secretary of State and several other agencies each have a rôle in representing Canada abroad in the cultural field. The government has begun to recognize that there is a genuine need for closer co-ordination among these departments and agencies than has existed in the past. The Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Secretary of State met with officials recently to determine ways to achieve this co-ordination. From the Task Force's point of view, lack of co-ordination means a failure to inform people fully. (The Task Force considers the subject of cultural information in greater detail in its paper on the arts and information.)

Research

The Department of External Affairs does not normally commission research projects or surveys in connection with its information programmes. However, it did commission a professional educator to study the treatment of Canada in American schools. His report, "A Study of the Attention Given to Canada and the United States in Each Other's Schools" (November 1967) was circulated for comment to all Canadian posts in the United States, and some of the recommendations have been accepted. In 1967, a research study was commissioned by the Department on the foreign news content of a selection of Canadian newspapers in June of that year.

The importance of research is appreciated by Information Services of Manpower and Immigration. Two attitude surveys were carried out in France and the United States on the motives for emigration, and Canada as a possible destination. The Department has also undertaken a study of French immigrants' reactions in Canada, as well as a study of Quebecers' reactions to the French immigrants.

The Travel Bureau employs a "marketing" concept and has commissioned several research projects, sometimes jointly with provincial travel bureaux and travel associations.

A more thorough description of research is given in

Paper xviii of this Report but, for the moment, the Task Force simply observes that the government has no systematic approach to research connected with its information abroad, and no means to make full use of the research that is available.

Weaknesses of Present System

We have outlined the principal information activities in which the government is presently engaged abroad. Many are highly successful. The National Film Board's products enjoy a remarkable reputation. The Travel Bureau's performance is undoubtedly a key factor in pushing Canada's tourist revenue to about a billion dollars. And some of the information efforts abroad of Industry, Trade and Commerce, of Manpower and Immigration, of External Affairs, and other arms of the Canadian Government have been no less successful in a variety of tangible ways. There are, however, some serious deficiencies in the government's structure for executing programmes for information abroad. In the following pages, the Task Force attempts to analyse some of the weaknesses and to illustrate the consequent failures and lost opportunities.

The Interdepartmental Committee

The history of the periodic death and reincarnation of the Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad helps to illustrate the weaknesses of such organizations. The Committee has exhibited two chief failings: it has failed to formulate an overall policy for government information abroad, and it has failed to co-ordinate effectively the activities of various departments and agencies in carrying out their specialized programmes. Its failure in policy formulation may be seen in a simple fact: the only proposal that the Committee has ever submitted to Cabinet concerned the revision of its own terms of reference. It is also interesting to note that the Cabinet has never asked the Committee for proposals.

The Committee has also had several structural weaknesses. It has never had a permanent secretariat to give it work continuity. The Chairman has been a rotational Foreign Service Officer; he has changed every two or three years or more often, and so has the Committee's Secretary. The Committee has had no budget to allocate to joint projects. It has had no mandate to scrutinize its members' budget proposals, and it has therefore been unable to give advance consideration to financing information programmes.

on a co-operative basis. The Treasury Board has been represented on the Committee, but the Board did not create an information component until after the establishment of the Task Force, and it has therefore not yet been able to bring to the Committee an informed judgment on the financial aspects of information abroad.

In addition to the Committee's structural weaknesses, there is the problem that it has never been given executive powers. Individual departments have retained the responsibility for formulating and carrying out information policy in their own fields of interest. They have the power to make basic decisions concerning resources and personnel without consultation with the Committee. Each department or agency has carried out its mandate according to its own requirements. Manpower and Immigration, and Industry, Trade and Commerce, have done this as a matter of course. They have large programmes abroad and their information activities are designed to serve these programmes. Agencies such as the CBC International Services or the NFB, whose activities are designed for much more general purposes, operate in the same way. Co-ordination has been intermittent and purely voluntary. The Interdepartmental Committee serves only as a forum for the sharing of information on the activities of its members; it can bring little weight to bear on the nature, timing or co-ordination of those activities. A department that has disagreed with a Committee recommendation has been able to ignore it, and has been free to refrain from advising the Committee of efforts that might not secure general support.

The Department of External Affairs

The lack of overall government policy on information abroad and the lack of adequate machinery for co-ordination could be less serious than they are if the Department with responsibility for general information – External Affairs – were better equipped to discharge it. But perhaps that is begging the question. Had the Department been better equipped, it might well have acted to ensure Cabinet approval of formal policy guidelines and the establishment of effective machinery.

The Department's weaknesses in the information field have been documented in the Massey Commission on National Developments in the Arts, Letters and Sciences of 1951 and the Glassco Commission. Criticism of the Department's efforts is commonplace among the official information community in Ottawa, private individuals and firms with an interest in Canada's image abroad. Much of the most tren-

chant criticism, however, has come from within its own ranks. A departmental survey of 1960, found that three-quarters of all Canadian missions abroad considered the Department's information resources, both in material and staff, to be inadequate even to meet the actual demand for information, and still more meagre in relation to the opportunities that might have been exploited. In 1968, a departmental report noted that the information work of the Department had been limited to responding to requests for films, papers, pamphlets and speakers in countries where Canada had missions. Insufficient resources had caused the floundering of well-conceived and opportune information programmes, even of modest proportions. Three years ago a departmental report stated that, under successive governments and departmental managements, the Information Division had continued to be "a tolerated but unloved stepchild." The report found that the foreign service tended to disdain information work as "unprofessional" in the sense of the profession of diplomacy while journalists considered it "unprofessional" in the sense of the profession of public communication. "The sad thing is that these two views, though often exaggerated in their scope and intensity are not lacking in valid basis." (It is fair to note, however, that the present Head of the Information Division enjoys the esteem of other government information professionals and that, over the past four years, the Department has taken a number of initiatives in general information and relations with the media.)

Information has never been a priority area within External Affairs. The importance of an effective information programme has been recognized in theory, but senior officials have seldom been able to devote much time to it nor to assign an adequate number of competent officers to deal with information activities. Since information work has generally been considered a secondary activity, officers themselves have generally not sought to perform it. Once given the task, they have made conscientious attempts to carry out their assignments but, since they have seldom received appropriate training in information work, success has been difficult to achieve.

The Department's career structure is based on the rotating of officers between posts abroad and different assignments in Ottawa. The aim is to produce generalists rather than specialists and this has a number of advantages. As an officer's career advances he has a much wider range of experience than if he had been confined to one specialty or geographical area. The present Under-Secretary has pointed out that heads of mission who have had experience in information work are unlikely to underestimate its value.

Conversely, officers who are engaged in information work may bring greater political awareness to their task than would a communications specialist who had had no experience in the field of foreign policy.

The advantages, however, are at least partially offset by serious disadvantages. Officers who have been assigned to information tasks spend weeks or months learning the technical aspects of their jobs and becoming acquainted with their colleagues in the information field in Ottawa or their prospective markets abroad. If, after two or three years, they are transferred, it is unlikely that they will be able to use their hard-won expertise on their new assignment. Task Force research contains a number of examples of the problems that the rotation of officers creates. The officer assigned to the Fairs and Exhibitions desk of the Information Division had only recently assumed her duties and the post had been vacant for two months prior to her arrival. In another section, one of the two information officers had arrived in September, and the other in October; much of the section head's time was taken up in their training. At the Press Office, the junior of the two officers arrived in mid-September. He had had no press experience, but he was nevertheless expected to assume responsibility for the office when the head left in early October for a mission abroad with his Minister.

There has been little opportunity for career advancement for information officers who might provide some degree of continuity even if much of the work were performed by rotational Foreign Service or Administrative Service Officers. The present establishment of the Information Division is eight Foreign Service Officers, seven Administrative Service Officers and six Information Officers. Of the six ISOs, two are level 3 and four are level 1. The problem at posts abroad was similar, if not worse, until recently. Now, however, experienced information officers have been posted in New York, Paris, London and Washington. There remain, however, a number of major posts, such as those at Bonn, Brussels, Rome and Tokyo – that have no senior officer with information experience on staff and there also remains a lack of information specialists throughout the service.

The Results: Failures and Omissions

The deficiencies of the Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad and of its leading member, the Department of External Affairs, have led to a serious lack of co-ordination in information work abroad. A lack of co-ordination at home compounds the difficulties in information

abroad. A few examples:

Last year, after the information officers at missions abroad had taken pains to interpret the Federal Government's stand on the seal hunt in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development issued a press release to point out the effect of the anti-sealing campaign on the market value of Arctic seal pelts. This drew attention to another area of Canada where seals were hunted, and provided a new target for attacks. The statement also mentioned that Indian Affairs did not want to comment on the "controversial" Gulf hunt, and thus implied that the Gulf hunt could be criticized even though at the time the government was defending it. At the present time posts abroad are furnished with background papers to counteract criticism of the seal hunt and they are engaged in interpreting the government's stand. Meanwhile, the Minister of Fisheries has stated publicly that he is considering abolishing the hunt altogether.

For some time the Interdepartmental Committee and its Executive Subcommittee have been discussing the need for a general film on Canada to benefit all departments in the overseas aims. Recently the representatives from Industry, Trade and Commerce informed the Executive Subcommittee that his Department had already sponsored such a film *I am a Country*, which presents a "new swinging image" of Canada. The Executive Subcommittee had not previously been advised of the making of the film, nor invited to suggest themes that might be included in it. The Task Force has viewed this film. It presents Canada in a fresh mode of light, but is not a general film on Canada; it simply shows that Canada is a modern industrial nation and does not convey anything of Canada's unique social or cultural character. The Task Force wonders if it would not have been possible to have inserted at least some cultural information in such a film.

The image of Canada as a land of ice and snow, moose and Eskimos, has long been a source of irritation to Canadian travellers and to Canadian information officers abroad. For many years there has been a strong effort to correct this image. Both the Centennial and Expo '67 served to show a different sort of Canada to foreigners. The new orientation, however, seems to have escaped the International Service of the CBC at least once. It made a wide distribution abroad of a special winter Centennial program schedule that included coloured illustrations of the Parliament Buildings in winter, the musical ride of the RCMP, a Canadian Indian in ceremonial dress, the wheat fields of the west, a hockey game, the Fathers of Confederation and

n the back cover, another winter scene.

A similar failure of co-ordination exists at many missions broad. At the larger ones – in London, Paris, New York and Washington – the Departments of Industry, Trade and Commerce, Manpower and Immigration and National Defence, as well as the Canadian Government Travel Bureau, the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission, the National Film Board and the CBC are all involved in information activities. Theoretically, the head of the mission has authority over all government departments and agencies at the post, but each department frequently goes about its own interests independently. The lack of co-ordination has resulted in such situations as the Travel Bureau's preparing a large promotional effort in Boston and advising the Consulate only after the arrangements had been made, one department's refusal to participate in an exhibition staged by another in Paris, and the circumstances at the New York Consulate-General whereby each department has its own individual storage rooms holding similar stock.

In 1966, following a recommendation of the Interdepartmental Committee, the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs instructed posts abroad that, if feasible, they should establish local co-ordinating committees. Wherever the number of departments warranted it, the committees were created, but with varying degrees of success. In New York, the local Interdepartmental Committee, as such, has met only once (although the Consul General does hold weekly meetings of section heads). In Paris, on the other hand, the chairmanship of the Interdepartmental Committee has been assumed by the Embassy's number two man, and the Committee meets monthly, not only to share information but to plan. The Press Officer in Paris now gives weekly briefings to the press, and the press receive a monthly schedule of Canadian visits and events in France.

The problem of co-ordination in government information broad is serious enough but, perhaps even more serious is the lack of information activity in many important areas. One of the more crucial omissions has been the failure to establish area or country priorities for the government's information policy as a whole. Individual departments have worked out rough priorities based on their estimates of how specialized information campaigns in a particular area would improve their business but, for general information, there has been no effective system for deciding what resources should be put into each part of the world.

There are only the beginnings of such a system. In view of the importance to Canada of the United States, all relevant departments and agencies took part in conferences with rep-

resentatives of the Canadian Embassy and Consulates in the United States, in Washington in December 1967, and in Ottawa in March-April 1969. Their purpose was to discuss information activities. The Department of External Affairs asked the Honourable Lionel Chevrier, aided by a specialist in communications, to undertake a tour of the United States. Mr. Chevrier consequently recommended a series of improvements in Canadian information activities there. The Special Task Force that reviewed Canada's policy towards Europe (STAFEUR) gathered the views of all interested organizations in Ottawa, and the embassies in Europe, on priorities and approaches to information and cultural work in Europe. It included recommendations on these matters in its report to the government in February 1969. These two reports assume particular importance as they deal with the highest priority areas for information abroad. The need to improve Canada's image in France had been recognized even before the STAFEUR Report, and a greatly increased programme for France has been instituted. Partly because of Expo '70 Japan is now receiving the sustained attention which its importance to Canada merits. Several of the most important countries are therefore receiving special study, but there is still no adequate assessment of how much attention should be devoted to other parts of the world, and no way to apply the conclusions of such an assessment to the training of personnel and the allocation of resources.

It is not surprising that no comprehensive survey has been made of which media are most effective in approaching various markets. For some information activities, fairly precise statistics are available about their audiences. There are figures on the number of people who see National Film Board films and the number of school children who receive illustrated pamphlets. For other activities, evidence of the audience is at best inferential; from the correspondence received by the CBC Information Services, it is apparent that the service is widely heard in its target areas despite its present inadequate transmitters but there has been little independent research to make precise definitions of these audiences. For much of the activity carried out by the Department of External Affairs under the heading of general information, it is currently impossible to make any estimate of the audience at all. Even when numbers can be given, there is no clear idea of whether they include the people whom we should be reaching – the moulders of opinion, purchasers of Canadian goods, potential immigrants or tourists – or what the impact of our message may be. The Task Force has already noted that it is possible to make only approximate estimates of the costs of various information pro-

grammes abroad. If individual departments, or the government as a whole, do not know how much they are spending on information abroad, nor what audience they are reaching, they can scarcely judge the value they may be getting for their money. They have no basis other than intuition for deciding which activities should be reinforced, reduced or eliminated, and which might profitably be introduced.

Posts complain that they frequently hear of important Canadian Government initiatives through the local press before they hear it from the Department of External Affairs. A senior government official, returning from a visit abroad, told us that our embassy staffs were among the least informed people he met about what goes on in Canada. The Department's Press Office is responsible for transmitting policy statements to posts, but it has great difficulty in obtaining advance texts for this purpose, even when they concern foreign policy. Formal declarations tend to be re-written right up to the delivery time, and informal ones are frequently made impromptu in reply to questions in the House or from the press. If the statements concern subjects other than foreign policy, the Press Office itself generally learns of them through press channels. There is no central clearing system in the government for publicizing ministerial or departmental statements. It is apparent that a successful programme of information abroad must rest to a large degree on mechanisms for internal co-ordination.

Another area of neglect in government information abroad is the production of publications for specialized groups or areas. There has been a large gap, for instance, between picture pamphlets for school children and catalogues for trade fairs. There is no prestige periodical of general interest for the posts abroad to distribute. The government has expressed its intention to bring about closer relations with Latin American countries but it produces no high quality periodicals in Spanish. Some of the publications that do exist are clearly inadequate. *External Affairs*, the Department's monthly bulletin, is generally a bland compendium of ministerial speeches and brief factual accounts of international conferences; a reader would seldom be able to grasp from it why the Department has acquired a reputation for skill in reporting or negotiating. Nor would he find much inspiration in the drab *Canadian Weekly Bulletin* which is intended primarily for Canadians abroad. The Department of External Affairs has limited staff for producing publications from its own resources, and a limited budget for commissioning outsiders to produce them; and there is no central resource unit in the government to prepare material about Canada for External Affairs publications. In concluding this section on

the weaknesses in Canada's programmes of information abroad, the Task Force is obliged to acknowledge a virtual axiom of international affairs. It is that there is an inevitable and natural antagonism between those who pursue the art of diplomacy and those whose job it is to spread information. That may well be true. At the same time, however, a diplomacy that fails to communicate adequately can no longer be considered successful; its failure to communicate jeopardizes the very goals of its policy. The following pages are a brief description of the practical ways by which some other countries have recognized the connection between diplomacy and information.

United States

In 1953, the United States established the United States Information Agency as an independent arm of the Executive Branch of Government directly responsible to the President. Ten years later, President Kennedy redefined the rôle of the USIA: "The mission of the United States Information Agency is to help achieve United States foreign policy objectives by (a) influencing public attitudes in other nations, and (b) advising the President, his representatives abroad, and the various departments and agencies on the implications of foreign opinion for present and contemplated United States policies, programmes and official statements." USIA's Director reports to the President and is a member of the National Security Council and of other groups of presidential advisers.

The USIA receives guidance in foreign policy from the State Department and the Director of USIA attends the regular staff meetings of the Secretary of State. With other government departments, there is a two-way relationship whereby the USIA both receives and gives advice. At diplomatic missions abroad, the staff of USIA comes under the head of the post and the head of the Agency is the Country Public Affairs Officer. In 1968, Congress approved legislation to establish the Foreign Service Information Officer Corps. This gave USIA a career foreign service. In 1968, the USIA operated with a total budget of \$194,283,000.

United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, Ministers are responsible for the information policy and output of their respective departments, but the production and distribution of the information material required to implement departmental policy – including the day to day flow of information material in the media needed by overseas posts – is normally entrusted to

common service agency, the Central Office of Information. Policy for information abroad is established by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office which, in commercial matters, is guided by the Board of Trade.

Abroad, the British Information Services have three components: the Information Services of the Overseas Departments, the British Council, and in a class by themselves the External Services of the BBC. The Central Office of Information supplies the information services of the overseas departments with publicity and information material. Information officers attached to British diplomatic posts are career foreign service officers, but specialists are hired for technical jobs that require experience in journalism or film. The budget for overseas information is included in the estimates of the overseas departments (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Overseas Development, and Board of Trade).

Australia

In 1950 Australia replaced its wartime information agency by the Australian News and Information Bureau, which is attached to the Department of the Interior. The Bureau has two divisions, the Editorial Division and the Film Division, better known as the Australian Commonwealth Film Unit. The functions of the ANIB were declared by Cabinet to be (a) to produce publicity and information material for dissemination abroad with the object of making Australia widely and favourably known; (b) to help other countries to understand Australia; (c) to help foster good relations between Australia and other countries. The ANIB prepares – or assists in preparing – the publicity and information material for specific objectives of government departments. The ANIB's information efforts support Australia's foreign policy, support trade publicity and promotional campaigns, encourage capital investment from abroad, assist the Immigration Department, provide specialist information officers for Australian missions abroad, and produce films for national purposes. Personnel are recruited because of their expertise in the required fields of public information. They are not seconded from other government departments.

Belgium

Until recently, Belgium's organization for information abroad was similar to the present situation in Canada. An interdepartmental commission, however, recommended the establishment of a central resource unit at the disposal of all government departments. This rôle is now ascribed to

the *Institut Belge d'information et de documentation*, an independent body created in 1962 and responsible for its foreign operations to the Minister of External Affairs. This Institute provides information material to Belgian diplomatic missions, manages the Inbel press agency, coordinates the activities of government departments, and organizes information training courses for students from developing countries. Government departments determine their own requirements and make suggestions for their public information programmes and thus exercise their responsibility for departmental information. The Institute executes the established programmes.

France

In France the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible for information abroad. Press Counsellors at the major diplomatic posts are career diplomats; at a lower scale, press attachés and press secretaries work on a contract basis. Information material is produced by the Information Services of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the "*Documentation française*" in the Office of the President of the Council of Ministers; the Ministry of Cultural Affairs; and the Information Services of the embassies in the United States and the United Kingdom. Audio-visual material is produced by the ORTF. Trade information is the responsibility of the Department of Economic Affairs and it has its own officer abroad. In December 1968, the Secretary of State for Information announced the creation of an interdepartmental Committee on Information to improve co-ordination.

The structures adopted by each of these five countries vary with their forms of government and their needs in the information field. None serves as a precise model for Canada, but they do contain elements that might usefully be incorporated in a Canadian system. Most of the countries have felt the need to establish a central resources unit to provide information and services for those engaged in information work abroad. These countries generally give a leading rôle to the foreign ministry in formulating general information policy abroad and some also assign the main responsibility for carrying out the programmes to the ministry and its officers abroad.

Conclusions

The Task Force concludes that major changes are required in the Canadian Government's approach to in-

formation abroad. Some of its recommendations parallel those that it makes for domestic information. The pattern of responsibility would be similar, and those working in the field of information abroad would be able to draw on common facilities established for use in Canada.

The formulation and carrying out of government policy on information abroad should receive much closer attention at the Cabinet level than they have in the past. The Task Force has already recommended in Volume I that a cabinet committee be charged with defining information policy. The committee, with the participation of interested Ministers, should meet to review the policy of the departments and agencies involved in operations abroad. The committee should ensure that the various information activities abroad are mutually consistent. It should review the priorities for information work in different areas or countries, and the balance of the programme as between general information and information directed towards particular audiences. It should ensure that research is carried out into the appropriateness of the media employed for each purpose. Finally, it should be a guarantee that the government's information policies are consistent with the general objectives in the field of external affairs. The Task Force feels that the government should reaffirm the responsibility of the Secretary of State for External Affairs in the matter of Canadian information abroad, and reaffirm as well the responsibility of his Department to plan and carry out basic information programmes abroad. The Task Force considered the idea of establishing a special agency under his direction to carry on an external information programme. It concluded, however, that a separate agency is unnecessary to the creation of a strong, consistent voice for Canada abroad, and might result in the kind of conflict that existed during the two-year experiment with a Canadian Information Service. To be effective, information policy abroad must be closely related to other aspects of Canadian international policy. The logical organization to plan and carry out the information programme would, therefore, be the Department of External Affairs. The Task Force recommends a major improvement in its structure for dealing with information and in the personnel and resources made available to the Department for information purposes.

The Task Force suggests that a new post — Assistant Under-Secretary for Public Affairs — be created in the Department of External Affairs and that this official be responsible for supervising the present Information, Cultural Affairs and Historical Divisions and the Press Office. As a member of the Department's Senior Management Com-

mittee, the Assistant Under-Secretary would be able to ensure that information gets appropriate recognition as a major function and instrument of Canada's external policy. He would be in close liaison with equivalent officers of other departments and agencies. He would also be responsible for the Department's relationship with the Canadian public, including both those who are interested in knowing Canadian policy and those concerned with an improvement in Canada's image abroad.

The Department should give priority to increasing the number of personnel engaged in information activities and providing the resources to support them. General foreign service and administrative officers should continue to be assigned to certain information functions both in Ottawa and abroad, and should continue to perform information functions at missions with insufficient work to justify the posting of a full-time information officer. These officers, however, should receive adequate training and information.

Most of the new positions should be established for specialist information officers. In addition to career officers, the Department might consider hiring specialists from outside the government service for short-term assignments.

In Ottawa, an increase in staff would permit greater attention to policy formulation. Abroad, the Department should increase the number of information and press attachés and assign them to a number of key missions (such as Bonn, Tokyo and Mexico). The Department should also consider hiring first-class information officers on a locally-engaged basis, particularly in countries where the language is neither English nor French and examine the practicality of engaging public relations firms for special projects.

Other government departments and agencies should retain their responsibility for developing relevant information programmes, and for implementing them in general. In these departments, information is a key aspect of their principal activity; it is not an element that could be grafted on from the outside. They must be able to initiate whatever information activities are clearly required to support, for example trade promotion or the recruitment of immigrants. These special programmes, however, should be conceived and carried out within the framework of the government's foreign and general information policies.

The government should establish a board on information policy abroad to replace the old and ineffective Interdepartmental Committee. The board should consist of the permanent heads of departments and agencies involved in information activities abroad, and it should also include representatives of private organizations and associations.

with a direct interest in information abroad.

The full board would meet at least once a year to consider the government's general information policy and plans. It would report to the Secretary of State for External Affairs. The board would establish a smaller executive committee, chaired by the Assistant Under-Secretary for Public Affairs and including representatives of the three or four departments that are most heavily involved in information abroad, Information Canada, and the Treasury Board. It would meet regularly to review in detail the current information needs and activities. The committee would also have a particular responsibility to review the annual programme plans and budgets for information activities abroad of all the relevant departments and agencies. It would be able to bring to light conflicts of approach or duplication of effort, to suggest areas where co-operation would be fruitful, and to make recommendations for new activities. The board and its executive committee would both advise on policy and work within stated policies. The Information Division of External Affairs should provide it with a permanent secretariat.

Information Canada would provide services to all departments and agencies that conduct information programmes abroad. It would collect material, and produce publications and other material of common interest. Through meetings of the Council of Information Directors, appropriate government statements would be brought to the attention of External Affairs in advance for the purpose of distributing them to posts abroad. Information Canada would be expected to undertake market and communications research abroad to determine the audience for Canadian information, and to gauge how effectively information programmes are reaching this audience. It would establish common services for visiting journalists and through its regional offices in Canada, might assume responsibility for arranging their tours.

Information centres should be set up in countries that have been given highest priority for information by the government. The centres would group all Canadian information personnel, regardless of the department or agency to which they reported. They would be under the direction of the Head of Mission.

Whether or not such a centre comes into being the Head of Mission, assisted by an information committee should co-ordinate the information activities of all the departments represented in his mission, review all programmes, advise on them on the occasion of their annual submission to Ottawa, and oversee their implementation during the course of the year. The Assistant Under-Secretary for Public Affairs in the Department of External Affairs would assume special

responsibilities in relation to Information centres abroad.

Consideration should also be given to establishing Information centres in high priority regions. These would be located in leading capitals. They would carry out Canadian information programmes for the country in which they were situated, but they would also act as a source of specialized advice and material for the other Canadian posts in the area.

The foregoing has not been a comprehensive report on the problems and challenges that lie in the path of an effective system and policy for Canadian information abroad. The Task Force believes, however, that it has defined some basic flaws in the current situation; and that the structure it proposes would help to ensure the formation of necessary policies and the establishment of necessary authority, and at the same time, preserve departmental and regional flexibility both at home and abroad. The Task Force also had in mind a structure that would be able to take full advantage of the other new systems that it proposes to improve the processes of all the work of government information.

Recommendations

We recommend that:

1. **The Cabinet Committee charged with information policy meet, from time to time, to develop and facilitate a more coherent approach to governmental information policies and programmes abroad consistent with general objectives and priorities of Canadian foreign relations.**
2. **The authority of the Secretary of State for External Affairs to fulfil his responsibilities for the projection of Canada abroad be reinforced by giving his Department the necessary resources.**
3. **Departments and agencies directly involved in information abroad retain responsibility for developing their respective policies and generally for implementing them and do so within the framework of the government's foreign and general information policies in order to avoid duplication.**
4. **In place of the Interdepartmental Committee on Information Abroad, the government set up a board on information policy abroad with necessary support staff and composed of deputy heads of departments, heads of government agencies and representatives of private organizations and associations directly interested in Canadian**

information abroad to advise the Secretary of State for External Affairs.

5. An Assistant Under Secretary for Public Affairs be appointed in the Department of External Affairs to be responsible for the Information, Cultural Affairs and Historical Divisions, and the press office of that Department. His responsibility should also include Information Canada centres abroad and liaison with appropriate departments and agencies.

6. Recommendations concerning the establishment of a career "Canadian Public Affairs Service" designed to achieve higher standards and mobility of personnel apply to full-time information personnel abroad and, where appropriate, to foreign service personnel involved in information activities.

7. Information Canada be given sufficient resources to support Canada's information programmes abroad including the production of materials of common interest to all agencies concerned, research into the publics and the efficacy of Canadian information programmes abroad, and a liaison facility for visiting journalists programmes.

8. Information Canada centres be set up in foreign countries which have been given the highest information priority by the Government, and that all information personnel located in such places be regrouped under the authority of respective heads of mission; whether or not such centres exist, information activities of all departments in a foreign country be closely co-ordinated under the authority of the head of mission and be provided by the mission with common services conducive to improved efficiency.

9. Regional information Canada centres be set up in stages to support the efforts of groups of missions selected on a high priority area basis; these centres make use of information specialists familiar with the region's interests and problems,

Federal Information Services: Problem Areas

- xiii The Unreached
- xiv The Official Languages and Information
- xv The Arts and the Crowd
- xvi Advertising
- xvii Federal Information in Canadian Regional and
Federal-provincial Relations
- xviii Social Surveys and Communications Research
- xix Information Technology



"Only connect! That was the whole of her sermon . . ."

E. M. Forster, *Howard's End*

Michael Harrington has written of the "other America"; there is also another Canada, a nameless province on the fringe of a society which for all its social and political problems is essentially affluent.

Perhaps one way to describe the citizens of this province without boundaries is to say that they are the people who did not go to Expo. (The more rebellious chalked "Visitez les Slums" on the walls of their houses). Some are young. Some are old. Some are immigrants. Some are native peoples. Some are WASPs as unsullied as any stalwarts of Toronto's York Club. Some are functional illiterates; others are disciples of Marcuse and Mao. Some live in the choked cores of our cities; others must walk five miles or more to find their nearest neighbour.

Many never had a chance to begin with: one of the reports submitted to the Task Force describes this group as the "underprivileged, the people who are ill-educated, unemployed or without hope . . . They are the people who walk through life with hunched shoulders, who constantly worry about day to day survival." Others were born into two-car families, but have come to reject the Protestant ethic their parents lived by.

A common thread binds all these diverse people together: *they do not take part in Canadian society as the rest of us know it*. In terms of the Task Force's mandate, they constitute "the unreached"; they have little or no contact with the Government of Canada, and very little – or no – information about its programmes.

Not only are these outsiders unreached by government, they are also unheard. Often fearful, frequently suspicious of "the government", they do not know how to put their case. And when they try to put their case, in the right words, to the right person, all too often they find they are talking to someone who neither knows their language, nor cares. A charwoman in search of a widow's pension complained to a Task Force researcher, "They give you so many forms to fill out and make you so nervous, that you start telling lies even when you don't mean to."

Thus, in an important sense, the unreached are what the Task Force on Government Information is ultimately all about. These Canadians who know nothing – still less have any say – about the way their country is managed, represent a breakdown in communications far more serious than any clumsily-worded press release or bungled news conference. The tragedy is that the outsiders are the very people who

most need help from government, and whom the government frequently is most anxious to help. The government's interest is not entirely altruistic; the unreached have a significant impact on the nation's economy and productivity.

There is no pretending, however, that building a bridge to the outsiders will be easy: our public opinion survey has put it bluntly, "These people tend to be reluctant to increase their contact with government, or to find out more about it . . . any attempt to reach this group needs to presume that they will show little interest in acquiring more information".

To make matters more difficult – at least in terms of conventional government methods of communications – the outsiders are also largely beyond the reach of the mass media. This is not to say that they never watch television, listen to radio, or read newspapers. Except for a radical fringe group which rejects all media except their own as tools of "The Man", most outsiders follow one or other of the media, and indeed, the media, with its emphasis on conspicuous consumption, has swept them into a tide of rising expectations. But the outsiders do not connect with the media's orthodox means of conveying information about government: they rarely read news or editorial pages, nor do they watch public affairs programmes. And they are far from being part of CBC's "Radio Revolution", if indeed they know that it is supposedly taking place.

Because they are unreached by the mass media (in an informational as opposed to an entertainment sense), the outsiders are also unreached by government information agencies. Such agencies tailor their programmes to suit the requirements of the mass media; indeed, when many government agencies speak of "the public", they mean, perhaps unconsciously, a "public" composed of newspapers, magazines, radio and tv.

The picture we have painted so far may suggest that outsiders never get any information at all. This is not the case: within their own worlds most of them are in close and constant touch with one another. They coagulate into groups which, in McLuhan's phrase, are "tribal villages" dependent on word of mouth, underground newspapers and magazines, "in-group" radio programmes. And, for our purposes, it is particularly significant to note that new techniques of social animation – no matter that these often operate in direct defiance of "the bureaucrats" – have succeeded where government agencies have failed in making outsiders aware of their rights and privileges. Developments like Red Power, Tenant Power – in Montreal, there's even a Gray Power movement for the elderly – demonstrate the success of social animators who know how to plug into the tribal communi-

cations systems.

This is the kind of action that governments which want to connect will have to take. The first step is to stop treating the unreached as an undifferentiated lump. The second is to recognize that they break down into distinct and widely varying groups. The third is to identify these groups, identify their needs, and devise special information programmes to meet their needs. These are the steps we shall follow in this paper.

The "Outside Eleven"

Figures are misleading. How can any one claim, with any kind of certainty, to know how many Canadians live outside the mainstream of the national life? Official Task Forces, though, are expected to come up with estimates, and for ours we relied on a public opinion survey. For our purposes, one of the survey's key points is this one:

The Index of Knowledge of Government Involvement revealed that more than one million Canadians 14 years or older – or about eight per cent of the population (in that age bracket) – knew virtually nothing about federal-provincial involvement.

Since a key to being informed about a programme is knowing which government is responsible for it, we suggest that this figure of eight per cent may be used to limit "the unreached".

We must, however, make an important qualification. Since the Canadian Facts Ltd. "Big 8-M" survey used by the Task Force and the York University researchers is essentially commercially-oriented, its sample did *not* include interviews among:

1. The Northwest Territories and the Yukon.
2. The least accessible and most sparsely populated areas of each of the provinces.
3. Inmates of institutions.
4. Members of the Armed Forces not living at home.
5. Persons living on Indian reservations.
6. Transients or others having no permanent place of residence.
7. Inhabitants of lumber and mining camps.

With the exception of members of the Armed Forces, all these groups will by their very nature include many outsiders. These groups account for about seven per cent of the total population. Consequently, we have revised our estimate upwards and suggest *the percentage figure for the unreached might be as high as 11 per cent.* (We might also add that the York Survey found that another 43 per cent of

its sample answered fewer than five out of seventeen questions about federal-provincial involvement correctly; in other words, 43 per cent knew very little about the Government of Canada. Thus the proportion of Canadians who could be considered to be well-informed – or even moderately well-informed – about government constitutes slightly less than half the population.)

Broadly speaking, the 11 per cent who know virtually nothing about government or, as we have called them, the "outside eleven," may be subdivided into the following groups. The groups are not mutually exclusive; each one overlaps with one or more of the others.

The Poor

The Economic Council of Canada has estimated that one in five Canadians lives in poverty; thus, though not all poor are unreached and not all the unreached are poor, this constitutes probably the largest of our groups. As the Council points out, poverty is by no means an economic matter alone. Poverty implies also "the accumulated defeat, alienation and despair which often so tragically are inherited by the next and succeeding generations." In terms of income alone, however, the Council notes that income is likely to be low when one or more of the following factors are present:

1. The head of the family had no formal education beyond elementary school.
2. The family lives in a rural area.
3. The family lives in the Atlantic Provinces.
4. The head of the family is not a member of the labour force.
5. No member of the family worked during the year.
6. The head of the family is 65 years of age or over.
7. The head of the family is a woman.

Even so, the Council cautions the policy-maker not to use these criteria to establish stereotypes. In 1961, 62 per cent of low income families lived in urban areas; 83 per cent of low income, non-farm families lived elsewhere than in the Atlantic Provinces; 68 per cent of the same group had family heads who were in the labour force for at least part of the year; 76 per cent had one or more earners in the family; 66 per cent of families obtained most of their income from wages, salary and self-employment earnings; 77 per cent of the family heads were under 65; and 87 per cent of the families were headed by men.

As the Task Force's public opinion survey found and the Recon Research Consultants Ltd. survey on Manpower

information confirmed, poor people in metropolitan areas are generally more isolated than the poor in rural areas or smaller centres.

The Ethnic Population

Nearly three million immigrants, a great many of whom were familiar with neither French nor English, have settled in Canada since World War II. Even though the tide has slackened, more than 180,000 arrived during 1968. Inevitably, the first five years are the hardest, as immigrants adjust to a new language and culture. The opinion survey's sample suggests that 20 per cent of the immigrants who have been in Canada for less than five years could be defined as "unreached", as well as 14 per cent of those who have been here for between five and 14 years.

Immigrants from Britain, the United States and north-western Europe are better informed than those from southern and eastern Europe. Immigrants from southern and eastern Europe have a difficult time adjusting; 28 per cent of them might be categorized as unreached. Such immigrants also tend to be suspicious of government. Many are likely to say they "don't know" when asked whether they believe they would be treated fairly by government officials.

Native Peoples

In Canada there are about a quarter of a million Indians, Eskimos and Metis. Most live in primitive, isolated conditions, and must confront tremendous difficulties in adapting to a world they never made. Some indeed, are experiencing a transition from stone age to jet age in the space of their own life time. As if this were not enough, Canada's native peoples must also cope with rising birthrates, high disease and mortality rates, low economic potential and declining opportunities for work.

In terms of our interests, the native peoples differ from other groups of outsiders in one important respect: for the moment at least, they receive nearly all their government services from a single agency, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

The Young

As almost everyone who has passed the quarter-century mark knows only too well, more than half the total population of Canada is under 25. According to the 1966 census, some four million Canadians were between ten and 20, while

another four and a half million were under ten.

To use a *cliché* treasured by June convocation orators, the future of the country is in the hands of the young. The trouble is, few of them are, in their own phrase, "turned on by government". Despite such manifestation as Eugene McCarthy's "Children's Crusade" and our own "Trudeaumania", the younger generation switches off when the issues are complex and the candidates less than glamorous. As one survey points out, during the last Ontario provincial election, despite polling stations set up on university campuses, the turnout of eligible voters among university students was probably below the average elsewhere in the province. And if college students seem apathetic about government, how much more are the young who have taken a job immediately after leaving school, or the thousands who have elected to "drop out" of society? The young, the survey shows, do not know a great deal about government responsibilities. We do not suggest for a moment that young people constitute a homogeneous problem group that is in any way comparable to the poor, or ethnic and native peoples; but we do note, with some rue that too many young Canadians are not interested in taking a hand in running their own country.

Fringe Groups

Besides the four groups which are relatively easily delimited as "unreached," there are a number of less cohesive groups which, for lack of a better phrase, we might term "floating outsiders."

These include the elderly; not the blue-haired denizens of the nation's bridge-tables, nor the panama-hatted gentlemen who take a plane for St. Petersburg each January, but the countless others who live alone in third floor hall bedrooms, sometimes existing on a diet of dog and cat food,* and whose only contact with the government is the monthly old-age pension cheque.

Many unskilled workers are outsiders watching helplessly as technology deprives them of their livelihood; so also are countless thousands of Canadians who did not finish high school and are now too old to start learning the new math. Some housewives are outsiders too; their chief contacts with the outside world may be only those shadowy figures who populate "The Edge of Night" and "As the World Turns."

And perhaps we might also count as outsiders some of the 1,300,000 Canadians who have a permanent physical handi-

* According to a brief submitted to Health Minister John Munro on June 19, 1969, on behalf of the Senior Women's Committee for Pension Increases.

cap, and who take so much less for granted than the rest of us. Nor should we forget the hard-core, tightly constricted Negro communities in Montreal and in the Maritimes.

Government and the Unreached

If, in our description of the unreached, we have been somewhat more emotional than normally befits an objective Task Force, this was intentional. As we remarked earlier, reaching the unreached is the ultimate justification for having a Task Force on Government Information at all. Yet, for all its assumed insensitivity, the Government of Canada is not such an ogre that it has made no attempt to empathize with, or to reach the unreached. Indeed, the Federal Government has, albeit self-consciously if not clumsily as well, spent literally billions of dollars trying to bring the outsiders inside.

Programmes such as Occupational Training for Adults (OTA), Manpower Mobility and ARDA and FRED exist for this purpose. A number of major departments, such as Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Regional Economic Expansion, Manpower and Immigration have been set up to solve the outsider's problems. Reaching the unreached is considerably more than a marginal activity at Agriculture (the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Assistance Programme and the Farm Credits Corporation), Fisheries (Fisheries Resettlement Programme), at the Departments of Health and Welfare, Consumer and Corporate Affairs, and at the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. An entire agency – the Company of Young Canadians – has been established (if young Canadians will accept such a term) with the twin aims of involving young people in the nation's concerns, and of helping outsiders. Nor do the unreached suffer from lack of study. Quite the reverse: The Economic Council of Canada, the Poverty Secretariat and the Senate Committee on Poverty have all examined them intensively, and held insiders' conferences to talk about outsiders' problems.

But all these serious and determined efforts have had a distressingly limited effect. One indication: the Recon Research Study of a farm population indicated that only two-thirds of those surveyed were even aware that the ARDA programme exists. Similarly, Recon's study of Manpower information indicated that only 47 per cent of Canadians had heard of the OTA programme.

In human terms, this is a tragic waste of human potential. More cold-bloodedly, the government is simply not getting value for the money it spends on programmes for the outsiders. Nor are the outsiders.

The trouble seems to be a breakdown in communications:

programmes intended for minority groups – whether the drop-out young, the lonely old, or the down-and-out middle aged – seldom have been communicated to their audience in a language that its members understand.

As a research report submitted to the Task Force makes clear, most federal programmes for outsiders are propagated in two ways: through various federal, provincial and local and administrative bodies, and through the mass media.

The trouble with the first method is an alarming lack of co-operation and co-ordination. To cite one example from many: at one time, the OTA and Manpower Mobility programmes were promoted by the information wing of ARDA, while the Department of Manpower, whose programmes they were, was doing little promotion.¹

The trouble with the second method, using the mass media, is that it does not go nearly far enough. Even when a department or agency decides to go all out in promoting a programme, its information division almost invariably sees this solely in terms of providing straightforward support through news releases, feature items, brochures, pamphlets, exhibits and displays and so on. To embroider Kenneth Galbraith's aphorism, information divisions have developed a conventional media wisdom, from which they are loath to depart.

To make matters worse, as our studies of the public affairs policies of Manpower and of Agriculture² have indicated, information divisions rarely undertake any research to determine project or media priorities, nor do they plan and budget in terms of defined objectives. And as our report on social surveys and research³ makes clear, most information service officers are apparently unaware of, cannot afford or are incapable of utilizing, existing social surveys or other social and economic studies. Even such basic research tools as BBM or Nielsen ratings are rarely exploited. The important thing seems to be to churn the information out, never mind who gets it, or how it is received.

More seriously, some information divisions responsible for promoting programmes for outsiders seem to have a misplaced sense of values. Instead of trying to reach the unreached, they concentrate on building a good public image for the department. Thus they seldom design specific information programmes for specific audiences.

Effective feed-back systems, and well-founded systems for programme evaluation are almost unknown. Perhaps this is not surprising: one of our research studies indicates that less than ten per cent of the 162 ISOs in five departments and

1. See Paper x.

2. See Paper x.

3. See Paper xviii.

agencies⁴ concerned in one way or another with developing programmes for outsiders had first degrees in the economic or social sciences, and virtually no one had a graduate degree in these fields. (It seems fair to assume that training in these fields constitutes at least one way of measuring sensitivity to the problems of the unreached). Thus, many professional economists and sociologists claim that their information staffs "just don't understand" departmental programmes aimed at minority groups. As a result, publications concerned with these programmes are often handled and released by operational branches rather than by information services.

This, indeed, is exactly what happens in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, in the case of publications in native languages. Not that these are very effective: a social animator who works with Indians in the west told a Task Force researcher that by the time government programmes come down from the top, they are incomprehensible, and added, "this ceaseless flow of government publications is no damn good." She, however, did not go as far as Alanis Obomsawin, the Abenaki singer, film-maker and community activist, who said recently* that civil servants were a race apart, "who look at you as if to say, 'we're better than you'."

Whether or not Miss Obomsawin's statement is justified or exaggerated, she was trying to express the thoughts of her people.

Alternative Media

Although the outsiders are, for the most part, untouched by the mass media, they are beginning to communicate with one another in their own way, and on their own terms. Instead of relying for their information on newspapers, radio and television and mainstream film, they depend on what we might call "alternative media." This term is all-inclusive; it means underground, ethnic and native newspapers, such as the Montreal hippie organ *Logos*, Toronto's Italian-language *Corriere Canadese* and the Ojibway paper *Kenoma-lawin*. It means 8mm films made by high school students. It means drop-in centres, like Vancouver's *Cool-aid* and Ottawa's *Nobis*. It means coffee houses, like Montreal's *Yellow Door* and Winnipeg's *Big Pig*. It means special-interest radio stations such as CHUM-FM. And it even means *Justice Weekly*.

The five are: Manpower and Immigration; Regional Economic Expansion; Labour; Indian Affairs and Northern Development; the Unemployment Insurance Commission.

On the CBC programme "Take Thirty", June 11, 1969.

In a lengthy report on these media prepared for the Task Force at the University of Waterloo under the supervision of Professor Donald Gordon, C.R. Robertson, a graduate student, explains why these alternatives to mass media have developed:

"In most instances, the reasons for the alternative, lie in the womb of a relatively small, private and individually creative interest. The special style and attitudes of the alternative medium are usually local, or at the most, provincial, and are rarely concerned with a truly national interest. The common bond between the areas and their medium seems to develop out of alienation, isolation or the need for information in an exclusive field."

As the Waterloo researchers see it, the alternative media may be divided into three categories:

1. *Alternatives of omission*: These media serve interests and persons considered too troublesome, trivial or parochial by the mass media. They include principally: underground or ethnic papers which serve local or special interest groups; newsletters, pamphlets and posters that relate to minority interests and causes; books and booklets circulated by private presses; and special-interest radio stations and programmes.

2. *Alternatives of suppression*: These are media that serve purposes and people whom the mass media actively reject, for legal, economic or ideological reasons. Most of them are concerned with sex, drugs or politics. In addition, some espouse the causes of minority groups, notably of Canadian Indians. A handful, chiefly church- or mission-born, revolve around "problem" groups such as alcoholics, the mentally ill and the denizens of skid rows. A large proportion of the student press might be considered to fit into this category, as well as publications like *The American Exile* put out by U.S. draft-dodgers in Toronto.

3. *Alternatives of Innovation*: These are media that serve interests which are beyond the present level of comprehension in the mass media. They exist chiefly in the context of experimental groups which work with light shows, multimedia and environmental expressions. The *Mind Excursion Centre* in Montreal, and Vancouver's *Intermedia* are examples of innovative alternatives.

Though nine out of ten Canadians live their lives without ever being aware of the existence of the alternative media, these media are multiplying by leaps and bounds. The Waterloo researchers estimate that there are about 50 underground papers in Canada today; some have a circulation of as much as 10,000. In addition there are 200 ethnic newspapers and about 60 "special-interest" publications. Often they demon-

strate a vitality which is sadly lacking in conventional editorial board rooms and television control rooms. In his report, Robertson describes the type of people who control the alternative media:

"They are generally enthusiastic, very busy and, by the nature of their involvement, highly stimulating. Having been somewhat abused by society, these people were wary of an official interest in their activities, but expressions of interest on the part of the interviewer led to great outbursts of enthusiasm and fact."

In the course of his research last spring (and in this constantly shifting field the season is important), Robertson travelled from Montreal to Vancouver, exploring alternatives city by city. We believe it is important that government be aware of these new directions in communication, and therefore we include here a summary of his findings:

Montreal

In many ways, Montreal proved to be the pace-setter for alternative media, demonstrating a courageous and cosmopolitan spirit, coupled with a vigorous individual initiative. Less happily, relationships between some English and French are becoming increasingly strained and underground movements which once overlapped tend now to be exclusively English or French language.

The young, whose desperation is rarely quiet, are particularly active. In terms of print, their centrepiece is the underground paper, *Logos*, currently back on sale after a long struggle with the Montreal Police Department. The *Company of Young Canadians* is active, and has secured the trust of many local alienated youth. For radio, *Radio McGill* and *Radio Sir George* reach an estimated 10,000 young people. In terms of innovative media, there is the *Mind Excursion Centre*, a warehouse which provides "total environment" experiences. Montreal is also a Canadian nerve centre for experimental film-making.

It is claimed that because of a considerable amount of harassment by the Montreal civic administration and by the law, word-of-mouth contact and meeting places have become an important form of alternative media. Certain bookshops, record shops and such coffee houses as the *Yellow Door*, the *Image* and *A Matter of Opinion* are popular meeting places and there is, in addition, an organization called *Contact*. It is a kind of co-op residence where any kind of help may be sought, whether the problem is a bad trip, a brush with the law, or simply lack of a job.

Some of the many ethnic groups in the city have no exten-

sive structured programme of unity or of communication. Instead, they depend on meeting places, chiefly ethnic restaurants.

Perhaps the most significant "alternative media" development in Montreal has been among poor people. As a result of the social upheaval caused by giant urban renewal projects, a new breed of *animateurs sociaux* has emerged to form citizens' committees to help impoverished families who are too bewildered by the machinery of big-city administration to assert their rights. The Little Burgundy and Par Extension Committees are cases in point. Similarly, in Point St. Charles, a group of concerned individuals has set up a clinic, aimed expressly at serving people who are afraid of the more awesome hospital out-patient arrangements.

In rural Quebec, most towns and counties have their own local, newsy and gossipy paper. It is interesting to note that in some cases, these are much more actively supported by their communities than equivalent papers in Ontario. As Robertson points out, "the heart of Quebec throbs in tavern and meeting places—formal or otherwise. Touring these places is a lesson in personal contact communication and the free flow of information on a human level."

Toronto

In Toronto, it is the ethnic groups that have developed the most effective alternative media. There are 65 ethnic newspapers, and one of these, the daily Italian language *Corriere Canadese*, carries more real estate advertisements than either the *Globe and Mail* or *The Telegram*. The Portuguese community is also strong. Without undertaking any form of advertising, it sold out, through its mailing list alone, a Massey Hall concert by the noted fado singer Amalia Rodrigues. The Greek community has its own network as well, and indeed, it is reported that Toronto has become a centre of resistance to the ruling Greek junta. The radio station *CHUM* carries foreign language broadcasts.

In terms of young people, Toronto is unique in that it has produced its own special interest radio station; *CHUM-FM* caters directly to the underground generation. Again, meeting places play a large role in the flow of information. The draft dodger movement, which operates with the help of the Unitarian Church and others, has become particularly important.

There is also an *Indian Centre* and *Native Alliance* organization connected with Rochdale College in Toronto. Because of its non-establishment nature, Rochdale is itself an alternative medium.

The West

In Winnipeg, the underground scene has become inactive. The only substantial alternative medium if the term may be used to describe an official minority, appears to be *La Liberté et le Patriote*, a French-language newspaper published in St. Boniface. In Edmonton, on the other hand, the alternative media are manifold, and include a newspaper, *The Canada Goose* and two or three well-established meeting centres. The heart of Edmonton alternatives is to be found among the Indian people. The *Alberta Native Community Society* is the focal point of activism. There are also radio programmes in the Cree language, and a number of Indian publications, most notably *Elbow Drums*, *Atchimowine* and *The Morley Chieftain*. Vancouver, like Montreal, is a particularly active centre for alternative media aimed at young people. Its newspaper, *The Georgia Straight* is legendary among dropouts and hippies. There is also a *Cool-aid* organization, similar to Montreal *Contact*, and a lively innovation medium in the experimental audio-visual centre.

Intermedia

These are only a handful of the means by which outsiders communicate with one another. Though forms and attitudes vary from region to region, all the alternative media share a common principle, C. R. Robertson says:

"These people all seem to want one thing, not money or security but self-respect and community respect and the privilege to lead their own existence. Often they do not resent government or the society in which they live, but the manner in which they are represented by the mass media to government and to society."

Some Promising Developments

While government has so far shown little sensitivity towards the information needs of Canada's outsiders, there are, here and there, signs of improvement. Some attempts have been made, independent of the mass media, to represent outsiders to government, and government to outsiders. In a sense, these attempts might be termed government-sponsored alternative media.

By far the most notable has been the National Film Board's *Challenge for Change* and *Société nouvelle* series, in itself an experiment in participatory democracy. Because the project has developed a seminal concept of film as a tool for community and social development we shall discuss

these series in some detail:

Challenge for Change and *Société nouvelle*

The two-year English language series was launched in 1967. Jointly developed by a group of government departments and by the National Film Board, its purpose was to help eradicate the causes of poverty by acting as a catalyst of self-generated social change.

The idea for the series came from the Privy Council's Special Planning Secretariat, which had commissioned the National Film Board to produce a film as part of the Government's War on Poverty. The result, "The Things I cannot Change" was a look at poverty from the inside. More clearly than any factual study, it showed the distressing lack of communication between the poor and the officials trying to help them. And it showed also the futility of individual agencies and departments, federal, local and provincial, in their efforts to cope with a problem that transcended their narrow jurisdictions. After seeing the film, the Special Planning Secretariat agreed on the need for what an NFB official termed "total conceptual programming."

Accordingly, an interdepartmental committee was established to develop an experimental series in co-operation with the NFB. Though 17 departments were represented, only those which felt directly involved in the project contributed money. These included: Health and Welfare, Agriculture, Fisheries, Manpower, Rural Development, Secretary of State, and Central Mortgage and Housing. The Company of Young Canadians also contributed. A target figure of between \$20,000 and \$30,000 was set for each contributor but, during 1967-68, only \$125,000 was raised, and during 1968-69, only \$135,000. Such cautious giving prevented the interdepartmental committee from taking an active part in planning the series. The original intention was that government and the National Film Board would provide equal sums, but in the first year of the project's operation, NFB contributed \$250,000, and in the second year, \$500,000.

One of the committee's first recommendations was that both French and English production units at the Board should participate. But because of internal divisions within NFB, and lack of financial support, no French language production was then undertaken. Later on, the French production unit began making similar films, initially under the title, *Construire demain*, and now called *Société nouvelle*. These were financed entirely by the National Film Board. The Committee also recommended that the National Film Board involve both CBC and CTV in the series. Nothing

came of the suggestion.

As defined by the National Film Board, the aims of *Challenge for Change* and *Société nouvelle* were:

1. To improve communication between individuals and groups in all segments of society who are concerned with or affected by poverty and social change.
2. To create a greater understanding and awareness among people of the causes of poverty and what it means to be poor.
3. To explore and promote new ideas and new approaches which are being used or which could be used to combat poverty, and to evaluate the effectiveness of traditional approaches.
4. To provoke social change by changing attitudes which hinder the development of equal opportunities for everyone, and inhibit their meaningful participation in society.

The project's intended audience included the poor and the isolated; the people working with them, including administrators, social workers and community development officers; and the general public.

During its two years of production, *Challenge for Change* made films about regional development, housing and urban renewal, health and welfare, Indians, youth, the north, labour, negroes, education and justice. A group of films within the series explored the American specialist in "activism" Saul Alinsky's method of organizing communities into effective action units based on participatory democracy.

The most effective *Challenge for Change* films were those made on Fogo Island. The film-making technique developed on Fogo has already been widely adopted by community developers, and it is therefore worth examining this aspect of the programme in some detail.

This project was developed in co-operation with the Extension Department of Memorial University of Newfoundland (Memorial also contributed half the cost). Fogo Island was chosen as a subject, because it exhibits in microcosm most of the basic problems of rural Newfoundland. Situated a dozen or so miles off the northeast coast, Fogo, like Newfoundland itself, is isolated from without. Again, like Newfoundland as a whole, Fogo is also isolated within itself. The Island's population of some four or five thousand is scattered along the coastline in tiny outposts: Fogo, Joe Batt's Arm, Tiltin, Seldom Come By which, although they all eke out a meagre existence through inshore fishing, have very little contact with one another. As in most parts of Newfoundland, the communities were divided along religious lines and, as a result, there were several expensive denominational schools to maintain. Town councils and school boards led a marginal existence, ignored by the population. There were

no unions and no co-operatives, though both were desperately needed. Essentially, the people of Fogo had in common just one thing: they were trapped in a cycle of poverty and isolation from which they lacked the knowledge and confidence to escape.

The aim of *Challenge for Change* on Fogo was to generate community action through self awareness. The National Film Board team, headed by Colin Low, arrived on the Island in June 1967, and, aided by a community development officer from Memorial, set about winning the confidence of the inhabitants. They were reticent and suspicious at first but, once confident that the outsiders with cameras were friends, the people of Fogo described their community and its problems in moving detail. They discussed everything from the difficulties of launching fisheries co-operatives to Fogo's prospects for survival. What eventually emerged was seven hours of film consisting of 20 or more short films, such as "Billy Crane leaves his island", and "Dan Roberts builds a longliner."

Late in 1967, Low returned to Fogo and showed the film to groups all over the island. Each person who appeared on screen was given the right to edit out anything he chose before the films were shown off the Island, or even to other communities on the Island. Though strong statements had been made, particularly in relation to government policies and to certain government officials, almost nothing was removed.

Early in 1968, the films were shown to university and government officials in St. John's, including members of the provincial cabinet. As Julian Biggs, the NFB official in charge of the project put it, "We finally had fishermen talking to cabinet ministers. If you take fishermen to the cabinet, they won't talk about the problems of their lives the way they will among other fishermen. But if you let the government people look at films of fishermen talking together the message comes through."

In response to that message, cabinet ministers and government officials took the opportunity to put their own rebuttals and policy explanations on film, so that a two-way exchange was developed.

To ensure follow-through, Memorial University field workers were trained in film-making techniques. Though the NFB is no longer directly involved with film-making in Newfoundland, the University has undertaken an extensive programme on its own; this currently includes a project among the urban poor in a St. John's slum.

The University has also just completed a filmed interview with Billy Crane, who left Fogo and moved to Toronto. It will be shown to other Newfoundlanders thinking of moving to the mainland.

As for actual community results, since the Fogo project was completed, a fishing co-operative has been established on Fogo Island, as well as a central school committee.

The Fogo technique has been adopted by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, and it is being implemented in Tulare County, California and in the black ghetto in Hartford, Connecticut.

Other Challenge for Change films have also achieved their objectives. In Halifax, after militant Negro youths had been filmed talking about injustices and humiliations, the Mayor arranged a series of screenings for civic officials and Community leaders. Within a few weeks, jobs had been found for many of the unemployed youths. Several of the films about Indians constituted valuable experiments in self-expression, and the National Film Board trained a group of Indians to make films themselves.

Aside from the Fogo and Halifax projects, the effects of Challenge for Change have not really been measured. One reason for this has been a lack of funds. As matters now stand, a decision has been made to extend the series for one year.

The *Société nouvelle* series, a parallel project, is producing films on the basis of reportedly extensive social and communications research started by the predecessor project *Construire demain*. "*L'école des autres*" was a two-hour film on the special problems encountered in the education of children from underprivileged milieux. "*Petite Bourgogne*," which will be released shortly deals with the human problems arising out of urban redevelopment. "*Opération Pourquoi*" will explore the causes of poverty and will let the poor do the talking. Negotiations are under way to get support from departments for this series. Present plans call for the adaptation in the other official language of some of the films originally produced for Challenge for Change or *Société nouvelle*.

Unquestionably, programmes such as Challenge for Change — *Société nouvelle*, create new problems even as they solve old ones. In the case of Fogo Island, for example, the newly-found community voice is expressing opinions directly counter to the fisheries resettlement scheme developed by the Federal Department of Fisheries and since transferred to the Department of Regional Economic Expansion. Even so, as we see it, the project has proved its worth. It constitutes one of the government's best and most imaginative techniques for reaching the unreachable.

While Challenge for Change and *Société nouvelle* have been the most dramatic examples of the government's attempting to connect with outsiders, there have been a num-

ber of other new developments, notably in the field of broadcasting.

CBC's "Indian Magazine", for example, a weekly programme hosted and co-produced by Johnny Yesno, himself an Indian, constitutes a valuable means of communication for Indians all across the country. A more specialized project that is currently under study has been proposed by the Society for a Coastal Area Network (SCAN) located in Vancouver. Known as RAVEN (Radio and Visual Educational Network Project), the project seeks to act as a link between scattered Indian communities along the British Columbia coastline. In particular, RAVEN, if it is approved, will aim to engender a sense of community, to spread information and to involve previously isolated Indian bands in economic activity and in the wider life of society.

Other groups are also active in exploring the use of broadcasting as a tool for development in Northern Canada. The Indian-Eskimo Association, for example, employs several Indian and Eskimo field workers who visit isolated native communities in order to put together radio programmes which are concerned with local issues and problems and broadcast in the native languages from Yellowknife and Inuvik. Again in the northern context, the CBC is particularly interested in the potential of FM radio, which, in the words of Andrew Cowan, Director of the CBC's Northern Service, is "uniquely qualified as a practical means of fostering the growth of community spirit in isolated areas." The CBC has discussed with Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and with the Department of Transport, the possibility of providing small local FM stations in northern settlements.

Still another interesting development is the *Kenomadiwin* project in the Thunder Bay region of Ontario. This project, staffed chiefly by members of the Company of Young Canadians, already publishes its own newspaper and plans to establish a mobile radio station to spread local news and thus act as a catalyst and link for Ojibway Indians in the area. In a brief to the Canadian Radio Television Commission, *Kenomadiwin* spelled out the philosophy behind the proposed radio venture:

"Clearly, the first need is for information. Indian people must know what are their opportunities, their rights. This is not an easy need to meet. Schools, pamphlets and other educational efforts have failed miserably as statistics will show. The problems, rules, regulations and programmes are usually so complex that their use can be explained only through test cases carefully studied. Indian people on the edge of subsistence do not have the resources to experiment

with the meanings of words, and bureaucratic forms."

What is true of the Ojibway Indians is true of most other outsiders. Clearly, government must make a concerted attempt to reach the unreached on their own terms instead of through "bureaucratic forms."

But what can government do, other than make polite noises?

Some of the answers are inherent in this paper. Programmes like Challenge for Change and development broadcasting should be encouraged. The Government as a whole should encourage its departments and agencies to develop feed-back systems which reflect the opinions of outsiders, instead of only those of the mass media.

It is improbable that the day will come that government Information Divisions will be sufficiently attuned to produce news releases couched in the language of the *Georgia Straight*, but they should at least be encouraged to evaluate departmental information programmes properly, and to keep up with what is going on in the "alternative media." In this connection, it would be useful to include an expert in this field on the staff of Information Canada. Such an officer would be responsible for monitoring alternative media and for spotting and reporting trends, whether among the youth sub-culture, the poor sub-culture or the non-English, non-French sub-cultures. Whenever appropriate, however, the government should use the alternative media not just as a source of feed-back but as spreaders of information as well.

We have a more direct suggestion. The austerity and off-handedness of some government offices appears to have created an unfortunate impression that the government is unfriendly to people in trouble. In examining ways to dispel this image, we have looked at Citizens Advice Bureaux as they exist in Britain, and considered the experience of local outlets for service information in Canada and the United States as well. In the British context, these organizations answer many of the needs of the unheard and the apparently unreachable, and we believe Government should consider setting up more similar Bureaux in Canada.

The task would not involve the grafting of something entirely new onto Canadian society. Indeed, in at least one part of Canada, there is already an information service that is similar to the ones we propose. It is the Central Information Service of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and, according to a recent study of its work, "it is said to resemble closely the London Citizens Advice Bureau in its function." The Toronto Welfare Council opened a part-time information service 20 years ago. It handled 1,600 inquiries in 1952, and opened on a full-time basis. By 1967,

the Information Service was handling more than 18,000 inquiries a year. It had a staff of four professional counsellors, a roster of three after-hour counsellors, and assistance from Junior League volunteers.

The Information Service is much more than its title suggests. It is, after all, part of a welfare organization; and it provides advice, guidance, referral services, counselling and other assistance that goes well beyond the straightforward distribution of information. The fact that it is one of the few North American operations of its kind to provide an after-hours service is one indication that it exists to help people in emergencies, people whose troubles cannot be solved by information alone. Most of the calls to the Information Service appeal for help in matters of money, child care, counselling, leisure time (education and vacations), housing and hostels, and the placement of the aged, the handicapped and young people.

At the same time, however, the questions that the service answers, and the problems it handles, inevitably concern a great many of the very Canadians whom we have defined as unreached by federal information. Moreover, a list of typical questions on an Information Service pamphlet suggests that among the varied information that many of these people require are facts about federal legislation, federal programmes and federal services:

"At what age do I apply for Old Age Pension?"

"I am a working mother. Is there a nursery for my child?"

"I was injured in a car accident and can no longer do my normal work. Can I learn a new trade?"

"How do I adopt a child overseas?"

"Where can my child get his 'shots'?"

A study of the Information Service of Toronto's Social Planning Council, prepared by Donald Bellamy in 1966, asserts that "there can be no doubt first of all that the rate of information-seeking in our complicated society will accelerate. The rapid supply of information through the various media is now a fact of life in many fields of human interest. Community services have, in this respect, lagged so far behind that important segments of the public are only vaguely aware of the complex service network and how to use it. The segments include the unreached. Among the report's recommendations — many of which anticipate an inevitable increase in the demands and pressure on the service — is one "that the Social Planning Council should be prepared to seek the support of borough authorities for neighbourhood or local information centres which are part of the area welfare network."

The report suggests that a great many people, be-

immigrants and non-immigrants, need the help of the Information Service but fail to get it "largely because it is a telephone service and because the service does not catch their attention An unpublished study of a small sample of residents in a downtown district of Toronto indicated that the majority of people interviewed would like to have a walk-in centre nearby The Social Planning Council could branch out into local or neighbourhood service centres at various strategic points in the city."

The Toronto operation may resemble the Citizens Advice Bureau in some respects, and the history of the British organization was a factor in our recommendations but, at the same time, there is no shortage of North American precedents in this field. A survey that the Canadian Welfare Council undertook last spring indicates that welfare councils in perhaps 14 French- and English-speaking Canadian communities have some sort of information and guidance centres. Roughly 50 big-city welfare councils in North America have central information and referral agencies that make information freely available to anyone who asks for it. In addition, there is a growing experience in the United States in the use of federal funds to promote neighbourhood services that include free information. Again, to quote Bellamy:

Local community action projects, funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity and other U.S. federal agencies, have developed numerous services with local residents planning and participating in service delivery at the neighborhood level The demonstration of need for local services in response to the attack on grinding poverty and disadvantage, particularly in depressed urban areas, drew out centralized information and referral services from council headquarters into local offices *Government funds for the placement of information specialists in neighborhood opportunity centres and similar projects have contributed to the outward movement of central information services.* To illustrate, two area service centres are being organized in Detroit by the U.C.S. (United Community Service) at an estimated cost of \$17,000 initially, and as many as five are projected for the future. This is an attempt at intervention where traditional agencies have failed to get services to people in neighborhoods most in need of them."

The idea of neutral agencies that possess, as Bellamy puts it, "freely accessible information for anyone who seeks it," need not detract from the political organization of service information, nor from the Member of Parliament's traditional obligation to assist and inform his constituents. Bellamy reports, "One of the simplest arrangements in Toronto is the provision of information through the vehicle of political

organization. A number of elected representatives or political organizations have in recent years developed rather elaborate offices for the purpose A variation is a neighborhood centre visited in the course of this study. Established for local residents by a civic politician and a candidate for national office, a group of volunteers staff this centre in pairs during daytime and evenings. A weekly movie night is attended by as many as 50 persons and there is an afternoon of cards for senior citizens A few inquiries come in on most days and people can drop in at this convenient location, which is one of a row of pleasantly appointed shops on a main thoroughfare. While the centre, according to literature addressed to Conservatives, will 'go beyond the limits of party allegiance and attempt to assist anyone in the area,' there is no doubt about the political bias." We would only add that, in such cases, it is important that the political bias be balanced by the presence of professional and neutral information staff.

In Britain, the Citizens Advice Bureaux were established by the National Council of Social Sciences as far back as 1938. They are centres of free information and advice given in confidence to any person on any question. They are non-political, independent of statutory authority, and free from patronage. Their purpose is to explain legislation and to help the citizen to benefit from the services provided for him by the State; and to make available accurate information and skilled advice on many of the personal problems that arise in daily life. Most frequently, they help people find out where to go for detailed information about pensions, welfare benefits, special training, and so on. There are some 500 of these Bureaux in Britain. They are largely financed by local authority grants, with some help from voluntary sources and, occasionally, from the central government. Situated in convenient and easily identifiable downtown locations, they are staffed by both full-time and voluntary workers. Last year, they handled roughly one and a half million inquiries.

Neither the British system, nor the various and more recent efforts in the United States, can be easily translated into Canadian terms. Any effort to introduce to Canada such agencies as the Citizens Advice Bureaux must take into account not only a thorough study of all such existing Canadian institutions as Toronto's Information Service, but also our complex federal-provincial-municipal structure. It is bound to present organizational difficulties. On the other hand, it is the very complexity of this structure that puts many Canadians outside the mainstream of national life. They do not understand federal-provincial-municipal juris-

dictions, and therefore they do not know where to go for help or advice. The citizens of Canada should not have to suffer from the nature of our constitution.

The Federal Government, following consultation with provincial governments, might well reinforce and help to finance whatever existing local information offices are willing to expand their services, employ professional information staff, and increase their distribution to the public of useful information from all levels of government. At the same time, we propose that the Federal Government initiate consultation with a view toward the establishment of Citizens' Advice Bureaux in places where there are currently no suitable local outlets for government information. Where possible, these bureaux should be financed and operated as a co-operative venture by governments, national and international foundations and voluntary organizations. In addition to offering citizens information on their rights and privileges, the Bureaux would be a valuable source of citizen feed-back.

As we see it, the Bureaux themselves would not become directly involved in the kind of counselling done by social workers; this would remain the responsibility of existing agencies or of the various levels of government. Instead, the Bureaux would concentrate on answering questions and referring citizens to the appropriate agencies. *In short, the Bureaux should become identified in the public's mind as the first step on the road to solving a problem.* The Bureaux would have an obligation to state the jurisdictional questions clearly, and to explain citizen's rights as guaranteed by each level of government. In this way, each level would have a direct interest in seeing the programme succeed.

At the outset at least, funds for the Citizens Bureaux might be channelled through an intermediary body, such as the Canadian Welfare Council, which would then be able to work with the local Social Planning Councils that are currently involved in community development. In addition, neighbourhood councils might be encouraged to work as sub-units of the Bureaux, and the councils in turn could be linked to smaller-scale social animation projects. The Bureaux would also work in close co-operation with our proposed regional information offices.

There are 8,000 post offices across the country; in many smaller areas they constitute a kind of modern "village pump" and thus might be ideal office sites for the Bureaux and neighbourhood councils. In a speech in Regina on January 29, 1969, the Postmaster General has already suggested that post offices be used "as communications centres at which people could collect information about the Federal

Government and its operations, either through the simple means of a bulletin board or through the more sophisticated means of telephone systems by which people in any part of the country could get specific answers to specific questions.

Alternatively, the Bureaux might be located in existing Social Welfare Centres (in most cases, these are under the authority of local Social Planning Councils). In any event it is important that the Bureaux be open at nights and perhaps on weekends to suit the needs of their clients.

In Britain, the Bureaux in large towns employ full-time social workers. These are assisted by part-time voluntary workers. Smaller towns have part-time voluntary workers only, most of them retired doctors, lawyers and social workers. Most Bureaux have an honorary legal adviser, and there is machinery for training the non-professional workers.

We believe that, in Canada, consideration should be given to using the voluntary services of such groups as:

a) The increasing number of professionals in the age group 65-70 — doctors, lawyers and social workers — who are retired from active employment, and would welcome a new challenge.

b) Trained but unemployed housewives.

c) University students (part-time during the school year, full-time in summer).

d) The Company of Young Canadians, which has already shown interest in developing such a service.

But, if the Bureaux are to work properly, the volunteers must be dedicated and well-trained and must be backed-up by adequate numbers of full-time professionals and modern technology possible in information transfer and retrieval.

Recommendations

Clearly, there is something wrong when the government of a dynamic, developed country with a high standard of living cannot communicate with something like 11 per cent of its citizens. Suggesting ways to reach these outsiders constitutes perhaps the most important part of this Task Force's mandate. In order to ensure that the Government of Canada develops a greater sensitivity to the information needs of the unreached, we recommend that:

1. The government give more systematic and co-ordinated attention to the problems of communicating with those individuals and groups of citizens currently outside of, unaffected by, the mainstream of Federal Government information and recognize that their information requires

ments must be given a high priority.

2. More attention be given to research and advanced techniques in the field of communication and that, in the light of the experimental nature of some of the research and programmes, adequate evaluation systems be introduced.

3. Experimental series such as the National Film Board's Challenge for Change and *Société nouvelle* be continued and be subject to the evaluation techniques mentioned above.

4. Steps be taken to ensure that Canadian citizens and newly arrived immigrants who have an insufficient understanding of either of the two official languages receive adequate Federal Government information of special interest to them in their own language either directly from the responsible agencies or indirectly through the most appropriate existing media.

5. Following consultations with provincial governments citizens advisory bureaux be reinforced and/or established where necessary and be financed by the Federal Government in association with provincial and municipal governments and with national and international foundations and voluntary organizations.

6. Further study be given to the possibility of assisting the establishment of more neighbourhood councils to serve as sub-units of the advisory bureaux.

7. These bureaux and councils be administered by non-governmental organizations.

! & ?

Obviously there is no more essential tool of communication than language and, in Canada, it is impossible to discuss the effectiveness of government information without examining its linguistic aspects. If we accept that all government information should reach the people at whom it is aimed, and if we accept that the full range of the people's reactions should be perceptible to those who do the informing, there is no way to avoid the conclusion that both official languages must be used to communicate official information. The information will be adequate only to the degree that its conception and distribution are in tune with the characteristics of each cultural group.

Our terms of reference stressed that we should bear in mind not only the contribution that federal information can make to public understanding of the way the Canadian federation works; but also the use of the official languages as creative tools of equal stature to enable both of the country's main linguistic communities to identify themselves more closely than they have in the past with the Federal Government information process.

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism is expected to submit its report on the public service within a few months. We have no intention of anticipating either the Commission's recommendations, or the government's reaction to them. In this paper, we have tried to focus exclusively on the use of the official languages in the communication of government information. At the same time, it is clear that any reform that affects languages, and those who use language in so particular a field as information, must inevitably be integrated within a policy that encompasses the public service generally. Indeed, there is a close and perhaps inseparable connection between the use of the official languages in information work and their use in general administration.

For the purposes of this paper, we have borrowed a conceptual framework from the published findings of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. In Book 1 of their General Introduction, the Commissioners state: "The existing state of bilingualism in Canada means, first and foremost the existing state of the English and French languages, each being considered first by itself." That statement may be applied with force to the field of information. The Task Force accordingly asked two language authorities to examine a number of publications issued by various departments. The experts were Professor Roy Daniells of the University of British Columbia, and René de Chantal, Dean of the Faculty of Letters at the University of Montreal. René de Chantal also looked into the problems associated with government translation.

The first part of this paper is largely devoted to Daniells' and de Chantal's diagnoses of the written material which is still the Federal Government's primary instrument for communicating information. The second part deals, first, with government language policy; and then, to illustrate language problems as they affect information staff, with methods of enquiry, polls, and statistics.

Part I – The Quality of Language in Government Publications

English

The report submitted by Professor Daniells is based on a study of approximately 200 publications conceived and written in English and issued by the Departments of Agriculture, Consumer and Corporate Affairs, External Affairs, Forestry and Rural Development, Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Industry, Labour, Manpower and Immigration, National Health and Welfare, Trade and Commerce, and Transport. It is worth remembering that the publications Professor Daniells considered were selected by the departments themselves, and therefore might be more representative of the better-written documents. Moreover, the wide differences in both the number and kind of publications that the various departments submitted prevented any thorough comparison of one department's prose style with that of another.

The following is a condensation of Professor Daniell's report:

Canadian society is enduring the pressures of an intensified effort at organization, in every field of activity. The rebellion of the individual is therefore everywhere manifest. Governments feel increasingly a compulsion to compel: the single issue of environmental pollution will shortly oblige every citizen to comply with government regulations affecting cherished private routines of living. In these circumstances, governments must acquire the power to speak persuasively and continuously, on many subjects and at many levels of comprehension. Unless this skill on the part of government is quickly acquired, there is a risk that administration will be swamped by rising tides of incomprehension and discontent.

It is a reasonable assumption that the total output of Canadian propaganda (in the honorific sense of systematic persuasion) will continue to increase very rapidly during the rest of this century. Not to mention the tides of persuasive paper that well across the American border. The two wastepaper baskets daily filled by the Canadian business or professional man – one at his office, one at home – may well

increase to four or six. A flood of advertising and crypto-advertising, more persuasive, more adhesive, better conceived, better illustrated than ever before, will compete with government publications. The publications of government will also compete for attention with one another.

The objective of government officials concerned with communication is, therefore, as simple as its achievement will be difficult. It is to render each message, from government to governed, so distinctive, so lucid and so compelling that it will make first claim on the attention of the citizen-reader. He must in future listen to government with confidence because he is never misled; with readiness because the voice of government speaks to him as an individual; and with pleasure because the form and style of government utterance are, in themselves, pleasurable.

The government publishes a variety of booklets for the general public, and many of these are filled with useful information, honestly assembled and lucidly presented. Their chief limitation is their dullness. That this defect can be avoided, though few writers take trouble to avoid it, is illustrated by *Canada: One Hundred: 1847-1967*, a composite work containing a variety of styles. In the article on Eskimos, the reader is directly addressed: 'Now listen to the voice of Abraham Okpik who works in the area of public responsibility, of getting things done. He is one of the North's new men.' There follows a picture of Okpik, "the first Eskimo member of the Council of the Northwest Territories." Near the end of the article, we are reminded, "Okpik, the first time he spoke before the council . . . used the tone of a man addressing equals, neither better nor worse than himself."

In the same volume, there are matters of considerable social interest which receive peculiarly flat treatment; e.g., "Canadians are well provided with telephone facilities and make heavy use of them. In 1963, there were 6,656,613 telephones in use; of these 1,910,178 were business telephones and 4,746,435 were residential telephones. In that year Canadians made more than 11,000,000,000 local calls and 257,000,000 long distance calls. The average number of telephone calls per capita was 593." Honest, quantitative reporting of this kind has its place and its value. In a book intended to present Canada's image to the world at large, however, some effort to reach out to the reader might be expected. In these statistics lie concealed the facts of Canadian life — our loneliness, garrulousness, leisure, literacy, familial dispersion and affluence. In how many countries in the world do school-children habitually do their homework with a telephone receiver in one hand?

Departmental reports serve another purpose, but the clientele for which they are intended must be a fairly wide one. There is little indication that the readers are clearly visualized. The *Annual Report* of the Department of National Health and Welfare for 1967 is addressed to the Governor General, then, a page or two later, to the Minister by the Deputy Ministers. It may be thought that these are no more than the courtesies of the administrative world and, as such, they are unexceptionable. Yet, in the worst possible way, by an air of pomposity, they set the tone, modify the content and determine the language of the Report itself. Its opening sentence is as follows: "International Health has followed the pattern which has progressively evolved over previous years of continuing expansion in the two major areas of concern to the Department, involving Canada's membership and thereby its obligations to the World Health Organization as well as the health segments of other United Nations specialized agencies, and as the Federal Government Agency acting in an advisory and operational capacity for Canada's External Aid Program of bilateral assistance in the health field."

This, however thin you slice it, is still "gobbledegook". The grammar and syntax raise several problems. Does "of continuing expansion" refer to "pattern" or to "years"? Does "involving" refer back to "areas" or to "expansion" or to "pattern"? Is some meaning to be read into the opposition of "evolving" and "involving", and, if so, what meaning? What is a "health segment"? What is a United Nations agency? The phrase "and as the Federal Government Agency" is without syntactical relation to the rest of the sentence. It is possible, after repeated readings, to guess what is meant. The sentence structure is, however, quite deplorable. Whether addressed to His Excellency, to the Minister, or to the general public, it is inexcusable. What disturbs the reader even more than the manifest illiteracy is the sheer unintelligibility of the phrasing. What is meant by "bilateral assistance"? A bilateral agreement is mutually binding on both parties. Bilateral assistance would seem to be assistance afforded by two parties, each to the other. In the context of Canada's External Aid Program, this can hardly be the intended meaning.

More serious than either lack of grammar or lack of precise meaning is the lack of a real intention to communicate.

Undoubtedly governments often find it necessary to conceal information. But they should not seem to do so. In a statement for release to the public, on the subject of Canada's defence, there occurs a lengthy paragraph con-

cerning "the four helicopter-equipped destroyers and the two operational support ships now under construction" (December 3rd, 1968). What this paragraph conveys is that the Government clearly has no intention of making its intentions clear. The paragraph says (in summary): The support ships, although useful to NATO, remain under national command, this being normal practice with such ships, even in wartime. The destroyers, on the other hand, "would in the normal course of events" be put under NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic. "When this takes place" four older destroyers will be recalled and used for North American defence only. Thus, Canada is not at the present time planning to increase the number of ships committed to NATO or operating in the Mediterranean. The new destroyers will provide qualitative improvement in SACLANT forces.

Would it not be more honest, as well as more adroit, to say that, in the present state of *political* uncertainty as to Canada's defence policy in the future, the Department of National Defence, for the best of reasons, cannot do anything but adhere to some slight variant of the *status quo*?

The above comment may exceed the terms of reference of this small enquiry into style. If so, can it at least be emphasized that style, meaning, intention and ultimate policy flow into one another? "For want of a comma the kingdom was lost."

Ambiguity of a disingenuous kind goes through the motions of coming on stage whenever the dialogue between government and public approaches a contentious issue. In an External Affairs booklet, *Federalism and International Relations*, a prolonged discussion of Treaty-making Power is concluded by three summary statements, apparently designed to clarify the matter once and for all in the mind of the reader. They do not. They resort to vague inaccuracy to avoid the simple statement that, under the B.N.A. Act, provinces have no power to make international treaties. As the wording stands, it obfuscates the meaning, without really concealing the ultimate issue.

There are other kinds of ambiguity than the transparently disingenuous variety found in documents dealing with crucial issues. Perhaps the most annoying of all ambiguities is the kind that creeps into the *News* bulletins of the Department of Agriculture and other similar publications destined to be read by very large number of very busy men.

The possibility exists that American corn may enter Canada below the price level at which the American Government

supports corn prices, that is \$1.05 a bushel in American funds."

"In this case it has been decided to approach United States authorities in order to discuss ways and means of remedying the situation under which corn may enter Canada below the U.S. support price."

In one clumsy movement, this ducks the issue. "In this case": in what case? In the case of a possibility existing as described? In the case of corn entering Canada at the lower price? We do not know. Nor do we know whether the government has any mechanism for keeping track of the price at which corn actually enters Canada. This last is what the reader would most like to be sure of.

The issue of *News* quoted from is entitled "Statement on Corn". The release appears to consist of several chunks of information pressed firmly together but not forming a natural continuum. This reader (not unfamiliar with farmers' problems) has taken half an hour to come to the tentative conclusion that what the Government of Canada is trying to say to Ontario farmers may be that they should, in their own interest, set up a Corn Producers' (apostrophe supplied) Marketing Board. So far so good. Who is to set up this organization? Not, it appears, the Department issuing the release: "The Federal Government does not have the power under any existing legislation to create a corn marketing agency in Ontario". If not in Ontario, then probably not in other provinces or in the country as a whole. What, then, is this issue of *News* all about? Is it arguing that the Federal Government should introduce legislation to empower itself to set up a Marketing Board? If so, why not say so?

To add a postscript: The Department might give some thought to the fact that issues of *News* get read by people who, although citizens of Canada, are not corn growers. Such readers get one clear impression from this release: that the Government of Canada gangs up with the farmers to raise the price of grain and thereby (the connection is repeatedly made) to raise the price of meat and eggs to the consumer. Something should be said about this obvious inference, either to allay the reader's suspicions or to justify a policy of robbing Peter to pay Paul.

Aside however from such matters as ambiguity, imprecision, pomposity and drabness, there is the problem of a lack of urgency in federal publications. Urgency – which does not mean stridency – is more easily achieved in kinds of writing designed to induce action than in writing that is intended to inform. It can nevertheless be argued that the primary purpose of government expenditure on publication is to persuade rather than to inform, just as the primary pur-

pose of educational expenditure at university levels is to inform, and by research to procure fresh information. It is apparent that many government publications possess no urgency whatever. Page after page has been used as a dumping ground for information that nobody seems to want.

Then there are the more technical aspects of prose: grammar, syntax, logic. There is an infinite variety of bad writing to be found in the government publications provided. A few examples must suffice; were space available, they could be endlessly extended and discussed.

1. "In addition, the summer student programme has served to acquaint students with the *objectives and operations* of the Branch and to provide *opportunities and guidance in selection and training* of permanent employees." Here is the old device of producing abstract nouns in loosely joined pairs, hoping that they will somehow carry the meaning between them. "Opportunities", moreover, seems to carry the vague double sense of an opening for the student and an acquisition for the Branch.

2. "Books and booklets on major Canadian historical themes attractively produced and illustrated *and* written for the general public *and* containing a distillation of the most important features of the thematic studies and other research carried out by the Service *and* to be sold at appropriate historic parks and Queen's Printer bookstores and regular retail bookstores."

In default of punctuation, the "and's" serve to deploy a series of phrases increasingly defiant of parallel structure. In addition, there is an awkward use of noun as adjective – "Queen's Printer bookstores".

3. "Where there were only four provinces in 1867, there are now ten, with two vast northern territories hovering on the brink of provincial status."

"Where" is geographically misleading. "With" is a weak connective. To *hover* on the *brink* of a *status* is to engage in doubly mixed metaphor. Such refinements may not matter much in ephemeral leaflets; this sentence, however, occurs in the opening pages of a volume celebrating the centenary and has doubtless met the eye of readers all over the world. Scattered through the succeeding pages are such phrases as "*paved the way for solid growth*", "*a new batch of fledgling painters*", "Here, then, in *capsule* form is the '*Face of Canada*'".

4. "The Indians have three kinds of barrier to cross: physical – the distance of many reserves from job markets; technical – the lack of vocational skills; cultural – the barriers that separate different ways of behaving; different scales of values, different ways of thinking and feeling."

Here, the third of the proposed parallel structures breaks down. It awkwardly repeats "barriers"; it is punctuated so as to suggest a fourfold rather than threefold division; it rambles, neglecting the obvious affinity of "thinking", "feeling" and "behaving". Single instances of this kind seem unimportant; cumulatively, they leave the impression that the Government of Canada is not quite articulate.

5. "For example, most kinds of services tend to show more persistent price increases than goods, since in services the normal rise in costs is often not matched by productivity gains."

Here, the meaning seems perfectly clear until one tries to work out the comparison. When goods go up in price, are more goods produced? This seems likely in the case of lumber, unlikely in the case of fish. But even if we accept the statement, the contrast remains unclear. When haircuts double in price, which they do every few years, do not more barbers appear? Casual observation, as well as economic logic, suggests that this is so. The writer has provided us with a nice speculation, but this was not his job or, one hopes, his intention.

In this passage, as in other paragraphs beyond reckoning, the writer is busy tying up his information in rough packages and stacking these to fill up pages. The last thing that occurs to him is that some member of the public will, through accident, choice or necessity, sit down and try to make sense of the result.

It is particularly regrettable that statements made to the House of Commons by a Minister can be reported to the public in a form that makes the Minister appear illiterate. The Department of Labour, in its bulletin *News*, puts the following sentence into the mouth of the Minister. "I detailed the record of success of that system in the areas under my jurisdiction, pointing out that there were only six out of a potential of 100 strikes that occurred, and of these, only two were of real consequence."

It may appear laborious to ask that the phrasing be changed to: "Showing that, out of a potential one hundred strikes, only six occurred and that, of these, only two were of real consequence". It is, however, no small matter that on the first page of his statement, the Minister is made to appear careless of verbal form, an impression which deepens as we move on into the body of the speech.

Some Proposals

In view of the wide range of quality in government publications, extending from eloquence to illiteracy, and in view of

the evident lack of co-ordination and control in this area of the government's information efforts, Professor Daniells concludes that the Federal Government's English prose is weak. He suggests some remedies.

He suggests that all publications put out by a given department should be under the control of a single editor who accepts responsibility for their content, style and format; and that the departmental editors should be advised and aided by an editor-in-chief who would be closely associated with the Queen's Printer.

For all practical purposes, the editor-in-chief and the departmental editors would constitute an editorial committee. At regular intervals, the editor-in-chief would issue reports, carrying the weight of directives. The reports would be based on comparative studies of the publications from the various departments, and on a selection of the best of these which could in time provide a standard for all departments to imitate. It may be stated that departments differing in their fields of endeavour and in their contact with the public will necessarily use very different forms of publications. However, the most intelligently persuasive publication Professor Daniells encountered came from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics; the most skilful use of colour came from the Department of Trade and Commerce. The worst writing often came from departments closely in touch with the largest groups in the Canadian public.

The Committees reports would also be based on comparisons between Canadian government publications and those of other countries, especially those of the United States and European countries whose population and problems resemble our own.

These reports would not primarily concern themselves with choice of paper, ink, type, graphics and so on, but would certainly take cognizance of the contribution of such factors to better presentation of government information. Style is inseparable from format. One of the main tasks of an editorial committee would be an examination of format, in the broadest sense of the term.

But of all the tasks facing such an editorial committee, the most formidable will be a close examination of prose style. *Le style c'est l'homme même*," said Buffon. A lapse of two centuries has not lessened the truth of his remark. Passages already examined in the preceding pages demonstrate that style could be improved by thorough revision, and that there is much to be gained from a scrutiny of spelling, punctuation, grammar, syntax, vocabulary, paragraphing, and the logical sequence of text.

Although the main problems in government prose in Eng-

lish are shared by all departments, Professor Daniells considers that the best writing is done in departments which, from the very nature of their organization, strive to be credible in the eyes of the world at large. Prominent among these were the Department of Trade and Commerce and the Department of External Affairs. By contrast, departments that seek to explain the government's internal policies in sociological terms tend to become unintelligible.

In conclusion, Professor Daniells writes: "The ultimate question to be asked concerning any departmental publication is a simple one: What image of the government does it project? Does the reader see government as illiterate, confused, sunk in the jargon of the social sciences, given to awkward concealments, its right hand not knowing what its left hand is up to? Or is the image one of candour, clarity and ready communication? . . . Can it be that the ambiguities and non sequiturs of which this report has been complaining are not, in the last analysis, attributable to illiteracy, lack of revision or failures of logic? Are they ultimately traceable to uncertainties in the minds of the makers of policy, even at the highest levels? Should this be so, the remedies must, in turn, come ultimately from the same level, above the range of any editorial committee."

The foregoing has been a brief description of the health of the English language in the federal information services. We shall now turn to the other patient.

French

René de Chantal, Dean of the Faculty of Letters at the University of Montreal, was forwarded Federal Government publications in French. In most cases, they came from the same agencies and departments that sent their publications to Professor Daniells in English. In the case of the French texts, however, material from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and from the Office of the Prime Minister was substituted for material from the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs and the Department of Forestry and Rural Development. Mr. de Chantal studied vocabulary, grammar and style in that order, and then turned to the special problems that translation raises. The following contains his chief findings:

So far as vocabulary is concerned, the most striking characteristic is the rough and ready character of the words used. The following are a few examples of words that are so poorly chosen that, without reference to the original English, the French text is incomprehensible:

"Dans le dernier quart de siècle le Canada toujours à la

pointe du progrès, a fait (a connu) un essor vertigineux dans tous les secteurs."

"En terminant, je puis assurer la Chambre encore une fois que rien ne pourra altérer ma décision de faire en sorte . . ." In this context, *altérer* is an Anglicism; *changer* would be preferable, or *rien ne pourra me faire revenir sur ma décision de*.

" . . . cueillette des ordures ménagères." *Cueillette* should be *enlèvement*.

"Le grand souci en matière de personnel est la meilleure utilisation possible de l'effectif d'une organisation." We presume that, translated into good French, this passage means: *"une bonne gestion du personnel suppose l'utilisation maximale de l'effectif de l'organisation"*.

In the publication *Services fédéraux à l'intention des hommes d'affaires*, we read: *"La Direction étudie d'importants secteurs de l'économie canadienne afin de déterminer d'importantes catégories de produits dont l'amélioration porterait bénéfice aux industries qui les fabriquent."* Apart from the repetition of the adjective *important*, we note the expression *porterait bénéfice*, which doubtless means *bénéficierait* or *apporterait des bénéfices*.

The *Annuaire du Canada* is filled with examples of badly chosen words that lead to misinterpretations. The following passage provides only one example: *"Les autres musées qui font œuvre d'enseignement et de propagande sont les suivants."* *Propagande* is supposed to be a translation of *extension programs*!

These few examples were drawn from publications intended for general distribution. There are other publications aimed at specialized publics and, in these, federal departments are justified in using the technical vocabulary of the international French-speaking community. Apart from the scientific work in such publications, they may provide examples of proper language use. Mr. de Chantal's inquiry has led him to recommend that technical publications intended for people of average education should include a glossary of the technical terms used and, where appropriate, should give the word in popular use.

Grammar, unfortunately, is no more precise than vocabulary in government publications. The grammatical errors are sometimes glaring and sometimes slight, but they are all too easy to find. In a press release, we noted the failure to capitalize letters properly: *"Il est le premier canadien à être ainsi honoré par cet organisme"* (*Canadien*); *" . . . l'Université Cornell, à Ithaca, dans l'état de New York"* (*Etat*).

Often, there is a peculiar omission of the article, and one wonders if this might not be traced to the influence

of English. The Prime Minister is supposed to have said: *"Vous recevez universitaires ou étudiants africains, asiatiques ou antillais . . ."* instead of *"des universitaires ou étudiants . . ."*

The use of prepositions also leaves a great deal to be desired. It is quite obvious that some translators are so unfamiliar with usage that they insert unnecessary or completely incorrect prepositions. We found the following in the *Annuaire du Canada*: *" . . . sauf à Terre-Neuve et en Île-du-Prince-Edouard"*. The most elementary rule requires *dans l'île-du-Prince Edouard*. A Department of Consumer and Corporate affairs publication reads: *" . . . vous n'avez qu'à remplir cette carte et nous la faire parvenir à l'adresse ci-contre et votre nom sera inscrit à notre liste d'envoi."* *A notre liste* should be *sur notre liste*.

Examination of tenses yields peculiar surprises. The following passage appears in a text which is noteworthy for the elegance and lightness of its style: *"Les frais déjà déboursés avant que la proposition aura été soumise ne peuvent être compris dans la fixation de la participation de l'entreprise au financement du projet"*. The verb following the conjunction *avant que* must be in the subjunctive. The passage should have read: *avant que la proposition n'ait été soumise*.

Style, however, provides the most reliable evidence of the qualities — or the faults and weaknesses — of a writer. We shall deal first with some of the minor defects in the style of French prose in government publications. One of these is the use, with no apparent justification of a sort of telegraphese that reveals not the slightest attempt to compose proper sentences. For example: *"En Ontario, état satisfait des colonies dans l'ensemble, mais variations sensibles d'une région à l'autre"*. Does the writer mean that the state of the colonies was satisfactory (*satisfaisant*), or does he mean that an unspecified person or group was satisfied (*satisfait*)? It is hard to tell.

Excessive use of repetition also produces awkwardness of style. The *Annuaire du Canada* contains the following: *"Dans ces écoles, les cours peuvent, selon les besoins de chaque élève, se prolonger jusqu'à quatre ans. Dans certaines d'entre elles, on enseigne aussi l'artisanat. Certaines des institutions . . ."* And the following page: *"Plusieurs organismes . . . ont été fondés précisément pour exécuter un tel programme d'expositions itinérantes sur le plan régional. La Galerie nationale du Canada exécute un programme analogue à l'échelle nationale"*. Further on, the same verb occurs twice in two lines: *" . . . quelque 80,000 pêcheurs dont le nombre n'a pas beaucoup varié durant la dernière*

écennie. Le nombre de personnes . . . a de même très peu varié”.

The following appears in a report published by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development: *Sa cargaison contenait notamment une école préfabriquée de sept pièces . . . Avis et conseils ont été prodigués au gouvernement . . . concernant notamment les soins à accorder . . .*; *“D’autres programmes fédéraux comprenaient des services de médecine sociale qui ont permis notamment . . .”* It should hardly be necessary to point out that the following are all possible synonyms for “notamment”: *en particulier, entre autres choses, spécialement, surtout, par exemple.*

The following lines appear on the same page, and need no comment: *“Le programme de développement communautaire a permis de faire participer les Indiens et les Esquimaux à la planification et à l’exécution des programmes communautaires dans le Nord. Il s’agissait notamment d’une entreprise de recherche sur place, en vue de déterminer les possibilités de développement communautaire, et ensuite d’un programme de formation en matière de développement communautaire à l’intention du personnel sur place et du personnel de l’administration centrale. Les fonds de la Caisse de développement communautaire, destinés à amener les autochtones à prendre des initiatives et à gérer eux-mêmes leurs activités communautaires, se sont maintenus à \$216,000. L’administrateur local peut engager des dépenses inférieures à \$1,000 pour des améliorations communautaires d’ordre général, moyennant l’approbation du conseil de la localité en question.”*

Another odd stylistic feature of government publication in French is the excessive use of adjectival phrases that begin with the preposition “de”. A few examples: *“Dans l’élaboration du cadre d’application de la méthode générale de développement”; “Des études ont été menées dans plusieurs lacs du parc de Banff afin de déterminer les résultats des opérations de peuplement de truites effectuées au cours des dernières années.”*

This unfortunate technique is at its most ridiculous in the following passage: *“On poursuit des études des parasites des poissons du parc national de Terra-Nova, de ceux des becs-scies des provinces Maritimes et de ceux des fous de l’île Bonaventure.”* This sentence could easily have been written in a more elegant and more typically French style: *“Des études sont en cours sur les parasites qui s’attaquent aux poissons du parc national de Terre-Neuve, aux becs-scies des provinces Maritimes et aux fous de Bassan de l’île Bonaventure.”*

Too often in federal government publications, we read

French prose that is a clumsy copy of the English original. To enlighten us in this respect, we have only to glance through the chapter entitled *“Les beaux-arts et les arts animés”* (this includes literature as well as the performing arts!), in the French version of a book that achieved wide distribution both in Canada and abroad: *Canada, un siècle 1867-1967: “La majeure partie de l’inspiration et les grandes influences ne lui sont pas venues de l’intérieur mais de l’extérieur et le style général des arts a été sensiblement imitatif.”*

The frontispiece of *Canada un siècle, 1867-1967* bears the legend: *“Rédigée à la Division de l’Annuaire du Canada, de Canada et de la bibliothèque, Bureau fédéral de la statistique, Ottawa. Publication autorisée par l’honorable Robert H. Winters, ministre du Commerce.”* We shall not dwell on the feminine ending of the word “Rédigée” applied to this important publication, nor on the strange wording employed. These few lines at least serve to inform us, from the outset, what language we shall encounter in the book. To judge by the authors’ names, all but perhaps two of the 37 signed articles in the book are the work of English-speaking writers. Only one appears to have written his text in French, and none of the authors is a native of Quebec.

The conclusion to be drawn from this summary, and from the whole of our inquiry, is that the use of French as an original language in government information is very limited.

We were also concerned to discover exactly how much government publishing does appear in the French language, to record what is translated and what is not. The Glassco Commission made the following observations in 1962:

What is the general impression left by the language of federal government publications in French? At best, the official prose is correct but drab. Its faults are obvious. Insufficient care would appear to be exercised in proof-reading. The choice of words is often imprecise. Connecting words and phrases are awkward. As for style, the most charitable judgment would be that it is inelegant, clumsy, long-winded and lifeless. The words may be French, but one still cannot feel that one is reading a text in the French language. In short, we can only agree with those who write letters to newspapers to poke fun at the wretched quality of Federal Government French.

There are several reasons for this state of affairs, but the most important appears to be that the French texts that the Queen’s Printer publishes are almost invariably translations.

The Task Force questioned representatives of a number of departments about their use of the French language. In the department that employed the highest percentage of French-speaking public servants, less than one per cent of the mate-

rial published during our survey was conceived and originally published in French. In another agency, out of 14 publications appearing in 1968, only part of one publication was so blessed. These may be extreme cases: some departments and agencies assert that a minor revolution is already taking place. This may be so since it is not long ago that French-speaking Ministers, before French-speaking audiences, delivered French-language speeches that had first been drafted entirely in English.

The conclusion to be drawn from this summary, is that the use of French as an original language in government information is limited.

We were also concerned to discover exactly how much government publishing does appear in the French language, to record what is translated and what is not. The Glassco Commission made the following observations in 1962:

"Were it not for the fact that much of the current information material appears only in English, the delays in publishing French versions would be greater than they are. In 1960-61, the Queen's Printer published 3,586 texts in English, but only 866 in French. Of 515 current publications of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, only about a quarter are available in French, although the proportion by volume is higher than this by reason of the French editions of such weighty items as the *Canada Year Book* and the monthly *Statistical Review*."

Analysis of the Queen's Printer's 1967 Catalogue (which appeared in March 1969,) enables us to relate these earlier criticisms to more current information.

The Catalogue indexes periodicals, series, bulletins, reports, and so on, as single publications. But when only one issue of a series is published in French, as sometimes happens, the false impression may be left that the whole series has been translated. On the other hand, periodicals published in both languages may be listed only once under each language in the Catalogue, although they represent a very much greater volume of translation work than does a simple brochure. Parliamentary publications and official journals are always translated.

The 1967 Catalogue lists more than 3,000 publications in English and fewer than 1,800 in French. This suggests some progress since 1962, but it indicates too that a large gap remains. Translation policies vary considerably from one department to another. The Post Office, the Justice Department and the Public Archives translate everything they publish; but using the catalogue as a guide would suggest that the idea of translation was unknown to the Canadian Standards Association and the National Energy Board in 1967, and that

translation was only applied by the Department of Trade and Commerce, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the National Research Council and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics on occasion. In some cases, delays in translation may explain the disparity between the number of works published in English and the number in French.

According to a brief submitted to the Task Force in January 1969, all publications of the Census, Education and Health and Welfare Divisions of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics are now bilingual. Of the 512 publications produced by the 12 other DBS divisions the brief reports 154, or 30 per cent, are bilingual. During the six-month period ending October 31, 1968, 20 publications were given a new bilingual format. In recent years, the practice of publishing works in one composite bilingual version has been adopted by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and other agencies.

Few reports on the results of scientific research appear in French. This is generally true also of publications in the fields of trade, industry and technology. Yet those concerned with education, health, social welfare, the arts, taxation and national revenue are for the most part published in both languages.

At this point in our discussion of translation, it is useful to return to the opinions of Mr. de Chantal. He presented a wide-ranging and striking commentary on the linguistic consequences of a system of communication that is based on translation. Some may regard his remarks as excessively critical, but we are sure that no one can doubt either his sincerity or his familiarity with the French used in federal publications.

What confronts us, he says, is not an original language wedded to the thinking of the writer but a language of fac simile. Since the original text is itself not always of high quality, the translator can hardly be expected to improve upon it. The writer of the original is at least free — within the limitations imposed by the subject matter and by the requirements of administrative style — to express himself as he wishes, and the effects of this freedom are clearly apparent in his style. Despite the official character of the subjects dealt with in government publications in English, one occasionally detects in them a certain spontaneity and freshness which is totally lacking in their French versions.

The comfortably flexible pace of the English text, when well written, is like that of a stroller who advances with an easy stride and cheerfully surmounts the obstacles that confront him. The French translation moves with the hesitant and awkward gait of a drunken Basset hound. His nose glued to the scent, he bumps into prepositions and stumbles

ver connecting words, and he has no clear idea of where he is going.

The result is quite clear: bad French. Even the most forgiving reader eventually becomes annoyed, humiliated and angry. The blatant mishandling of his language leads him to wonder, fatalistically, whether the Federal Government's language policy is anything more than a hollow phrase. We may acknowledge that the language policy depends on those who are responsible for its implementation, and that they could doubtless produce excellent explanations for the deplorable standard of some translations, but we are still left with the fact that the attempt to make French Canadians feel at home among the publications of the Federal Government has failed. To use a fashionable but, in this case, a badly accurate word, they can only feel alienated by the haphazard treatment their language and culture receive. The poor quality of Federal Government French may embarrass them to the point where they abandon the French text entirely and read the original in English. This is a poor return for the considerable government investment in the translation and printing of publications in French.

In translation French is generally a dull, stale and stodgy language. To illustrate the point, one need only compare Ministers' speeches that have been translated from the English with those that were written originally in French.

But why must such texts be written first in English when the audience is to be French? Why is preparation of publications entrusted, almost invariably, to English-speaking writers? Why are English-speaking Canadians considered qualified for the work of writing, and French-speaking Canadians for that of translation? Why does the English-speaking Canadian public enjoy the privilege of reading texts written in its language, while French-speaking Canadians must be satisfied with translations?

At a time when the Federal Government is laying down a policy of cultural and linguistic equality for the two founding peoples, surely it has a duty to take the necessary steps to ensure that translation, especially of publications for external use, is not a one-way process. Despite all the official pronouncements, the French language in Ottawa is confined to the treadmill of translation. For all practical purposes, it is still confined to its ancient rôle. The government's policy on the official languages can be meaningful only to the extent that French-speaking Public Servants are free to write in their mother tongue. In view of the increasing educational qualifications required of Public Servants upon recruitment, and the language courses open to English-speaking Public Servants, is it asking too much to expect them to

be able to read and understand texts written in the language of one of the world's great cultures – one of the official languages of this country?

French Canada attaches the greatest importance to linguistic matters. The time when it was content with token concessions to its language has passed. After a long period of introversion, French Canada has opened channels of communication with the rest of the French-speaking world. Henceforth, it will bring a heightened critical faculty to bear on the respect paid to its language and culture, and the status reserved for it in the Canada of the future.

More Proposals

There is a paradoxical sense in which the best way to improve translation is to do as little of it as possible. But so long as translation is essential, and some will always be essential, a number of suggestions for improvement come to mind. In the first place, the budget for translation services should be large enough to enable translators to have abundant and up-to-date documentation at their disposal. They should also be able to obtain recent editions of works useful to them in their special fields, and to subscribe to newspapers and periodicals that might enable them to absorb French of high quality. Without such material, their working conditions will continue to be difficult, and the results they produce will often be mediocre.

The Terminology Centre of the Translation Bureau should be considerably expanded. Its material and human resources are slender in relation to its task. This makes the research work that it does perform all the more praiseworthy. Until recently the outstanding glossaries that the Centre's staff compiled were reproduced in small numbers and generally distributed only to the government's translators. It would be highly desirable for these excellent tools of the trade to be published. They deserve the widest possible circulation. It is also important for the Centre to have more modern equipment, and a word bank as well. A university might be invited to help produce the word bank. In many parts of the world, terminological data are recorded in electronic memory banks; it is time Federal Government translators had the benefits of such a service.

But even the best equipment is no substitute for qualified staff. The staff of the Centre needs considerable expansion. In particular, there should be an effort to attract terminologists, document researchers, qualified lexicographers, and French-speaking people from Europe who have extensive knowledge of modern technical terminology.

To improve the situation regarding the recruitment of translators, their salaries should be raised and accordingly higher standards of competence should be required. (The Public Service Commission recently took the worthwhile step of establishing a training programme for translators. It has awarded 20 scholarships to students taking a three-year course in translation at the University of Montreal.)

The skill of the translators who are already in the public service might also be improved. The most promising might be sent to Europe to familiarize themselves with the terminology used in their discipline, to establish contacts with experts in their profession and, above all, to steep themselves in French culture and the spirit of the French language. It would be useful, as well, if government translators could attend regular study sessions, discussions and lectures by language experts from outside the Government and from abroad.

As far as the translation itself is concerned, good revision would produce a noticeable improvement in quality. The examples quoted in this paper indicate revision has been non-existent or poor.

Professor Daniells suggested that a central revision service be attached to the general administration of the Translation Bureau to handle the revision of such texts as annual reports and the *Annuaire du Canada*. Mr. de Chantal had no advance knowledge of Professor Daniells' suggestion but his recommendations too included what amounts to an endorsement of the idea. The staff of the central revision service should not consist solely of translators. It should include teachers, writers or journalists, and others with a broad cultural background and high competence in writing style. The duties of these revisers would be similar to those of the editors that almost every publishing house employs. They would not only read manuscripts but also suggest corrections. When necessary, they would do major rewriting. Their job would be to put themselves in the position, not of the expert or the translator but of the reader, and to smooth out the irregularities in the translator's style to make the piece read as though it were an original work. At the same time, there is no question but that an improvement in the original texts would also improve the translations.

The Information Services Management Institute suggests the merger of translation and information services within each department. It seems to us, however, that the inevitable fluctuations in the work load justify the present centralization of translation activities. It is the Translation Bureau's responsibility to increase the division of labour of its staff according to their expertise as much as possible without im-

posing the limitations of extreme and narrow specialization. There are great advantages in the flexibility that the present centralization allows.

Part II – Language: The Official View

On April 6, 1966, the Prime Minister, Lester B. Pearson, delivered a speech in which he outlined some elements of the government's attitude toward bilingualism. He said the government hoped and expected that, within a reasonable period of years, it would be normal practice within the public service for spoken or written communication to be made in either official language, at the option of the official doing the communicating and in the certain knowledge that those directly concerned would understand the message. The government also expected that, within this reasonable period of years, government communication with the public would normally be in either official language, at the choice of the member of the public being served; that the public service, in its recruitment and training programmes, would take into account the linguistic and cultural values of both English- and French-speaking Canadians; and that a climate would be created in which public servants from both language groups would be able to work together towards common goals, using their own language and applying their own cultural values, but each understanding and appreciating those of the other.

Mr. Pearson then announced the measures taken by his government to achieve these objectives, and laid down new standards for the appointment and promotion of public servants:

"In those centres where a need exists for reasonable proficiency in both languages, procedures will progressively be established for the filling of executive and administrative positions, so that by about 1970 in the case of appointments from outside the service and by about 1975 in the case of promotions from within, bilingual proficiency or willingness to acquire it will normally be a requirement for the position in such centres."

Almost two years later, at the opening of a constitutional conference in Ottawa on February 5, 1968, Mr. Pearson recalled that in October of 1967, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism had submitted the first volume of its final report, which dealt with the two official languages of Canada and made 14 recommendations for the achievement of cultural and linguistic equality. The government, the Prime Minister stated, accepted these recommendations; it would take steps to implement them as rapidly as possible.

The Public Service Commission adheres to these principles, as prescribed since 1967 by its new regulating Act. Subsequent announcements by the Public Service Commission, and the July 31, 1968 edition of its Staffing Manual make it clear that public servants will be required to have the ability to communicate in the language spoken by Canadians with whom they deal. It is precisely to ensure that this indispensable linguistic ability will be present throughout the public service that the government has established language courses to give public servants working in Ottawa an opportunity to learn one or other of the two official languages, and to improve their language facility.

The essential elements of our inquiry concerning language and the information services have now been gathered but, to examine the ways in which they combine with one another, we shall return to the framework set out by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Book I of its General Introduction.

The Commission defined a bilingual country as one in which the principal public and private institutions must provide services in two languages to citizens, even though the vast majority of those citizens may very well be unilingual. It argued that a bilingual administration could function efficiently only if there were a sufficient number of bilingual people to maintain contact between the two language groups. A bilingual person was someone who knew two languages fairly well. Bilingual people were those who combined a knowledge of their mother tongue with a more or less extensive and active knowledge of the second language. It was rough language that man not only communicated but shared communion with others, and language was the vehicle of creative thought.

The Royal Commission has equipped us with an analytical structure that, to a remarkable degree, is based on communication, the essence of information. It comprehends the man and cultural values that underlie all communication. We have confined our inquiry to the communication of government information through the information services. It there is a close relationship between English, as the main language of administration, and both English and French as they are used in information work. The consequences of this relationship are apparent both in the information the government communicates to the public and in the public's feed-back to the government. A recent report of the Task Force on Labour Relations for example, recommended that the *Labour News Digest* — a government periodical for internal circulation which had been published only in English — be made available to the public in both

languages and, moreover, that it contain selected material not only from the English press but from major French-language newspapers as well. This proposal, which is already being implemented, strongly appeals to us. The *Labour News Digest*, like so many other internal government publications, had been produced in English alone, and it had published no regular account of opinions expressed in the French-language press. In both the flow of information from the government to people, and in the flow from the people back to the government, the *Labour News Digest* demonstrated the connection between the language that is used by most unilingual administrators and the other language that is the mother tongue of 30 per cent of the Canadian population. Over and above whatever measures may relate specifically to the information services, the progress of bilingualism in government information will depend very largely on the ability of the public service as a whole to understand both official languages.

Bearing this in mind, it is interesting to note the way the two language groups are distributed within the information services; of how bilingualism is faring in these services; and how the information officers themselves feel about these problems.

The records of the Public Service Commission show that on December 31, 1968, there were 384 Information Service Officers, and about as many more public servants who, while not ISOs, also performed information work. The 384, when recruited, completed a questionnaire, and 376 of them replied to questions about their "first Canadian language" — meaning either English or French — and on their general linguistic knowledge.

Among these 376, 310 (82 per cent) said their first Canadian language was English, and 66 (18 per cent) said it was French. The breakdown, by grade, was as follows:

Grade	English	French	% French
1	104	28	21.2
2	100	16	13.8
3	69	15	17.8
4	19	3	13.6
5	13	2	13.3
6	5	2	28.5

The table shows wide variations from one grade to another. The percentage of French-speaking officers goes from 17.6 for the three lower grades to 15.9 for the three senior ones.

Our studies also showed that about 45 per cent of the officers with secondary school education had acquired it in Ontario. Fewer than 14 per cent had received their secondary school education (in English or French) in Quebec.

A Task Force survey of one officer in five, among Grades 1, 2, and 3, indicated that 68 per cent preferred to work in English, and nine per cent in French. Seventeen per cent had no preference. Since French is the mother tongue of most bilingual officers, we may assume that the great majority of the 17 per cent are people whose first language is French. At the same time, however, French-speaking people from Quebec generally prefer to work in French, and this suggests that few of these bilingual officers originally came from that province. This tends to confirm the finding that the number of information officers who received their secondary education in French, and in Quebec, is small. It also casts a relevant light on the Federal Government's performance in the recruitment of information officers from Quebec.

Of the 310 officers who gave English as their first Canadian language, 83 (25 per cent) declared themselves to be bilingual; of the 66 who named French as their first language, 56 (84 per cent) said they were bilingual. Of all the officers, 37 per cent said they were capable of understanding or speaking both official languages.

It is noteworthy that, although all the French-speaking officers at the supervisory levels (grades 5 and 6) claimed to be bilingual, only 17 per cent of their English-speaking counterparts could make the same claim. From this we conclude either that the English-speaking officers concealed their linguistic ability from the Public Service Commission at the time of their recruitment; or that they have learned French since they joined the Service (unfortunately, we were unable to obtain any statistics on this point); or that they are finding it very difficult to assess the quality of work done at their behest in French. The figures, however, have only a relative value since, at the moment, there is no standard for determining the quality, nature or level of bilingualism among public servants. Lacking such standards, we pursued the analysis in our own way.

Our surveys showed that, with very few exceptions, the English-speaking officers in grades ISO 3 to ISO 6, who were transferred or who exchanged positions during 1968, were incapable of conducting even rudimentary conversations in French. All of them were registered as bilingual. Their salaries ranged between \$10,000 and \$20,000.

Between January 25 and February 25, 1969, a member of the Task Force staff placed telephone calls to each of them – taking care to lead the conversation so that, as it

progressed, it became increasingly specific and detailed. Thirty-three officers were called. They were all English-speaking but supposedly bilingual. Two were able to converse in French. The other 31 were so kind as to refer the caller to a French-speaking colleague for further information. So much for the spoken word.

The following, based on records of the Public Service Commission, is a breakdown of figures for staff movement during 1968 among grades ISO 1 to ISO 6. Bilingualism, obviously, is an advantage for all positions but, in only 27 per cent of these cases, was it an actual requirement:

(a) Transfers and promotions in the Public Service: 43 positions filled, 32 of which required English only and 11 of which required bilingual candidates;

(b) Staff transferred from Expo 67, the Centennial Commission, and the Office of the Commissioner for State Visits, who were entitled to employment on a preferential basis: 17 positions filled – 11 English only, two French only, and four bilingual;

(c) Appointments from outside the Public Service: 45 positions filled – 28 English only, four French only, and 13 bilingual.

The Task Force also undertook more detailed examinations of the situation regarding information officers and bilingualism in several departments. A few of the results follow:

At the Department of Manpower and Immigration, according to our sources, 15 of the 53 information officers are capable of preparing texts in French. The 15 include the recently appointed Director and one of his assistants. Twelve of them are also capable of replying in English, either orally or in writing, to requests for information. Regardless of their salary level, these French-speaking officers often find themselves serving as translators of texts written by their English-speaking colleagues. This practice occurs in many other departments. It is wasteful and, in the long run, it means that the officers concerned may lose their skill in their own language.

At the Dominion Bureau of Statistics there are two information officers capable of preparing an original draft in French, but the general practice is to have texts prepared in English, and then sent to the Translation Division. A French-speaking officer merely edits the translation. The Bureau's Information Service shows some flexibility regarding bilingualism; it acknowledges the need to supply both the main linguistic communities in Canada with information of equal quality. English, however, is the Bureau's working language and it is therefore impractical for DBS to offer employment

candidates who speak only French. The Bureau informs us that it would gladly employ more bilingual officers but — due to the knowledge of economics, business and the social sciences that the positions demand — it finds it extremely difficult to recruit them.

Of the 20 information officers employed by the Department of Agriculture, six are capable of originating written work in French, and one other can deal with the public orally in French. All seven can work in English although, for five of them, English is a second language. The Director of the Information Service states that he is confident in the service's ability to satisfy both language groups. In the matter of equal employment and promotion opportunities for English- and French-speaking public servants, the Department of Agriculture declares its adherence to the Canadian government's objectives. Still, like most other departments, it finds that the theory encounters serious practical difficulties. There are problems concerning attitudes and the allocation of the officer's working time. French-speaking officers spend 85 per cent of their time writing texts that have been conceived in English. The English-speaking officers who wish to learn French complain that they are unable to do so; and they are somewhat resentful over the idea that their ignorance of French may deprive them of promotions.

Such problems concern all information officers. Our research on this subject arose from three sources: the brief submitted to us by the Information Services Management Institute (ISMI); the brief submitted by officers in grades 1 to 4; and our own survey on those in grades 1 to 3.

The ISMI, which includes the more senior information officers in the public service, presented a report that confirmed several findings from other sources. These public servants felt that despite their limited resources and despite the long absence of a clearly defined government policy regarding their work, the information services had been giving for years to establish bilingual communication between the government and the public. Nevertheless, there are still a great many problems.

In the first place, although the information services of most departments do provide communication in both languages, the number of French-speaking information officers and writers is totally inadequate. Moreover, the ISMI group felt that, since the bulk of the work of the public service is conducted in English, it would be difficult to recruit French-speaking information staff. Potential candidates preferred to work for private enterprise. The ISMI group also noted that although French-speaking information officers are far outnumbered by their English-speaking colleagues, the volume

of their output is not noticeably different. In the matter of recruitment, ISMI did detect a recent trend towards some improvement regarding well-trained and fully qualified French-speaking employees.

ISMI also noted that translation remains one of the major difficulties in French-language information in Canada, that a large bulk of the work is the translation and adaptation of texts that have been conceived in English. Although the policy of bilingualism has brought some progress towards simultaneous publication, an immediate consequence of the effort in translation is that the French versions of many texts appear later than the English. Moreover, as we have seen, the information that the government distributes in the French language betrays the fact of its translation in the prose itself. It is dull and often ineffectual.

Information officers refuse to accept the entire responsibility for this state of affairs. They believe that the quality of French-language information will improve in step with progress towards bilingualism within the public service as a whole. Improvement will come when French-speaking public servants are able to use their mother tongue in their day-to-day contacts with other public servants, including middle and senior management.

On the basis of these findings, the Institute made the following recommendations: that more French-speaking information officers be hired; that priority be given to courses in French-language information techniques for both experienced and new French-speaking information officers; that the government make an official statement of its policy regarding bilingual and simultaneous publication of information, so that this question may no longer be left to the discretion of the various departments; and that the information and translation divisions of each department be merged.

In concluding their report, ISMI stressed that, although French-language information activities must not differ substantially from the work done in English, it is nevertheless true that effective communication in Canada requires respect for the cultural and social characteristics of the French-speaking population.

The Information Services Group, which may be said to represent the views of the nearly 400 information officers in grades 1 to 4, also submitted a brief to the Task Force. Generally, this Group endorsed the brief of their superiors, but with certain reservations. The IS Group rejected the two ISMI recommendations concerning the number of French-speaking officers and French-language courses. It confined itself to suggesting an inquiry into bilingualism in the information services, and the adoption of second-language courses

wherever the need was apparent. These proposals may appear rather mild but they do reflect an acknowledgment by the younger officers that there may be a problem in the relationship between bilingualism and their work for the government.

During our own survey of information officers in grades 1, 2 and 3, we asked those who did not consider themselves bilingual whether they feared their unilingualism might damage their chances for promotion. Ten per cent said no, 25 per cent said yes, and 43 per cent admitted concern for their future. We asked these officers whether they were satisfied with the opportunities given them to learn a second official language well enough to be able to speak it and understand it. Twenty-one per cent were satisfied, 55 per cent were not.

These figures are significant. Sixty-eight per cent of the unilingual officers fear for their future. Only 10 per cent do not feel threatened. Most of the officers feel they are not receiving the opportunities they must have to become familiar with a second official language.

Conclusions

Despite constant effort and some progress, it is clear that the implementation of bilingualism in the federal information services is falling short of the officially stated objectives. Our research shows that there is no specific regulation concerning bilingualism among information officers. There is no recognized standard of linguistic ability, either written or spoken. Without this one cannot even be sure that the members of selection boards are capable of properly judging bilingual ability. There is an increasingly urgent necessity for the Government to review the types of written and oral examinations that are used to assess the linguistic ability of both candidates for employment in the information services and existing information officers.

So far as standards are concerned, it is obvious that they should enable the administration to check various levels of linguistic ability. In our opinion, it is neither possible nor necessary to require that information officers be able to originate written material in both languages. Most officers, however, should be able to speak both languages, and all of them should be able to understand them both.

The Public Service Commission recognizes that knowledge of French is a desirable asset in the initial appointment and subsequent transfer of information officers. In recent years, however, while many public servants have taken examinations, under the Federal Government language-training pro-

gramme, there does not appear to have been developed any continuous check (either by the Commission or at the departmental level) on the linguistic ability of employees who claim to be bilingual.

The Federal Government arranges language courses to hasten the advent of bilingualism in the public service but, curiously, it has assigned no overall priority to information officers for admission to these courses. The selection of candidates is left to the discretion of the departments and, within the framework of general guidelines, the departments establish their own priorities. And yet, information officers have special and pressing needs for extensive knowledge of both official languages. It is required by the nature of their work, by their need to be well informed, by the contact they must have with the public, and by the fact they must be able, not only to communicate with one another but to judge and understand material that is produced in both languages in order to fulfil their responsibilities intelligently.

This examination of the linguistic ability of information personnel is far from complete but, on several points, our findings agree with the frequently harsh judgments of members of the public, with some of the results of our opinion surveys, with statements from the information officers themselves, and with observations made by the Glassco Commission. As far back as 1962, the Glassco Commission recommended that measures be taken to increase the number of bilingual officers in the public service. Furthermore, our findings here parallel certain evidence concerning the lack of use of French set out in our paper on Federal Government advertising.

A more serious effort must be made to ensure that all material that the Canadian Government distributes, in French and in English, meets appropriate standards of quality. Information Canada should be able to assist in this process. The frequent failure to use French as a language of creation leads to too many official publications being based on translation. This explains the errors and a good deal of clumsiness of government prose in French. Translation may be unavoidable in a bilingual country; in the Federal Government, those who are responsible for its execution need expanded resources to meet newly stringent requirements.

If the French language is ever to be used freely and to reach the quality of English in the information divisions of the public service, basic changes will have to be made. Recognizing the French-speaking population of Canada as a special public or audience is essential. Also, it is a fundamental necessity for those who must communicate

to be free to use their mother tongue in their written and spoken dealings not only with the relevant parts of the public but with their colleagues as well. Especially, they must be allowed to work and create in their own language. Their social, economic and cultural fulfilment demands nothing less. The government, in applying its language policy, should train its information officers with the care that reflects these factors.

We recommend that:

1. A policy on languages in the field of information be clearly established by the government so that the requirements of communication with the general public and within information services may be met.

2. The Public Service Commission require that prospective information officers have a sufficient knowledge of both official languages, or the willingness and the ability to learn a language rapidly and a demonstrated ability to express themselves correctly in at least one of the languages; that it lay down precise standards of language proficiency; that it establish an objective test to ascertain the actual linguistic abilities of candidates; and finally, that there be at least one fully bilingual person on every selection board.

3. Information officers be given top priority for admission to language courses (bilingualism is a necessary qualification particularly for those officers responsible for media relations), and that courses be given to them in both official languages in social communication techniques and on the rôle of official information.

4. A sustained effort be made in all the information services to permit French-speaking officers to participate in the formulation and execution of information policies at the appropriate levels and, in particular, that more texts be conceived and prepared in French; that, as a result there be more French-speaking information officers employed in the national capital and elsewhere as required, and that editing and production centres be established in a French-speaking milieu.

5. Information Canada be responsible, in consultation with the departments concerned, for determining priorities for the translation of texts, and that it establish close liaison with the Translation Bureau and the information services of departments and agencies in order to improve the quality of

translations and to eliminate delays in making the English and French versions of the same publications available; for this purpose, the Translation Bureau should have an adequate staff and set up a training programme enabling translators to take language courses in a French-speaking environment.

6. All publications of a particular department in English and in French come under two chief editors who will assume responsibility in the respective languages for content, style and presentation, and that such editors constitute an advisory editorial committee for each language drawing on the expertise available in the Translation Bureau and Information Canada.

7. These advisory committees make regular comparative studies of publications of the different departments as well as official publications of foreign countries, and that for works destined for wide distribution in Canada or abroad, the editing of the complete text be entrusted to a centre responsible to Information Canada.

! & ?

The word "culture" is sublime to some, ridiculous to others, and open to a dozen different interpretations. In this paper, we use "culture" in a limited way: to refer to the arts themselves, music, theatre, dance, literature, painting, sculpture and so on; and to the academic disciplines associated with them, art history, art education, music education, etc. Our choice is not merely a product of arbitrary taste. The great expansion in the professional arts, the great investment in them of public funds, has occurred only in the past decade or so; and the growing affluence and rising educational standards of society will lead to ever greater expansion and public investment. These circumstances, when placed alongside the poverty of the government's current cultural information practices, would be sufficient justification for our restricted interpretation of "culture". But there are others.

Culture in the more *recherché* sense of sports and recreation has already been studied by another Task Force, which has forwarded its recommendations to the government. Moreover, in the vast field of science and technology, the Science Council of Canada has sponsored a detailed investigation, and this has led to the presentation to the government of a most detailed set of recommendations on information in these fields. Higher education – in the formal sense of the phrase – now enjoys a network of universities and technical colleges associated with provincial departments of education and professional associations that are fast developing solutions to their information requirements. Canadian culture in its broadest sense – that of the relationship of each of our two solitudes to the other – is itself the preserve of an entire Royal Commission and one sub-group, women, are the subject of another. Hence our more restricted choice.

We should emphasize, too, that it is not our intention to make suggestions about cultural policy. The actions and the attitudes of the myriad departments and agencies, federal, provincial and municipal, concerned centrally or peripherally with the arts, concern us in one respect only – that of information about the arts themselves, and information about the activities of government agencies involved in them.

It is impossible to make useful recommendations about cultural information without considering the background to the direction that Canadian culture has taken. And so we shall first include a somewhat idiosyncratic summary of its development, particularly in relation to government.

The arts came to Canada in the satchels of the first settlers. Marc Lescarbot founded his Neptune Theatre in Port Royal in 1605; *Tartuffe* was rehearsed though not produced (trouble with the censors) in Quebec in 1669. But three

centuries were to pass before the arts established themselves in the mainstream of our national life, as manifested by Expo 67 and by the opening, this summer, of the National Arts Centre.

Not that nothing happened between *Tartuffe* at Quebec in 1669 and *Tartuffe* at Stratford in 1969. Professional theatre flourished in both English and French Canada until well after the first world war. Votive painting and wood sculpture flowered in New France; the Georgian idiom was translated with grace and gusto into the architecture of the Maritimes and Upper Canada. Much later, the Group of Seven melded *fauvism*, *art nouveau* and the Canadian landscape into the first expression of a distinct national style. There was even a nascent popular culture: Louis Hémon and L. M. Montgomery turned *Maria Chapdelaine* and *Anne of Green Gables* into mythic figures whose magic endures today. And there were the Dumb-bells.

And yet, as the Twentieth Century turned into its thirties, at a time when the culture of a growing and increasingly self-conscious country might have been expected to germinate in spite of economic depression, it began instead to wither. Perhaps development was stunted by the harsh confines of the still-powerful Protestant and Jansenist ethic. More likely it was choked off by the rampant growth of mass media south of the border. At any rate, professionalism was forced underground. The gallant *maquis*, led by Gratien Gélinas, Dora Mavor Moore, Wilfrid Pelletier, and Sir Ernest MacMillan, who sought to maintain the arts as an honourable way of life only proved the general rule: most Canadians thought of culture as a frill, something one dabbled in on weekends. Amateur theatricals were more fun than bridge, and music lessons remained part of the education of every *jeune fille bien élevée* but almost everyone who sought a career as an actor or a concert pianist had to look for it in the United States or in Europe. In English Canada at least, everyone knew that the only books worth reading came from the United States and Britain. As late as 1947, Gabrielle Roy had to look south to find a publisher prepared to translate *Bonheur d'Occasion* into *The Tin Flute*. Even in Quebec, the term *poète* was, in some circles, a pejorative; it meant roughly the same thing as "egg-head".

Through those lean years (which seem nearly as remote now as the Nineteenth Century but which were, nonetheless, the years when today's policy makers were growing up), Government mirrored the public mood. Such creative activity as it fostered took place almost by accident, while officialdom was looking the other way.

There was the National Film Board, to be sure, already

nurturing a new breed of documentary film makers and animators, but, so far as the legislators were concerned the Board had been developed as a wartime propaganda agency, without aesthetic intent. The CBC, though it was playing an epic rôle in developing a national consciousness, had been set up chiefly to keep control of the airwaves in Canadian hands. There had been a National Gallery since 1880, but this had come into being only because of the whim of an artistically-inclined chatelaine of Government House. Shunted from department to department, hived off in a mouldering wing of the National Museum (the Museum continues to moulder) the Gallery was virtually inaccessible to other than determined art lovers.

As for giving the tax-payer's money to long-haired artists this was considered about as often as was flinging wide the doors of the nation's penitentiaries.

Thus the Report of the Massey Commission, which recommended that government do exactly that and, what is more, take on a major responsibility for developing the arts in Canada, was the seminal cultural event of the post-war years. A great divide if you like, from which there was no going back. Recognizing this, government handled the report gingerly: six years elapsed between its appearance in 1951, and the establishment, in 1957, of the Canada Council. Even then, the Council was financed by a windfall in death duties (from the estates of Sir James Dunn and Isaac Killam) rather than through direct federal revenues.

It may have been a case of better late than early. Coming along when it did, the Council coincided with the upsurge of professionalism and public interest in the arts which the founding of the Stratford Festival and *le Théâtre du Nouveau Monde* had launched. While the Council developed into what theatre director John Hirsch has described as "the most dynamic and sensitive subsidizing organization, public or private, on the continent," Canadian culture began to take root. At first, imperceptibly, then more and more surely, things began to happen: the Massey Commission's dream of a "national theatre", became imaginatively translated into a network of regional theatres, stretching from Halifax to Vancouver. The public began to discover the delights of ballet and opera. Symphony orchestras came into being in all the major centres, and some of them began to bid for international recognition. Canadian painting and sculpture entered into a vital new period of development, and even the Canadian writer found his work churning into print. Almost overnight, the arts became fashionable. Across the nation, voluntary groups sprang up to pursue culture "in bands", as Edith Wharton once wrote, "as though it were dangerous

to meet it alone."

During the early and middle sixties, in the wake of public opinion, Canadian governments, Federal and provincial, threw some of their earlier caution to the winds and committed themselves to the arts on a more formal basis.

Canada's first Ministry of Cultural Affairs was established by the Province of Quebec in 1961. Two years later, an active and generously funded Arts Council was set up in Ontario, to join the long-established (in 1949) Saskatchewan Arts Board. Other provinces started to provide support to the arts through a variety of means. Somewhat less enthusiastically, municipalities began to contribute to the support of the arts.

Meanwhile, back at Ottawa, the Federal Government, in 1964, rounded up all its cultural institutions, including the CBC, The National Film Board, the National Gallery and the Museums, the Canada Council and the Public Archives and placed them within the aegis of the Department of the Secretary of State, turning that branch of government into a Ministry of Culture, in fact if not in name.

Early in 1965, at St. Adèle, Quebec, in an event almost as significant as the publication of the Massey Report, a Minister of the Crown (The Honourable Maurice Lamontagne, then Secretary of State), for the first time met the Canadian artistic community face-to-face to discuss the relationship between arts and government.

The results of that dialogue soon made themselves felt. At the St. Adèle conference, the artists had recommended that the Canada Council's budget for the arts be increased at least four-fold. (At that time, the Council had about \$1.1 million annually for the arts). Within two years, (for 1967-68) the Council had an arts budget of \$7.2 million - almost twice as much as the artists had dared to suggest. It was now beyond doubt that government was willing to assume responsibility for the development of Canadian culture.

And it was equally remarkable that, in order to achieve the new budget (which we should note also benefitted the humanities and social sciences, and had been pressed for by academics as much as by artists) the Canada Council had been refunded in the form of an annual grant. (Previously it had depended for funds solely on its original endowment). At the same time, the Council was required to answer to Parliament. Legislators no longer considered it necessary to shelter subsidies for the arts in an assault-proof (from parliamentarians) tower.

Expo 67 and the Centennial constituted even more dramatic measures of government's now rôle as patron

across the country, provinces and municipalities took advantage of Centennial grants to build a network of theatres, concert halls and art galleries. Like a reborn Medici, the Centennial Commission contracted more than 120 new works of music, three operas, three ballets and 18 plays.

Through the Commission's "Festival Canada", more than 100,000 people in 210 towns, cities and villages across the length and breadth of the country watched some 690 individual performances. The groups on tour played to an average 75 per cent of capacity. Taken together, Expo and Festival Canada amounted, as one observer put it, to "a great national liberation of creative talent." Involvement by all levels of government in the arts had apparently received an overwhelming vote of confidence.

And, in some kind of climax, certainly a financial one, the National Arts Centre was opened in June of this year.

Liberations of creative talent in the Twentieth Century at any rate, are rarely achieved in the poor-house. To balance our hyperbole, it behooves us to make a somewhat more hard-nosed appraisal of the kind of money which the various levels of government are currently spending on the arts.

As far as Ottawa is concerned the rate of spending has increased approximately eight-fold over the past 15 years. In 1953-54, two years after the publication of the Massey Report, the Federal Government spent about \$4 million on the arts. In 1968-69, it spent approximately \$33 million. Close to a third of this was accounted for by the Canada Council's 1968-69 arts budget of \$9.2 million. (In 1953-54, the Council of course did not exist at all, and between 1957 and 1966 its arts spending was frozen at just over \$1 million annually).

This \$9.2 million may be considered to represent the Federal Government's nuts and bolts support of the professional arts in Canada, as opposed to capital expenditures (such as the National Arts Centre) and the development and maintenance of the federal cultural institutions. It is divided about equally between grants to individual creative artists, and grants to organizations (theatre and ballet companies, symphony orchestras, and so on).

As for the provinces, — (equating their spending on the arts with that of the Canada Council and setting aside capital and maintenance expenditures and outlays in support of community development through the arts) — it is estimated that, taken together, the ten provinces will spend about \$6 million this year in grants to arts and artists or about two-thirds as much as the Federal Government.

A more pertinent way to illustrate the extent of government support for the arts is to take a look at the figures

relating to expenditures in a single area. For example, in its annual report for 1967-68, the Canada Council singled out the performing arts for study, and noted that "direct public subsidy from the various levels of government now represent 38 per cent of expenditures. Of this 38 per cent, the Canada Council provided one half, the other half is divided between provinces and municipalities in the ratio of two to one."

In 1957, public subsidy represented only 17 per cent of expenditures. Over the intervening years, however, box office revenues and donations from the private sector both showed a decline: a decade ago, box office revenues were as high as 70 per cent of expenditure, today they average only 50 per cent. As for the private sector, in 1957, it represented 14 per cent of expenditures, but only 11 per cent today. If the trend over the past ten years is any indication, it appears likely that government's investment in support of the arts is bound to increase still further.

But the proportionate decline in box-office revenues in no way suggests that public interest in the arts is falling off. Quite the reverse: the Canada Council estimates that last year approximately 7.5 million tickets were sold in Canada for professional performing arts events, and that 2.5 million visits were paid to museums and public galleries. The melancholy economics of the arts dictate that they must be subsidized in order to survive — in Britain, France and the U.S. — as well as in Canada.

Nor does government stint in its support of the individual creative artist — the painter, poet, writer or composer. As Jean Boucher, the Canada Council's Director, noted not long ago, "Except perhaps for Scandinavia or the Netherlands, there is just no country in the Western world that provides more assistance to its young creative artists than Canada. Certainly there is no country that provides more assistance out of public funds."

Yet, despite all the government aid, tangible (the figures speak for themselves) and intangible (a Prime Minister who regularly attends opening nights at Stratford, Place des Arts and the National Arts Centre), George Woodcock was unquestionably right when he commented, in a recent issue of *Saturday Night*, that "the arts do not loom large in our national consciousness." Or, to quote Jean Boucher again, "Opinion makers seem to be going on the assumption that we are still at heart a pioneer society. In any case, it is apparent that they do not feel at liberty to disturb the popular conviction that art and culture are somehow foreign to our national make-up."

Perhaps one could call it the cultural credibility gap. At any rate, there is clearly something wrong somewhere when

a country which has put into practice a highly enlightened cultural policy still finds itself unable to look at the arts as a natural part of its landscape, an economic and social asset which contributes to national identity at home, and is at the same time an impressive ambassador abroad.

One need not look far to find a flawless example of what we are talking about. This year, *le Musée de l'Homme* in Paris organized in co-operation with the National Museum of man in Ottawa and with the assistance of the Department of External Affairs a superb and comprehensive exhibition of Masterpieces of Canadian Indian and Eskimo art. We salute *le Musée's* initiative. But at the same time we wonder how it happened that no Canadian department or agency had attempted to mount such an extensive exhibition here at home.

No doubt one reason for the dichotomy is rooted in the old Canadian chauvinism-in-reverse which was supposed to have died on the opening day of Expo 67. Another may be related to our earlier point that the present generation of policy makers grew up believing that culture was a frill. A third, though, is much more easily pin-pointed: programmes for spreading information about the arts have quite simply not kept pace with programmes designed to foster the arts. To put it another way: since the Massey Commission reported, the cultural scene in Canada has changed beyond recognition in every way but one. There was no policy for cultural information then – and there is none now.

The cultural credibility gap exists on three levels: 1) between and within governments, in the sense that the various departments and agencies have developed no programmes or mechanisms for collecting and co-ordinating information about the arts; 2) between governments and public, in the sense that the public for the most part has little idea either of the breadth of government's commitment to the arts, nor of the ways in which it implements this commitment; and 3) within the artistic community itself, in the sense that artists and arts organizations sometimes find themselves existing in isolation, or competing when they could be co-operating.

In the last area, however, the problem seems to be on the way to being solved. Through such organizations as the Canadian Theatre Centre and the Canadian Music Centre, it has become relatively easy for actors and musicians, theatre companies and symphony orchestras to communicate with each other. The Canadian Conference of the Arts, of which most arts organizations are member groups, amongst other activities, regularly sponsors disciplinary and inter-disciplinary seminars and conferences. If the situation is still difficult

in the field of the visual arts – it is not easy for an artist in Vancouver, to keep up with what is going on in Toronto – the lack of communication has at least been recognized and has been the subject of intensive study.

Equally significant, arts administrators and government officials responsible for artistic development have devised new mechanisms for consultation and co-operation. The Arts Administrators Group, which includes representatives from the Federal Government and from most of the provinces, now meets two or three times a year to exchange ideas and to solve mutual problems. Again, the Canada Council and the Ontario Arts Council have pooled resources to form Co-ordinated Arts Services, an organization which aims to co-ordinate and integrate the financial, administrative, technical and educational services of seven Ontario-based companies of national importance (the Canada Opera Company, the National Ballet, the Stratford Festival, the Toronto Symphony, Theatre Toronto, the Shaw Festival and the St. Lawrence Centre.)

But such co-operation has yet to manifest itself in the field of public information. As a result, the Canadian public at large continues to regard the arts not as an essential service but as a luxury.

The Canada Council

When it proposed the formation and structure of the Canada Council, the Massey Commission recommended that the Council "proceed as rapidly as possible to establish a central office of information on those aspects of the arts letters, humanities and social sciences which fall within its competence." For 1969-70, the Council has budgeted only \$132,000 for information (including salaries), and it has at present only two Information Officers (one is-5 and one Translator-7) on staff. Their primary objectives are to develop good press relations for the Council, and to publicize Council awards, programmes and policies. These officers are responsible for publicizing the academic aspects of the Council's work as well as the arts.

This is not to say that the Council does nothing in the broader field of cultural information. Indirectly, it provides a measure of support, particularly in terms of improving the flow of information within the artistic community.

For example, the Council provides funds annually to the central clearing-houses for the various artistic disciplines, a part of whose work is the dissemination of information. In 1967-68, the Canadian Theatre Centre received \$90,000, the Canadian Music Centre \$45,000 and the *Cinémathèque*

Canadienne \$15,000. The Council also paid \$5,000 to finance a feasibility study for a similar clearing-house for the visual arts.

A proportion of the Council's regular operational grants to arts organizations are routinely applied to information and publicity, and through special projects like the Theatre Arts Development Programme, funds are provided for, among other things, the training of publicists for the arts. The Council's tiny information staff stands ready of course to provide the advice it can on public and community relations to arts organizations.

In terms of the public, the Council subsidizes such magazines as *Arts Canada*, *Vie des Arts* and the *Tamarack Review*, and is responsible for assembling the annual report on artistic activity in Canada for the *Canada Handbook*. Its 2-year series of annual reports, when taken together, constitute a useful survey of the development of federal support for the arts in Canada over the last decade or so. For four years, the Council provided the annual grant to the Canada Foundation to develop a Canadian Centre for Cultural Information. This grant ceased in 1968 and no support for any similar purpose developed. This summer, it sponsored private workshops for art and literary critics designed to improve the calibre of criticism in Canadian magazines and newspapers.

At least part of the work of the Council's Research and Analysis Division could also be considered to be informational. A case in point is the study "The Artist and Taxation", released early in 1969, which pointed out to policy makers and public the inequities in the Canadian tax structure as it applies to artists. This division is currently installing a computer, in order to develop an effective information-retrieval system covering the Council's activities.

The Council claims lack of staff and funds rather than policy as their excuse for not developing the type of information organization Massey called for 20 years ago. It now, however, intends to expand its information programme to "make the media more aware of the arts, social sciences and humanities in Canada." Yet by its nature, the Council is – and will probably continue to be – oriented towards the artist rather than the public. Arts, artists and academics have priority on its spending schedule, and therefore it may not be entirely suited to become the patron of an information service aimed towards the public at large.

Other Departments and Agencies

Since 1964, the Department of the Secretary of State has

been the focal point for federal activities in the cultural field. But so far this has not been reflected in the Department's information policies; there has been little attempt to provide cultural information on any sort of scale. Indeed, there are at the time of writing only three Information Officers on staff, who must deal also with the information requirements of such other departmental responsibilities as the Citizenship Branch, and the new languages Act.

As matters stand now, each of the individual cultural agencies and institutions is responsible for its own information policy and programme, and little can apparently be done to co-ordinate these. Some of the agencies – the Public Archives for example – have no information officers as such on staff, and none of them, even given the inclination, has at present the staff or the resources to tackle a comprehensive programme within its specialized field for the public at large. The National Gallery, as a case in point, has only one information officer (IS-3). When she is away, the work of the division depends upon a single typist.

As for the many departments and agencies which are concerned more peripherally with the arts, ranging from the Post Office (stamp design) to Public Works (architecture, and the selection of works of art for federal buildings), information about their cultural activities is available only on a catch-as-catch-can basis.

Just as serious as the lack of cultural information officers in government is the paucity of actual information about Canadian cultural development. Except for the Canada Council's recent work, there are virtually no statistics available on such vital cultural indicators as the number of performing arts groups in Canada, the number of productions and where and how they were mounted, or even the number of Canadian books printed and published in a given year. The only significant achievement of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in the cultural field has been a publication on museums and art galleries put out in 1964 by the Adult Education Division. This bilingual booklet, which lists some 385 museums, galleries, botanical and zoological gardens, historic houses and so on, and indicates the range of their collection, their budget and the hours when they are open, is of great interest and usefulness both to the specialist and to the general public. It points to the need for similar publications on other aspects of the arts. But government departments made few requests to DBS for cultural studies, and the Bureau questioned the importance of such surveys.

The situation seems likely to improve in the near future. DBS has recently hired a consultant on cultural surveys

and by the end of the year expects to present a draft cultural statistics programme to Treasury Board.

Cultural Information Abroad

Until a few years ago, the delegate who expostulated at an arts conference, "The best way to hide information on the arts is to place it in embassies abroad," was exaggerating – but not very much. Cultural affairs overseas was the responsibility of a tiny unit within the Information Division of the Department of External Affairs, and cultural attachés were almost unheard of. Since the establishment of the Cultural Affairs Division, which corresponds with the signing of a cultural agreement with France the situation has improved considerably. The Division has a staff of 15 officers in Ottawa, and cultural attachés have been posted to Paris, London, Rome, Brussels, Moscow and Washington, and others will be appointed to the Hague and to Bonn.

Nearly \$2 million annually are being spent by External Affairs alone on cultural relations programmes with foreign countries. Some cultural exchange agreements have been signed and additional ones are currently being negotiated.

But without an information policy on the arts at home, it remains impossible to project Canadian culture abroad with the style and skill it deserves. If there were more co-operation and consultation between the cultural agencies in Canada, programmes designed for overseas audiences could be far more effective. For example, Canadian art has become important enough internationally that, if the National Gallery organizes a major exhibition for London or New York, top critics will turn up at the preview and the show will get plenty of space in the papers. But why let it rest there? Why not turn more often an occasion into an event by backing up the exhibition with films, and perhaps a recital of Canadian music or a performance by a Canadian troupe? It will take hard work and imagination to work out projects like this and it will also demand the co-operation of many departments and agencies. But it can be done, and indeed it has been done, for instance in Mulhouse, France, since 1966; the Canada Week organized in New York to celebrate the Centennial and to coincide with the opening of Expo 67 is an excellent illustration of what can be done.

Officials responsible for projecting *l'image Canada* abroad should also cast a cold eye on the publications on Canadian culture designed for distribution abroad. The Citizenship Branch's booklet, "The Arts in Canada" is archaic in design and dated in content. A newer brochure, "Culture

and Recreation", issued in 1968 by the Immigration Division is well laid out and illustrated, but it is heavy with *clichés* and contains a number of factual errors.

As our discussion has indicated, it is much harder than it should be to get information about the arts in Canada. Not that there is a conspiracy of silence: artists and arts organizations generally like publicity rather more than the next man. But because facts about the arts are hard to come by, the arts themselves and the public which pays for them are getting short shrift. The arts miss chances to develop wider and more appreciative audiences; the public misses opportunities for pleasure, and is denied information to which it has a right.

As we see it then, the time has come for the Government of Canada to treat information about the arts exactly as it treats information about its other activities, and we have therefore recommended that the Government formulate a clear policy concerning cultural information, within the framework of its general information policy.

In doing so, we are fully aware that an overall cultural information policy has certain inherent dangers. Arts and artists are, as a group, poor subjects for *plannification*. To avoid becoming heavy-handed and therefore suspect to the artistic community as well as to the media and the public, such a policy must be flexible and delicately executed. At all costs, it must avoid leaving the impression, as Peter Dwyer, Associate Director of the Canada Council noted recently in another connection, "that the arts are disagreeably good for one – like an enema."

Individuals responsible for drawing up and implementing a cultural information policy will inevitably have to make judgements about artistic quality; thus it is vital that such individuals be both knowledgeable and sensitive. For example, if a request comes in from a company planning a new building for suggestions about artists to execute a mural for the lobby, is a list of all artists in Canada, good, bad and indifferent, despatched? (This may be of little use but is undoubtedly the democratic way to do things). Or is a list compiled of those artists who have already done such work, or who have expressed interest in doing so, together with critical assessments. (This is bound to be more useful to the recipient but could arouse criticisms that government is playing favourites). Or does the officer responsible for answering the request telephone a half-dozen experts around the country and ask for their suggestions? In short, should government act as adviser and taste-maker or merely provide facts?

Again, there is a demonstrable need for biographical ma-

rial on artists, musicians, composers and writers. Will such material consist merely of a dry "Who's Who" listing of birth-dates, education, achievements and honours? Or will it be put together with some care and flair, attempting to relate the individual artist to the artistic community as a whole? These are the kinds of questions which cultural policy makers must consider.

A policy for information on the arts must also take into account changing times – and be a part of those times. To many Canadians, and most obviously to the young, Canadian culture is no longer the National Ballet and Stratford, nor, for that matter *Tartuffe* and the Group of Seven. Their culture is acid rock and strobe lights and underground movies; their heroes are Charlebois, the Kensington Market, Terry Kent and Jean-Pierre Lefebvre. As Secretary of State the Honourable Gérard Pelletier said recently: "It may be necessary to transform completely the notion of culture, to replace the notion of a middle class culture with that of a mass culture. Why should the theatre and opera have a monopoly on culture? Why should not movies, jazz, popular songs and psychedelic happenings also be a means of cultural expression?"

This art, popular and psychedelic, discordant and disquieting, is as much a part of Canada's cultural and national identity as the National Ballet or Stratford. Yet it faces a far harder struggle to survive. Inevitably, its creators are penurious – though that, for the most part is beyond remedy. Inevitably, popular, contemporary culture and its creators are almost irresistibly attracted by the magnetism of our geographical neighbour. We have lost Christopher Plummer to Hollywood; we have lost Leonard Cohen to New York, as well as Joyce Wieland and Michael Snow. The list could go on and on.

In helping popular Canadian culture, not merely to survive, but to grow, by discovering its public and by discovering itself, a cultural information policy will face perhaps its greatest challenge. Pop culture needs its own equivalents to the information organizations as the Canadian Theatre Centre and the Canadian Music Centre – to inform rock groups of recording facilities, film directors of distribution outlets and singers of circuit possibilities. The public needs to be told of rock-groups and film directors and they, accordingly, need to be told about their public. Simply to list what needs to be done is to describe how little is being done today by established agencies with responsibilities to established arts.

Changing times mean new techniques, both of storing information and of distributing it. Thus we have recom-

mended that a study be undertaken to report on the most efficient ways of applying current and future technology to collecting and storing, retrieving and distributing cultural information. We suggest also that government remember Expo, and recognize the information potential of new exhibition and display techniques, and of special shows which are intended directly to inform. In the field of cultural information abroad, an imaginatively-planned recital or group of recitals aimed at a specific audience can say a great deal about the mood and ambience of contemporary Canada. The image of Nelson Eddy may still be alive and well – and so it should be – but in addition to the red-coated mountie we must project this contemporary Canadian mood. Both are necessary.

There are bound to be difficulties in the straightforward mechanics of assembling a comprehensive central pool of cultural information. While federal agencies connected with culture have an obligation to provide information on their activities, provincial, municipal and private institutions and agencies may have to be convinced that it will be worth their while to co-operate in the information field. The co-operative efforts which we have already noted, such as the Arts Administrators Group and Co-ordinated Arts Services, indicate that co-operation causes no problems when the result is to everyone's benefit, and when it is made clear that there is no intention to seek this by jurisdiction raiding.

Structures

As we see it, the Department of the Secretary of State should be the focal point for assembling and disseminating cultural information in Canada and the Department of External Affairs should assume this responsibility abroad. The agencies and institutions within the aegis of the Department of the Secretary of State should remain responsible for developing and expanding their specialized information programmes, and it may be that they should be co-opted to provide some of the additional services a revamped cultural information policy will demand. The National Gallery, for example, might well be charged with the responsibility for maintaining up to date biographical material on artists, comprehensive listings of works of art in Canadian collections, and so on.

In addition, in order to provide assistance and advice to the Department of the Secretary of State, we have recommended the establishment, within Information Canada, of a cultural information unit.

Priorities

As we have tried to make clear, development and implementation of an effective policy for cultural information will be an extremely complicated business. Thus we shall list here only a handful of areas where there is a need for action.

1. Co-ordination and development of the cultural information programmes of the federal cultural institutions and agencies, and of government departments concerned more peripherally with the arts. We note that these agencies and institutions and departments have nothing short of an obligation to supply information on their cultural activities to the Department of the Secretary of State, or to an agency delegated by that Department to receive such information.

2. Liaison with and development of co-operative information exchange programmes with provincial and privately sponsored cultural agencies and institutions and organizations. These include provincial and municipal arts councils and agencies, and such organizations as the Canadian Museums Association, the Canadian Theatre Centre, the Canadian Music Centre, etc.

3. Rationalization and co-ordination of existing resources of cultural information. To take one example from many, the Public Archives, National Museum, Canada Council and National Gallery each have important photographs of a cultural nature. These collections need to be centrally catalogued.

4. Compilation and maintenance of relevant lists for use by government and for distribution to the public. These might include the names of Canadian artists, sculptors, actors, directors, and film-makers.

5. Answering queries on Canadian cultural matters or referring queries to the appropriate agency. In this connection, Information Canada might assist the Secretary of State in identifying a centre where cultural information is available.

We might add that as we look around the cities of Ottawa and Hull, an idea for a pilot project in cultural information occurs to us. The National Capital is the seat not only of government but also of such major cultural institutions as the National Gallery, the National Museums and the National Arts Centre. But little attempt has been made to identify or to promote the Capital as any kind of cultural centre. Instead, it is shrugged off, time and again, as a "dead-end for the arts." We suggest that as an experiment, the cultural unit of Information Canada consider working with the Department of the Secretary of State to promote the National Capital as a vital, dynamic capital. Brochures and

new informational literature might be developed, singling out all points of interest, not just those which are the responsibility of the Federal Government. The National Arts Centre and the Mall are each examples of imaginative city-planning.

Perhaps the airport, railway station and the Mall might be equipped with an attractively-designed map indicating where the visitor is, and suggesting further points of interest. It is obvious that such a programme could not be developed without the co-operation of the Cities of Ottawa and Hull, the National Capital Commission, and the publishers of "What's On in Ottawa?" But where is there a better place to launch co-operative projects than in the National Capital?

Conclusions

The cultural interests and resources of Canada are much larger and richer than is generally realized. Provincial governments are deeply involved with their responsibilities in this field. Local governments too, are more and more taking an interest, and so are churches, universities, corporations, unions, professional institutions, art groups and organizations of all kinds. Thus a vast sum of non-federal and private money and energy is being spent on these activities. Traditionally, Canadian federal governments have tended to look upon the field of information in cultural affairs as being a luxury separate from and far below the needs which other federal departments and agencies must serve. Constitutional concerns have also played their part in this reticence. While one appreciates the attitude of the Federal Government so far as cultural activities are concerned it need hardly have been applied to information about these activities. In the past decade hundreds of millions of dollars have been invested by federal governments in human capital devoted to cultural activities and in the physical capital necessary to their production without any commensurate effort to inform the people who provide these funds, and the world at large, of all this cultural activity. No country can afford such waste. Information on cultural affairs must be considered a necessity, and must be organized at least as efficiently and effectively as information concerned with other important aspects of our lives.

While there is a certain amount of cultural information distributed by various departments and agencies throughout the government, there is no department or agency responsible for a comprehensive information service in the cultural field. Nor is there effective co-ordination between the services that do exist, notwithstanding recent efforts. The Department of the Secretary of State has sometimes been referred to as

kind of Ministry of Cultural Affairs, but it has made little or no progress in the field of collecting or disseminating cultural information even where the statutory responsibility was clearly defined, though recent steps have been taken to improve its co-ordinating rôle. Despite the fact that Canada has grown enormously in cultural resources, the situation as outlined in the Massey Report of 1949-1951 largely exists today. The Report noted that "... in this important national activity (cultural information) Canada has fallen behind other democratic countries, including some with smaller populations and much more limited resources."

While the general purposes of the Canada Council include "exchange with other countries and organizations or persons therein knowledge and information respecting the arts, humanities, and social sciences," and while the Massey Report recommended that "the Canada Council proceed as rapidly as possible to establish a cultural information centre on those aspects of the arts, letters, humanities, and social sciences which fall within its competence," the Canada Council, (with the exception of its modest financial aid to the tiny Canadian Cultural Information Centre, until 1968) has not been sufficiently active in the information field.

In the past, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics has shown only a slight and rather reluctant interest in cultural matters. It has never been concerned with the collection and analysis of cultural statistical information, and it has rarely been asked to undertake such work by the agencies that one might have assumed would have a need for such material. If a national cultural information programme is to be implemented it will be necessary to make a greater use of the technical resources of the Bureau and of other federal research institutions that might be established within or outside of Information Canada.

Such a programme cannot be restricted to dealing with cultural information related only to the activities of the federal Government, however well co-ordinated these might become. To be useful it will have to provide, in addition, a broad general information service related to all cultural concerns in Canada. This means more than the practical and practised co-ordination of federal information activities in this field. It means the closest possible co-operation with the provincial governments as well as strong liaison with the information interests of all cultural organizations and groups throughout the country.

We recommend that:

1. The Government of Canada formulate a clear policy concerning cultural information within the framework of its general information policy.
2. Cultural information policy recognize: a) the seriousness of the present problem in the field of cultural information due to the lack of development over the past 20 years of proper co-ordinating and integrating machinery by federal departments and agencies; b) the need to rectify this matter as quickly and efficiently as possible in co-operation with other governments and with the private sector.
3. The Department of the Secretary of State co-ordinate the cultural information produced by the agencies which report to or through the Minister and facilitate the development of closer liaison in this field with the Department of External Affairs.
4. A section in Documentation Canada be established to provide technical and professional advice and assistance to the Department of the Secretary of State in its information rôle and to other departments and agencies which have a secondary cultural information function.
5. This unit, with the co-operation of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and the Secretary of State, develop continuing machinery for the systematic collection, storage, retrieval and distribution of basic data concerned with cultural matters.
6. A study be undertaken to report on the most efficient ways of applying current and future technology to collecting and storing, retrieving and distributing certain types of cultural information.

! & ?

Introduction

Advertising is one of the least expensive and most effective means of mass communication. It should be a basic pillar in a government information structure. Yet, the Federal Government has for many years relied on other ways to distribute information, and it has long treated advertising a little like an iron flamingo decorating a lawn.

The government's reluctance to use advertising is easily documented. The Federal Government's annual expenditures equal about 20 per cent of the Gross National Product. Its advertising expenditures, roughly \$25 million, represent only about three per cent of all the private and public advertising placed in the nation. For every dollar that the Federal Government spends on advertising, it spends about three dollars on information services; and, while there are differences between government and industry, it is worth remarking that private firms usually spend ten cents on public relations for every dollar spent on advertising.

A study undertaken for the Task Force turned up a host of reasons why the Federal Government does not use advertising with any great effectiveness. They include arguments that government is not in competition with any one and consequently it does not have to advertise as much; that government makes news more often than private firms do, and it can therefore rely more on information services; that the public service has more control over information services than it does over advertising, which is subject, in some cases, to ministerial discretion; and the slightly cynical suggestion that the more government advertises the more it will have to spend on its programmes.

All these arguments – with the possible exception of the last – sometimes have validity. The Task Force has not attempted to answer them in isolation. Instead, it simply says: the government should use advertising when it is the best way to get specific information to a specific audience at a specific time. Advertising is not always a solution to every information problem, but, on the other hand, neither is it as ineffective as some government officials seem to think; and what the Task Force urges is that the government give advertising more serious consideration than ever before.

This plea is based on a number of studies conducted or commissioned by the Task Force: a 200-page report completed by Dr. O. J. Firestone, Professor of Economics at the University of Ottawa in consultation with the Task Force; discussions with advertising experts in all parts of Canada; a review of advertising and information costs; a questionnaire that was sent to departments and most government agencies

and another sent to advertising agencies; and a thorough examination of government advertising practices by an expert at the Canadian Government Travel Bureau. These studies all indicate that, although the Federal Government spends a good deal of money on advertising, it does not invariably spend these advertising dollars wisely.

Part I of this Paper is a discussion of the current cost of Federal Government advertising; and some of the problems that afflict its administration in the selection of ad agencies, the choice of media, in planning, in research, in budgeting, in the central control units of government advertising, and the shortage of qualified personnel. Part II contains both general and specific conclusions. Part III is a definition of what might be the larger objectives of Canadian Government advertising, the formidable obstacles that stand in their way, and the recommendations of the Task Force to remove the obstacles.

Part I – The Broad Scene

Total government expenditures on communications with the public for the fiscal year 1968-69 are estimated at \$77.3 million. This includes spending by all government departments and agencies and Crown Corporations, on information services, advertising, public relations and other promotion or information efforts.

Of the \$77.3 million, \$20 million are spent by Crown Corporations and \$57.3 million by government departments and agencies. The \$20 million represent about \$14 million worth of advertising and \$6 million worth of information services. The \$57.3 million include \$11 million for advertising, and \$46.3 million for information services, or a ratio of about four to one in favour of the information services.

The leading departments and agencies in terms of advertising expenditures are, in order of the amounts they spend on advertising, the following: the Canadian Government Travel Bureau; the Department of Finance and the Bank of Canada; and the Departments of Manpower and Immigration, Industry, Trade and Commerce, National Defence, National Health and Welfare, and the Post Office.

There are approximately 80 government departments and agencies (excluding commercially-oriented Crown Corporations) which place advertising in a variety of commercial media, mostly on an irregular basis. The media involved include: daily newspapers, 105; consumer publications, 100; business publications, 162; and weekend publications, 16.

While no government statistics exist on this particular point, our researchers suggest that between two-thirds and

three-quarters of every government dollar spent on media advertising goes to print media and the bulk of this goes to daily newspapers. Some departments spend almost 100 per cent of their advertising budgets on print. Strict comparisons between government and industry may not always be fair but, in this case, it is nevertheless interesting that the most recent figures available (1966), indicate that billings placed by ad agencies normally are divided about equally between print and broadcast media. Moreover, the government's tendency to advertise in daily newspapers has been attacked by weeklies, (French, English and ethnic), consumer magazines, the specialist press and other media. In Quebec, it has been claimed, that weeklies reach 91 per cent of the population, and the business press argues that advertisements aimed at, say, engineers should concentrate not so much on the dailies but rather on such magazines as *Heavy Construction News* and the *Engineering and Contract Record*.

During the fiscal year 1968-69, we have seen that government departments and agencies (excluding commercially-oriented Crown Corporations), spent roughly \$11 million on advertising. About two-thirds of this consisted of assignments to advertising agencies. The rest covered activities that the departments undertook directly. Only about a dozen departments, with comparatively large advertising budgets, used advertising agencies, while the majority of departments and government agencies carried out advertising work without any outside profession assistance. In short, there is not much consistency in the government's use of advertising agencies.

Another aspect of this situation can be seen in records kept by the Advertising Group of the General Purchasing Branch of the Department of Supply and Services for the eight months, May 1 to December 31, 1968. The records cover advertising in daily newspapers, business publications, consumer magazines and weekend publications, and show that 40 departments and government agencies placed a total of \$1,661,000 for advertising insertions. Of this amount, \$1,058,000 were spent by departments employing advertising agencies and \$503,000, or more than one-third of the total, were spent by departments not using advertising agencies.

There are about two dozen advertising agencies that serve the departments and independent agencies and commercially-oriented Crown Corporations of the Canadian Government. The Crown Corporations employ about a dozen different agencies, and some use as many as five firms. A number of these same advertising firms also work for government departments and independent government agencies. As a

result, most advertising agencies that do government work have more than one government account, and some look after as many as six. Few regional agencies are employed.

The advertising agencies that are employed to do work for the government in Canada are owned and operated by Canadians. Roughly half a dozen foreign agencies have Canadian Government accounts for advertising work abroad: some of these are affiliated with Canadian agencies or work under their supervision.

Ad Agencies: Their Selection – and Rejection

In 1962, the Royal Commission on Government Organization investigated the way the Canadian Government was selecting advertising agencies. It observed: "By long established practice, advertising agencies are selected at ministerial level. Many agencies render good service, but some have been less conscientious. While there are no important differences in the cost of advertising purchased through one agency or another, there are often vast differences in value received, depending on the quality of the specialist advice and services provided."

This selection system has continued ever since, but there have been some modifications of it. In 1966, the government established an *ad hoc* Committee on Advertising consisting of four Cabinet Ministers. The Committee developed certain guidelines for the selection of advertising agencies and the amounts of government business that any one agency could obtain. The ceiling on billings per agency was set at \$2 million, and the billings were not to amount to more than 25 per cent of the total business of the firm. Preference was to be given to Canadian-owned and Canadian-managed agencies. In the case of campaigns, the agencies selected, the amounts involved, and the media to be used were to require the approval of the Cabinet Committee.

Some members of this Committee were no longer with the Cabinet after the election of June 1968. One of the continuing members assumed the responsibility to apply the general principles to the spending estimates for advertising in the fiscal year 1968-69.

The Committee represented an effort by government to bring some order to an antiquated system that had grown up haphazardly over many years. It was assisted in this effort by a trend in which national political parties and individual politicians actually began to pay money for the election-time services that advertising agencies had provided. The attitude of the advertising agencies themselves – towards getting business – showed signs of increasing enlightenment. The ad

agencies became more cost-conscious than they had been; and they found, for instance, that the mixing of politics and government advertising business was not as profitable as it was sometimes made out to be. In fact, it was at times highly speculative and inappropriate to goals of growing professionalism and an image of business-like operations.

The present system of advertising appointments has resulted in some good advertising, but it has also had many range consequences. A few of the advertising agencies selected have been either incompetent or insufficiently interested in providing proper services for government. In other cases, government departments have done the work that agencies were hired to perform while, in still other cases, departments have advised their Minister that they did not need an advertising agency even though they knew that doing the job themselves would cost more money than hiring an agency to do it. The following examples are an indication of what can happen under the present system:

One government agency employed an advertising agency that was competent to handle the relevant copy-writing, but the officials felt they understood their needs better than any agency could, and they insisted on writing their own copy. The agency acquiesced, and therefore not only were government staff employed to work on something the agency was paid to do, but the agency was discouraged from doing its best for the department. This sequence of decisions would be unacceptable to most people in private business.

Another department not only wrote the copy for the advertisement and specified its size, but also requested the advertising agency to place the advertisement in all Canadian daily newspapers. The department did not ask the agency to produce layouts for the advertisement. It left the setting-up of the advertisement to the newspapers themselves. As a result, the layout differed widely from coast to coast. Some layouts were considerably more eye-catching than others. The agency was being paid for a professional and creative service, but it ended up performing only as messenger and bookkeeper.

A third department had the misfortune to have an agency assigned to it that was quite unable to do the work required. Attempts to change the agency were futile. The department, knowing that much of the money in the campaign would be wasted, had no choice but to let the agency finish the assignment. The assignment, a single campaign, eventually ended; the department was relieved; and it told its Minister that it would not recommend a similar campaign in the future unless the campaign were placed in the hands of an advertising agency capable of fulfilling its obligations competently.

Some government departments and agencies avoid having to work with advertising agencies that owe their appointments to political considerations. They choose to do the work themselves and this leads to inefficiencies and needless cost. In the first place, agency commissions are paid not by the government but by the media, and therefore ad agencies can sometimes work for government departments without charging them. Departments that eschew ad agencies are needlessly employing staff to create advertising material and maintain advertising records. This, of course, is quite apart from the fact that some government officials are trying to do professional advertising work for which they have neither the training nor the experience.

The Task Force does not suggest that those government departments which do not employ advertising agencies are necessarily interested in "empire building", or that they disregard the taxpayer's dollar. They may well argue that the extra costs involved in doing their own promotional work are preferable to the difficulties they face in working with an appointed advertising agency. They may also believe that the use of the appointed agency could ultimately involve greater expense than their do-it-yourself policy.

As a rule, however, advertising agencies are employed because they help their clients to maximize the effectiveness of promotional expenditures and to minimize cost per thousand; and the Task Force's general conclusion in this matter is that so long as the senior officials in some government departments and agencies insist on their staff doing the work that ad agencies can do for them without charge, inefficiency and wastefulness in communicating with the public will continue.

Planning, Research, Budgeting

A major deficiency in government advertising programmes has been the lack of planning and the failure to create continuing programmes where each new campaign would be based on research and analysis of the previous campaigns, improvements in the formulation of the message and the definition of the target audience, applied in an increasingly sophisticated manner. Encouraging progress has occurred in a few departments and agencies (particularly the Department of Manpower and Immigration and the Canadian Government Travel Bureau) but they appear to be exceptions.

In addition to the lack of planning, there is the related fact that the government departments and agencies do very little advertising research. (Again, one department and two agencies have recently been noticeably more active in this

area than others. They are the Department of Manpower and Immigration, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, and the Canadian Government Travel Bureau.)

There is a growing recognition that the traditional kind of survey and research in communications no longer meets the needs of society. Surveys that indicate how many people listen to a radio show, or see a television programme, or read newspapers and magazines, and which indicate who these people are, are simply not enough. Nor is it even sufficient to find out how people learn about a service or product that is offered. More and more, modern communication research requires an understanding of the reasons why people do certain things and react to certain appeals in certain ways. The London, Ontario census test – follow-up survey is one example of this deeper sort of research. The motivation research study that deals with “Contemporary American Attitudes to Vacation and Travel in Canada” is another, and so are the surveys undertaken by the Department of Manpower and Immigration to examine the motives of immigrants coming to Canada.

But a great deal remains to be done by the government in this kind of research. Most of the current research work is sporadic. There is little interdepartmental consultation and co-operation. Departments are short of research funds, research personnel, and research direction. When the government is spending more than \$77.3 million on advertising and information services, it is highly dubious economy to save money on communications research.

There is no uniform budgeting procedure for government advertising. Most departments establish the amounts they require by assessing what they spent the year before and then adding a percentage to cover rising costs and whatever pressure they feel there may be to spend more. Or they reduce the previous year's figure because of instructions from Treasury Board to cut back departmental expenditures of low priority. Or they just pick a figure that is some official's educated guess of what a certain promotional programme may cost. The government generally regards advertising as an expense that may be reduced, and not as a way to achieve stated departmental objectives at the lowest possible cost.

Few departments set their communication objectives first, and then consult a communications expert either on their own staff or from an advertising agency about the best and cheapest ways to reach these objectives. On the whole, the present system of government advertising budgeting is haphazard. In many cases the money is sought before the programmes are thoroughly thought through.

The government suffers criticism not only in budgeting but

also for not following bulk purchasing practices, for not obtaining a common rate that is applicable to government advertising and takes into account the size and type of advertisement and the number of insertions. Both the Treasury Board and the Department of Supply and Services have indeed made a major effort to bring order into this complex and disorganized area of government activity. While some progress has been made, difficulties continue to exist. This is mainly because some government departments and agencies do not follow the established ground rules, and because the Department of Supply and Services has never been given sufficient authority or adequate funds to do a proper job.

The Advertising Group and the Advertising Audit Unit

A Treasury Board minute in 1964, established the Advertising Group, Division No. 4, General Purchasing Branch, in the Department of Defence Production (the predecessor of the Department of Supply and Services). The functions of the Advertising Group are:

1. To make sure that earned rates on all advertising are used by government departments and agencies.
2. To ensure that scale rates apply to all services and materials required for the production of government advertising.
3. To develop standards and common criteria for the guidance of departments formulating advertising programmes and executing them either on their own or with the assistance of advertising agencies.
4. To record all advertising transactions undertaken by government departments and independent agencies (excluding commercially-oriented Crown Corporations) to assist in the control of expenditures exercised by the Comptroller of the Treasury and to facilitate negotiations with the media on rates and other terms.

The Advertising Group has made notable progress in some areas, but little or none in others.

With respect to its first function, it negotiated for bulk contracts for government advertising in a number of print media (particularly daily newspapers) and it worked out a 12-month rate protection. As a result, an estimated \$300,000 was saved in 1968-69 alone. Departments were not always aware of credit and rebates that the media owed them, and the Advertising Group initiated follow-up action that resulted in refunds which, in 1966-67 for example, amounted to about \$28,000.

Rate protection can be a significant factor in saving public funds. Forty daily newspapers in which government advertis-

g appeared, raised their rates on January 1, 1968, but government departments continued to receive the benefit of the old rates until their contracts expired.

An effective system is now in operation as far as the daily newspapers are concerned. It involves a "Standing Offer Agreement". At the beginning of the fiscal year, an estimate is prepared of the minimum volume of advertising by government departments and agencies for each of the 105 daily newspapers. On this basis, national rates are established, and accepted by the newspapers. All government departments are advised, and they in turn pass this information to whatever advertising agencies they may employ.

With respect to other print media – and these cover week-end publications, business publications and consumer magazines – there are so-called "Umbrella Contracts". Standard rates are charged, applicable to a minimum volume of advertising. The Advertising Group records the volume of government advertising in each of these publications and if the volume reaches a level where frequency and volume discounts apply, the Group arranges for a revision of the original rates and the calculation of rebates.

Such scrutiny is essential to realize volume discounts, and to prevent some media from charging different rates to different government agencies for the same kind of advertisement. The Group found, for instance, that one publication was charging four different departments four different rates for space. When the matter was brought to the attention of the publisher, the lowest of the four rates was offered to all government departments, and credits were given to the other three departments for previous overcharges.

But the Advertising Group has made headway only among the dailies, the week-end publications, the business magazines, and consumer magazines. In the event that its resources are expanded, it plans to do similar work among weekly newspapers, farm publications, foreign language publications, outdoor advertising, transportation advertising, and editorialized advertising, and all of the broadcast media.

The Group's second function involves the establishment of the rates for advertising services and materials, but it has been unable to do any work at all in this area. Without scale rates, truly effective cost control is impossible but the undertaking requires specialized and technically qualified staff, and the Advertising Group simply has not got them.

With respect to its third function, the Group has been working on the development of standards and common criteria of government advertising. So far however, government departments and agencies have sought its advice only infrequently. The Group does find inconsistencies and this some-

times leads to remedies. Such activity, however, is carried out only on an *ad hoc* and incidental basis. The departments and agencies, even when they are advised of inconsistencies and wasteful practices, are under no obligation to do anything about them.

The fourth function of the Advertising Group is the recording and collation of advertising expenditure data, and it has made notable progress here so far as the previously mentioned print media are concerned. The extension of this work to other media is essential if the advertising expenditures of governments and agencies are to be subject to control and co-ordination.

In addition to the Advertising Group, there is an Advertising Audit Unit in the Comptroller of the Treasury which was transferred to the Department of Supply and Services in April 1969. The Advertising Audit Unit receives invoices for departmental advertising and checks these against previously authorized detailed spending estimates, the fact that the advertisements have been placed, rates charged, total costs, and availability of departmental funds for the payment required. In the case of time and space charges, the certification is that prices are "correct, fair and just." In the case of production and other fee billings, the certification is that the charges were verified in accordance with provisions in the estimates, and supported by vouchers from the organization submitting the invoice.

The departments follow assorted procedures in requesting authorization and payment for advertising expenditures, and these affect the operations of the Advertising Audit Unit. The procedures not only lack uniformity, they are also cumbersome. They have led to serious delays in payments to advertising agencies, and the agencies are obligated to pay media on behalf of the Canadian Government before they receive any payments themselves. In private industry, such problems are frequently met by a system of progress payments.

There is no doubt that government could save money by using more efficient billing procedures. Some publications bill government departments for every insertion placed. In one instance, an Ottawa newspaper had an order from a government department for six insertions in one month. The paper issued six invoices; the department processed six requests for payment and the government issued six cheques. Considerable savings might be realized if billings were done on a monthly basis, and if payments were made to each medium through one office rather than up to 80 offices. This is quite apart from the complications that currently arise when a department employs several advertising agencies to

use the same medium. There is an urgent need for an efficiency expert to study the existing procedures, and to recommend simplifications leading to cost reduction.

There are quite a few other difficulties. One is that a number of important departments and some non-commercial Crown Corporations and independent boards are not required to submit their advertising expenditures for verification by the Advertising Audit Unit of the Comptroller of the Treasury. The Department of Public Works, for example, has no advertising budget. It spends considerable amounts on advertising to call for tenders for construction projects, but it includes these under construction costs. All that any department has to do if it wishes to avoid the control of the Advertising Audit Unit is bury its advertising expenditures in its information estimates or in some other general category of operating expenditures.

A number of government agencies and boards simply do not submit their advertising expenditures for the inspection of the Advertising Audit Unit. These include, besides Public Works, the National Harbours Board, Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, and the National Arts Centre. Other agencies – the Atlantic Development Board, National Film Board, Fisheries Research Board and Defence Research Board – do submit their advertising expenditures to the Advertising Audit Unit. This is one of those bewildering idiosyncracies of bureaucratic discretion that must bring nightmares to a conscientious Secretary of the Treasury Board.

Another difficulty arises when the Advertising Audit Unit finds that it is technically not equipped fully to check a submitted invoice. In the cases where no advertising agency is involved, the Audit Unit checks the media's invoice against the Treasury Board authorization, and it verifies that the advertising was actually carried by the media and that the rates charged are in line with accepted standard rates. The complications arise when the billing includes charges for the production of broadcast commercials. There is nobody in the Advertising Audit Unit who is familiar enough with the trade to say whether or not the production charges are reasonable. There are few people in government who know anything about the production of commercials and print lay-out, or the employment of talent and equipment and their costs. The government must often rely solely on the reputation of the firms submitting the bills to determine whether or not the bills are padded. A department could insist in advance that the cost charged for a commercial production should not exceed a fixed sum. The fact would still remain, however, that a government agency that is not experienced in such matters may agree to a larger amount than necessary and

that, in any event, it would simply not know enough to calculate a reasonable fee. Nor would calling for tenders necessarily bring about the best results because the results largely depend on the creativity of the firm employed. Quality of workmanship may be as important as price.

The only answer is for the government to have on its staff its own experts in such matters, and they should be accessible to both the departments and the Advertising Audit Unit.

Yet another difficulty involves provisions of the National Film Board Act that stipulate that the National Film Board has a responsibility for the production of filmed television programmes and commercials used by government. Expenditures incurred by the National Film Board are submitted for inspection to the Advertising Audit Unit, but these do not include a good deal of production work. (It is true that all operations of the National Film Board are subject to audit, but the auditors are concerned with financial operations and they are not experts in film production and costing. Frequently, the NFB includes production charges in a blanket vote and thus they cannot be checked for reasonableness or extravagance.

Notwithstanding its limitations, however, the Advertising Audit Unit performs an essential control function. Its scope requires extension to enable it to efficiently control all the advertising spending by government departments and agencies (excluding the commercially-oriented Crown Corporations).

Standardization

Inadequate data is one of the chief handicaps to analysis of government advertising. The work of the Advertising Group is only a useful first step in developing accurate and continuous records of government advertising expenditures. It should be extended to cover all the media, whether the work is done through advertising agencies or by the departments themselves. Besides space and time charges, it should include commercial production costs, talent fees, test surveys and advisory services. Monthly and annual summaries should be available for the government's internal use and they should also be published in an abridged form for general use and public scrutiny. Better record keeping also leads to increased efficiency – and to such developments as the standardization of advertising. During 1967, to take one graphic example of a failure of standardization, a government body undertook an advertising campaign that consisted of two insertions in each of 26 daily newspapers, including five French-language papers. The 26 advertisements ended

appearing in 14 different sizes that varied between 60 lines and 244 lines. The government body involved placed these advertisements directly. If it had employed an advertising agency, it is likely that the advertisement would have been the same size and format in all the newspapers of the same language. In other words, there would have been two sizes, one in English and one in French, instead of 14.

The great differences in the size of the advertisement meant that a number of the smaller insertions were not likely to be as effective as a standard-size advertisement would have been. Also, some of the large advertisements probably cost more money than was necessary to communicate the message.

The case illustrates two points: 1. That the government spends money on ineffective advertising; and 2. that it spends more on some advertising than it needs to spend to achieve its objectives.

To cope with such problems, the Advertising Group suggested in 1967 that departments make increasing use of advertising agencies to advise them not only on the contents of advertisements and the media to be selected, but also on the size and the formats of advertising.

Standardization of advertising may, under certain circumstances, bring an absolute reduction of costs, but this may not be the case in terms of cost per thousand. Even with some standardization, government departments and agencies may want to advertise in comparatively small publications in order to reach effectively those missed by the mass media. Standardization does not necessarily mean sameness. The size and format of advertisements can be changed during a campaign. What standardization means is that the same size and format of an advertisement appears in print media at the same time.

The scheduling of advertising is another problem. On March 5, 1969, an ad agency placed three ads in a leading Quebec paper on behalf of the Department of Manpower and Immigration. They appeared under the following heads: *Les étudiants rêvent de bâtir un monde meilleur – Embauchez un étudiant cet été.*

Quatre employeurs sur cinq qui font appel à nos services trouvent leur homme en moins d'une semaine.

Connaissez-vous la connaître? Apprenez à les connaître! Cet été, embauchez un étudiant.

One was a 1,000-line advertisement, one a 500-line effort, and the other 200 lines. It could be argued that the advertisements were placed in the same paper on the same day to reinforce one another, but not being integrated they compet-

ed with one another and the competition only served to weaken the effect of each one of them.

Personnel

In December 1968, the Task Force studied the Public Service Commission's records on government information service officers. The research revealed that none of the ISO-6s claimed to have any significant experience in advertising; only six at the 4 and 5 level claimed such experience. Of five areas of experience examined – public relations, writing, editing, audio-visual and advertising – advertising ranked the lowest. Only 31, or less than ten per cent of all ISOs, claimed to have had significant advertising experience; 269 claimed experience in public relations.

Part II – Conclusions

The consideration in Part I of this Paper, and other Task Force research, have led to 13 conclusions about aspects and problems of Canadian Government advertising.

1. Guidelines

An Advertising Manual, or a set of guidelines, should be prepared for the use of government departments and agencies. Its contents should be made public so that the advertising industry – including ad agencies, public relations firms, marketing and research services firms, the media and other organizations concerned with communications – may be fully aware of the workings of the government system. The guidelines should deal with agency and media selection, the planning and formulation of advertising campaigns, relations with outside organizations, research, surveys, pre- and post-testing, analysis, and standards of performance. The guidelines should be reviewed periodically, and revised in the light of changing requirements.

2. Employment of Advertising Agencies

Government departments should be encouraged to use advertising agencies to exploit the professionalism required for efficient communication with target audiences, taking into account the specific competence of agencies to meet departmental objectives. Agencies should be employed for a given period, and the service arrangements should be reviewed periodically. If they prove to be less than satisfactory, agen-

cies should be given an opportunity to remedy the deficiencies. If they fail to do this within a reasonable period of time, they should be replaced.

3. Removal of Arbitrary Ceiling

The present ceiling of \$2 million of advertising business entrusted to a single advertising agency, and the stipulation concerning 25 per cent of total billings, should be discontinued. The capacity of each advertising agency, in terms of professional competence and financial capability, should be rated; and the government should set a range of advertising billings that could be turned over to each agency. Capacity would be related to all advertising work done for the Government of Canada, including Crown Corporations. In practice, there would be a ceiling but it would not be arbitrary. Rather, it would be formulated in line with the changing capacity of advertising agencies and the requirements for efficient and responsible execution of government advertising campaigns.

4. Minimum Billings

Government departments that undertake advertising programmes too small to justify hiring an advertising agency on a commission basis should be encouraged to co-operate with other departments to establish programmes large enough to be serviced without any extra cost to the government, by an advertising agency. Alternatively, the agency could be retained on a fee basis. Guidelines should include provisions for minimum billings, and the grouping of billings.

5. Payments of Accounts

Federal Government departments and agencies should try to work out an effective system of reviewing accounts rendered to them by advertising agencies or media (where these are employed directly) to enable the government to make payments within the time allowed for discounts for prompt payment. This is the practice of the trade. Government departments should get credit for the two per cent discount if they make payments within the period stipulated by the media. Or if they cannot make payments promptly, they should at least speed up the process of approving and paying accounts so that payments can be made to advertising agencies within thirty days. This would make it unnecessary for such agencies to act as "bankers" for the Canadian Government. The government could also consider adopting the

industry's practice of making progress payments on the basis of invoices submitted and subject to later adjustment and final payment.

6. Quantity Discount

The government should maintain a register of all current advertising business entrusted to advertising agencies, or turned over directly to media, so that it may claim the quantity discounts made available by media for large accounts. The benefits from these discounts, covering advertising done by government departments and agencies including Crown Corporations, should accrue to the government.

7. Cost Accounting

Advertising agencies that do work for the government should be required to keep uniform cost-accounting records covering both agency expenditures and revenues received. These records, so far as they apply to work done for the government, should be examined periodically to ensure that government departments are receiving adequate services for their money. Advertising agencies, being aware that they were subject to regular audits, would be unlikely to skimp on the quantity and quality of services, provided these were adequately covered by the amount of billings the government awarded them.

8. National and Regional Agencies

For most advertising campaigns undertaken by the Federal Government, national advertising agencies are the most appropriate choice. They have the required experience, and the managerial, professional, financial and creative resources. But many of the national policies pursued by the Canadian Government, have a distinctly regional character; and increased opportunities should be given to agencies that operate regionally to obtain the benefit of their specialized knowledge, their understanding of the attitudes of the people in their area, and the effectiveness of different media to reach special target audiences.

9. Foreign-owned Agencies

Selection of advertising agencies should be non-discriminatory. A Canadian-owned agency should not be preferred to American-owned or other foreign-owned agencies that have greater ability and capacity in the communication

ld. But where a Canadian agency and a foreign-owned agency are of equal professional stature, and the Canadian agency is considered able to meet the specific requirement of department, then the Canadian agency should be chosen. Canadian agency is defined as an agency that is owned and managed in Canada.

Crown Corporations

Crown Corporations should be permitted to continue in their independent course of advertising planning, and executing and selecting advertising agencies, as part of their more comprehensive marketing and communication programmes. However, they should provide appropriate data on their advertising programmes. This is required not only for purposes of public scrutiny but also to enable the government to obtain from the media and other suppliers all the quantity counts that it would be entitled to on the basis of total advertising spending.

Research

Advertising research within the government services needs to be increased and co-ordinated. All participating departments should be fully informed of one another's activities.

Statistics

The agencies specifically charged with the collection of statistics should institute regular collection of monthly and annual statistics relating to advertising. In undertaking the compilation of such statistics, advice should be sought from advertising, marketing and communication professionals to ensure the use of meaningful definitions and the satisfactory collection and compilation of data. Advertising statistics collected by government agencies should be published regularly.

Control

Advertising expenditures by all government departments and independent agencies, boards, commissions (excluding commercially-oriented Crown Corporations) should be subjected to uniform control procedures. These controls should be extended to all advertising and related communication expenditures, and should include publicity material, publications, art work and production of commercial copy. They should cover both the work done directly by departments and that done for them by advertising agencies and all

media. Departments should not be permitted to include advertising and related communication expenditures in blanket items, in global information estimates, or as in the case of the Department of Public Works, in construction contracts awarded. A central unit responsible for such control must either have on staff professional personnel knowledgeable in the intricacies within the advertising and information business or have access to such experts. There is a further need to simplify cumbersome and costly accounting procedures.

Part III – Some Major Objectives

Behind all the specifics of budgeting, planning, compiling, co-ordinating, economizing and standardizing, there is the larger question of what government advertising is all about. What are the government's objectives in advertising? They have never really been spelled out in a way that might apply throughout the government and, in practice, the departments and agencies have pursued advertising objectives of their own. The Task Force considered what some of the government's major advertising objectives might be. What follows is by no means comprehensive but it covers some of the major objectives. Increasing the understanding of government legislative programmes and policies, such as pension legislation, agricultural support programmes and regional development programmes might be the first. Facilitating and explaining government administration: for example, the operation of the unemployment insurance programme; the filing of income tax returns; co-operation of the public in connection with the quinquennial census and other surveys by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics; and the promotion of public use of such cultural institutions and events as the National Gallery, museums, military and RCMP ceremonials would certainly be included. Another might usefully persuade individuals or business firms to take action to serve certain social objectives, such as encouragement of construction work in winter-time, warnings on the handling of pesticides, campaigns to improve dietary habits and to promote early mailing before Christmas. There could be others that are almost equally important: recruiting personnel for the public service, the Armed Forces and the RCMP; enhancing Canada's image abroad as a means to achieve economic, cultural and political objectives; for example, tourism, immigration, cultural exchanges and international trade fairs; and serving semi-commercial objectives: the sale of publications of the Queen's Printer and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics; the offering to collectors of new coins by the Mint and stamp issues by the Post

Office; the encouragement of participation and visits at Canadian trade fairs.

Four major problems

In order to meet the objectives listed above the Task Force's studies show that it is essential to solve four major problems. These are: 1. inefficiency; 2. the limited use of advertising for social purposes; 3. the under-employment of French-language advertising agencies; and 4. the method of choosing advertising agencies.

1. Inefficiency in Canadian Government advertising arises out of some basic sets of circumstances:

- a) The objectives of government advertising not being clearly specified. This has adversely affected the formulation of advertisements. It has also led to vague and general communications that are either not understood by the government's various publics, or inadequately understood.
- b) The government's failure to specify carefully its target audiences. This has led to over-advertising in some cases and to under-advertising in others: it has weakened the effectiveness of advertising messages.
- c) The frequently haphazard selection of media. The result of this is a failure to maximize the number of potential recipients of the communication and an increase in the cost per thousand of audience reached.
- d) The inadequate attention paid by management in government to the requirements of effective advertising. They have not provided the necessary level of professional staff and consequently, government advertising has often brought poor value for the money spent.

There are a great many factors that contribute to these basic problems of inefficiency. The factors include: a lack of good communication planning; a lack of research; a lack of co-ordination among various means of communication; a lack of cost-benefit analysis in deciding on programmes; a lack of standards of performances; a lack of both pre-testing and post-testing of advertising campaigns; and a serious lack of communication expertise in the government service. The government's advertising efforts also suffer from inconsistency in the circumstances under which ad agencies are employed; some bureaucratic overruling of the judgment of advertising agencies; the continuing employment of ad agencies which have already demonstrated their inability; bad timing of advertising campaigns; an excessive number of poorly planned, ineffectively short *ad hoc* campaigns; and an

insufficient emphasis on the quality of advertising so that many programmes are unnecessarily repetitive. Still other contributors to the general inefficiency are: a timidity about innovation, which expresses itself most seriously in a failure to exploit fully the persuasive powers of television; a failure to pay adequate attention to the objective of bilingual communication; a tendency to treat ad agencies as outsiders rather than as continuing professional advisors; a tendency among departments to undertake the creative work for which ad agencies are being paid; inadequate regard for cost factors in advertising; inadequate co-ordination among departments; and, finally, the fact that the government has no corporate identification programme to give a unifying effect to all its information efforts. The advertising industry itself submitted a great many opinions to the Task Force. The following three are perhaps illustrative of the industry's thinking about efficiency and government advertising:

"Efficient use of advertising dollars depends almost entirely on the quality of both conception and execution of an advertising program (i.e., its effectiveness as good advertising). It follows logically that if a program achieves the desired objectives more readily because of the quality of the program, less money will have to be spent on exposure frequency. There is far too much waste on all levels of advertising, simply because so much advertising is substandard, and must rely on excessive repetition to make an impression. . . . Advertising production is another area where costs can be substantially cut, particularly in the production of TV commercials which have hit ridiculously inflated dimensions."

"To make Canadian Government advertising more efficient we believe that the granting of contracts over a two-, three- or even four-year period, rather than the 'one project basis' as is often done now, would help achieve this. The use of the contract approach would establish a more normal and we think useful 'client-agency' relationship."

"Having been concerned with the handling of a number of government accounts, I am very well aware of the enormous waste involved in most of them as a result of using a much broader selection of media than could be considered efficient purely because of political considerations."

The Task Force does not intend to imply that there have been no efforts by various government departments and central agencies to improve the system. In fact, several government agencies have recently streamlined their operations and have initiated advertising research and planning. What is needed then is to speed up a process that is already underway, to give it ministerial direction, and to ensure cohesion

d a type of administration that is free from discretionary preference.

The Use of Advertising for Social Purposes

There are a great many areas of public interest in which government could keep the public informed through advertising. A few of the social objectives that government advertising should consider serving in the general cause of an informed public are the following: a stronger sense of national identity than currently exists in the country; a stronger interest in national affairs; a stronger identification with issues that affect individual Canadian destinies; a better appreciation of the problems of inflation; a closer examination of the practical implications of bilingualism; a greater awareness of the Canadian federalism; a more effective explanation of Federal Government actions when required; a more sophisticated system of informing the United States, the main tourist and trade area, and other priority countries about Canada; a better exposition of how the taxpayer's dollar is spent; an intensive effort to reach the poor, and others who are now unaffected by government information.

Advertising should not be regarded solely as a way to inform the public of the specific services rendered by government departments and agencies. It should become, as well, a means of telling the people about the way government operates and the importance of private and public co-operation. Government and non-governmental organizations might jointly finance a few advertising programmes that have such broad social aims. A number of submissions to the Task Force have put the case for social advertising:

Marketing men have always known that change is the name of the game . . . change in attitudes, change in techniques, change in performance. Advertising is effective because it speeds up the machinery of change and makes the economy more dynamic. Social change, too, depends on change in public attitudes. Supplying information and, where necessary, the public interest, persuasion can be major contributors to quickening pace of change. Advertising is not effectively pressed to serve objectives deemed to be in the national interest. The reason for this failure is twofold. Firstly, the advertising profession acts as if it were the handmaiden of business, and feels compelled to keep in step with the policies of business. Secondly, advertising funds are sufficient only when the results are commercially profitable. However, to the extent that advertising reduces social costs, it is profitable to the country as a whole by reducing the cost of government expenditures."

"The present government's only real election promise was that it would see the public was involved to a greater extent than previously. Intelligent involvement can only be through adequately informed people. There would appear to be a growing need for an intelligently planned and skilfully executed communication programme to let the public know what the government is or isn't doing and why and how."

"The billion dollars a year spent on advertising in Canada serves to improve our material standard of living, but there are people left out and there is the whole area of the quality of life untouched. Advertising men want an opportunity to apply their skills here, but the lead must come from government."

3. Employment of French-Language Agencies

French-Canadian advertising agencies, including agencies with French and English partners, may do between 20 per cent and 25 per cent of the advertising business carried on in Quebec. Since roughly 80 per cent of the province's population has French as its mother tongue—and close to 90 per cent speak either French only, or both French and English—a question arises. Why do French-language advertising agencies not now have a greater share of the business of communicating with their compatriots?

The explanations vary. The defenders of the existing system say:

- a) Advertisers are concerned with the quality of the service they get from an agency. Ownership of the agency is only a minor consideration, or entirely irrelevant.
- b) To the extent that advertisers can get satisfactory or superior services from a national agency with a strong French-expression department, there is no need to split the account. Most national advertisers try to avoid fragmenting their campaigns, and this may adversely affect their choice of regional agencies, including both English and French.
- c) Splitting of accounts is usually either costly or uneconomical. If, for example, a firm plans a national advertising campaign that involves \$300,000 worth of billings – of which one quarter or \$75,000 would be in the French language, and the remaining \$225,000 in English – this may create difficulties for a French-language agency. If the account is split, the national advertising agency would get \$225,000 worth of business and would receive a commission of \$33,750, which is enough to do a good job for the client. The French-language agency would receive \$11,250 in revenues and this could be insufficient to produce the creative material required by the client and to provide the additional services

that are expected from a competent agency.

d) Most of the highly qualified French-speaking advertising professionals are employed in the French expression departments of national agencies. They have greater opportunities there for creative work and they earn more money. French-language agencies have been slow-growth agencies – with a few exceptions – and a number have failed.

However, the critics of the existing system make these points:

a) Some of the experienced French-language advertising agencies can supply service in communicating with French-speaking Canadians equal to the national agencies with strong French-expression departments. In fact, in certain circumstances, they can provide better services. They enjoy closer contact with the target audience and freedom from interference by a management that may not fully comprehend the psychology of French-speaking Canada, and the changing motivations and attitudes there.

b) Splitting of accounts is an accepted practice now among large advertisers. Some firms employ as many as four or five agencies. Why would it not be possible for each major advertiser, whether business or government, to include a French-language agency in the group?

c) It is true that many French-language specialists are well paid when they work for national advertising agencies. But increasingly, these men are leaving to establish agencies of their own. Their main reason is to have greater scope than they have had in the past in communicating to other French-speaking Canadians, and hopefully to do better in material terms.

d) There is a shortage of experienced French-speaking advertising professionals. But more men and women are being trained in universities in special courses, and on the job at experienced advertising agencies.

To encourage more young French-speaking Canadians to enter the advertising field, they should be assured of scope and opportunities in working in the language of their choice. One way to achieve this would be to make greater use of French-language advertising agencies. Progress has been slow, however, mainly because advisers – and that includes both government and national firms – have in their senior managements few people who can assess what a well-qualified French-language advertising agency can really do.

The arguments of the defenders and the critics of the existing system have a chicken-and-the-egg sound to them. The national advertising agencies declare the principle of competition, and selection on the basis of merit. They say, and their views are echoed by many large advertisers, that

French-language advertising agencies are small, slow to grow and, in many instances, inexperienced. But how are French-language agencies to grow and advertising staff to gain experience unless they get more business? If French-speaking Canadians wish to work in their own firms rather than in large national agencies, why should they not, particularly if they are well-qualified to communicate with other French-speaking Canadians?

The terms of reference given to the Task Force on Government Information include a request to consider the question of the two official languages being used in the area of information as equal creative instruments, so that the two major linguistic communities of Canada will be better able to identify themselves with the Federal Government.

In this connection the Task Force has concluded:

1. That both some of the large advertising agencies with strong French-expression departments, and the professionally competent French-Canadian-owned agencies in Montreal are capable of providing effective advertising services to government.

2. That the claim made by some national agencies that French-speaking Canadians are included in their management does not change the fact that these firms are necessarily interested in the Canadian market as a whole. At the most senior level, they cannot devote the same attention to particular sectors or regions as the management of French-language firms that operate in Quebec and are principally concerned with the French-speaking consumer and market.

3. That ownership of advertising agencies has a bearing on the orientation, priorities and specialization of service provided. Thus, French-language ownership, or control, of advertising agencies cannot help but influence the objectives of the management group and its desire to maintain a grass roots approach to French-speaking consumers, as a means of providing a superior service to that offered by other agencies.

4. The Question of Patronage

The adverse effects of the patronage system have been stated by an advertising agency: "the practice of awarding assignments on the basis of political patronage is, at best, archaic and, at worst, an open invitation to inefficiency." Whatever one's political philosophy or ethics, the crux of the problem is inefficiency. When government is continuously striving to increase the effectiveness of public spending and to improve the services provided, it can hardly afford to proclaim its belief in efficiency and then, in awarding advertising assign-

ents to agencies, not apply the principle by retreating to the theory that it can only trust friends and be confident that they are going to do the right thing for the taxpayer.

It is revealing that, in a Task Force survey of large and small advertising firms, eight favoured the status quo, while 1 opposed it. Included among the 31 who opposed the patronage system were a number of firms now doing government business. Many agencies prefer to be chosen on a merit basis. The winds of favouritism are fickle; they may suddenly change. An advertising agency that has served the government loyally and effectively may unexpectedly find that a major account has been transferred to another agency for no good reason. Two principles are involved. One is a moral one: if government is to be impartial, how can it condone favouritism? The other involves maximizing the general welfare: it requires the most effective use of government spending in the interest of society.

Patronage concerns not just government interference with the professional work of the advertising agencies employed. Advertising agencies are reluctant to put their best people to work on accounts that are subject to change every four years and sometimes more often. If government accounts inherit only the less experienced advertising people, the quality of government communications must inevitably suffer. And government, more than any other sector of society, needs the best possible ways to communicate with the people. The question that government has to answer is whether advertising is an information tool or whether it is a make-work project. Advertising is now well beyond the make-work stage, and one of the more basic reasons for this is the amount of money involved. As one expert told the Task Force:

"If an agency spends, in time, talent and out-of-pocket, \$15,000 on a political campaign (and this is not a large amount, if one considers men assigned to travel with a candidate plus the back-up staff), then (taking into account the 15 per cent commission agencies get from the media on billings) it will take \$100,000 in government billings to replace this amount. And, on the basis of current agency net profit, it may take a million dollars before the agency breaks even. This is one of the reasons that some very good agencies will not touch government business. They cannot afford to get embroiled."

Another dollars-and-cents consideration is that advertising agencies (and all the major parties use them) do indeed get paid for much of the work they perform during elections. They get a 15 per cent commission from the media on billings; that is their normal commission on any kind of advertising assignment. What they normally do not get paid

for are such extras as special television effects, art work, and men assigned to work or travel with candidates. The government must decide whether these extras are really worth the disruptions they ultimately cause in the advertising of government departments and government agencies. In considering the whole matter, the government might remember that it has been highly critical of advertising ethics – or the lack of them – in private business. It should also consider whether, under the present system, it can effectively assign more business to smaller firms, particularly in Quebec. What is the best way to approach these smaller firms? Through ministerial hand-outs? Or on a business-like basis that will ensure good work and enable the agency to keep its pride?

The present system, however, cannot be fairly viewed in simple blacks and whites. Many Ministers, public servants and advertising agencies dislike the system. Over the years, they have tried to get it changed. Quite a number of advertising assignments have been awarded by government with no thought of patronage. Nevertheless, advertising has been one of those fields that never get proper consideration; it was shunted aside by problems which, at the time, appeared to be more serious. Advertising assignments are something political parties talk about when they are in opposition, but forget when in office. The present system has been around for a long time, and the majority of government and advertising experts who talked to the Task Force felt it had been around for far too long. It is time for a system that ensures quality and efficiency, merit and fairness.

How can the present system of selecting advertising agencies be ended? What should take its place? The Royal Commission on Government Organization concluded seven years ago that it was time for Canada to abandon the patronage system, and it recommended: "Advertising accounts to be awarded on the basis of competitive proposals in the manner of other government contracts."

The proposal has been considered by both the government and by the advertising industry, and has been found impractical. When the government selects an agency to manage an advertising programme, it does not simply let a contract as, for example, the Department of Public Works does in accepting the lowest tender on a construction project. In selecting an advertising agency under ideal non-political circumstances, the government chooses one which it believes has the professional competence, the creative capacity and financial standing to provide the required services. A tender system that includes price only as a criterion of choice is not a practical solution in Canada. Advertising agencies provide professional services and they work at a standard rate. They

compete in the quality and range of services they provide. To judge this quality and service, the government must have professional communication expertise in the public service. With a few notable exceptions, there is little of it there now.

The government could set up its own advertising agency or, as it is called in the trade, a "house agency." But government can change private advertising agencies whenever they do not perform satisfactorily; it could not fire its "house agency." Further, a "house agency" could not possibly provide the range of services or sufficient variations to meet departmental requirements.

A select list has been suggested. In this system, public servants would examine the past performance and capacity of advertising agencies and would construct a list from which departments and agencies might choose. The problem here is that the government would have to judge the capacity of nearly every firm in Canada—and make judgments without relating them to any specific assignments. It is one thing to tell a young actress that she is not "right for the part," and quite another to declare that she is "a lousy actress, period." The select list could soon become known as a Black List. And, even then, it would not eliminate patronage. Ministers would still be free to choose the friendly firms on the list.

Perhaps public servants might be asked to make the final selection of advertising agencies. This idea has some merit, but as a leading advertising agency argued:

"An alternative which we would deplore would be for the civil service to have complete authority in the choice of advertising agencies. Civil servants, by the nature of their jobs, strive for decisions that cannot be construed as politically affected. This means that an agency that had done work in the past for the party whose members form the Government could not be awarded a Government assignment. Nor could an agency that had worked for one of the opposition parties be awarded an assignment. Both kinds of assignments would appear to be politically inspired and therefore unacceptable to the civil servant."

It is sometimes argued that only those agencies that support the party in power should do assignments for departments and government agencies:

"The very first thing a client must consider in choosing an advertising agency is whether that agency is handling a competitive account. Canadian National Railways would never select a Canadian Pacific Railways advertising agency. This must apply with equal force to a government's decision to award an advertising assignment."

"An advertising agency, to be effective, must work intimately with its client and be privy to many of its operations that

should remain unknown to competitors. It is somewhat unthinkable that a government would employ an agency that spends a part of its time assisting the opposition to bring it down."

This argument, however, neglects the fact that the agency field in Canada is small and that some agencies work for, say, more than one food company. They just make certain that they make the situation known to both companies, and that they do not work on competing brands. And the "conflict of interest argument" can be turned around to state: agencies that handle political accounts should not be allowed to do any government business. This argument has attractions, and some of the Task Force researchers held to it strongly. But the Task Force, in an effort to be consistent, felt that given the shortage of experiences national and regional firms in this country, it was not practical.

It is possible that Canada could learn from the way the Americans and the British (the French Government does little paid advertising) have tried to solve this problem. These countries have developed systems of their own, and they appear to work.

The American system relies largely on The Advertising Council, an outside voluntary group which selects advertising agencies to provide services on a non-payment basis to government departments. The media provide time and space on a public service basis. Agencies and the media co-operate with the U.S. administration on a non-partisan basis, and politics stay out of advertising. Government advertising, including that done by Crown Corporations, may play a relatively larger rôle in Canada than it does in the United States. Advertising agencies in Canada say they just cannot afford to provide free services to the government. Moreover, the Canadian media are reluctant to accept much "free" public service advertising, and this reluctance includes the publicly-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

The British system is based on a recognition of the fact that advertising is part of a broader programme to inform the public. It provides for a centralized service in a "non-ministerial department", called the Central Office of Information. The COI is assisted by an independent advisory committee to select advertising agencies. This is the Advisory Committee on the Appointment of Advertising Agents (ACAAA), and it consists of distinguished businessmen who are not associated with advertising agencies.

The Task Force believes that an independent advisory committee or board that is responsible for recommending the selection of advertising agencies could work in Canada.

In recommending such an independent, advisory commit-

For Canadian government advertising, the Task Force has taken into account a British practice which seems to have worked well for some 20 years. It must meet Canadian realities, avoid some of the weaknesses in the British system with respect to co-ordination and research, and take advantage of sound advertising techniques in other countries.

The Canadian advisory committee on advertising might be made up of five persons who are particularly knowledgeable in the field of communications and marketing. They might be: a senior executive of a business firm which is a large advertiser in Canada; an experienced communication professional, preferably a former senior member of an advertising agency, who is no longer financially involved in the advertising business; a senior executive of a firm that publishes newspapers or periodicals; a senior executive of the private broadcasting industry; and, in an ex-officio capacity, a senior official of Information Canada.

The appointment of the four non-government members might be made for three years in a way that would ensure continuity. The committee would select its own chairman from the non-government members; this chairman might hold the position for one year. If a member were re-appointed for a second three-year period he would again be eligible for the chairmanship. Four members would constitute a quorum. Decisions could be made by majority vote of the committee and, in the case of a tie, the chairman would cast the deciding vote.

The link between the committee on the one hand, and the government departments, advertising agencies and the media on the other, would be a secretariat from the total communications unit of Information Canada. The committee would have no staff of its own. The secretariat's function would be to prepare material for consideration by the committee, to keep it advised of requests received and results obtained relating to the committee's decisions and recommendations and, generally, to fulfil its administrative requirements.

The committee functions would include:

- 1) a review of the capacity of advertising agencies to do advertising work for government departments and agencies, including Crown Corporations. The review would be annual. It would be based on new submissions by advertising agencies and departmental experience with agency services;
- 2) the advertising services that a specific government department or agency required, and it would then recommend the one advertising agency that, in its judgment, is best qualified. There could also be instances when the committee would wish to make up to three recommendations, depending on the particular requirements of the advertising cam-

paign and the capacity of the agencies in question to satisfy these requirements. In making its recommendation, the committee should be mindful not only of the competence and financial responsibility of the agencies concerned, but also of their capacity or potential to handle large campaigns for one or several government departments. The capacity of each agency should be rated, so far as eligibility for government advertising is concerned, at million dollar intervals, from \$1 million to \$5 million and, if considered desirable, perhaps higher. Other considerations in the recommendation would include regional and language factors and the special qualifications of any one agency in a particular field or with a particular public;

3) offering advice relating to the government's overall advertising budget, the budget's tie-in with other means of communication, its orientation, objectives, effectiveness and co-ordination;

4) offering advice on advertising and related communication research;

5) offering advice on such other matters concerning advertising and related communication questions as may be referred to it by the Government of Canada or any individual Minister of the Crown.

The advertising secretariat in Information Canada would be a central service unit to all government departments and agencies in matters concerning advertising and related communications. Its functions might include:

a) providing a secretariat for the advisory committee and to act as a link between the committee, and government departments, advertising agencies and the public;

b) undertaking studies, surveys and research that have general applicability in the field of advertising and related communications and, where necessary, research to deal with particular advertising problems facing individual government departments;

c) being responsible for the assembly of budget statistics based on expenditures proposed by government departments and agencies and approved by Treasury Board, the government and Parliament; to present actual expenditures made under the budget; and subsequently to assess the effectiveness of the total programme. The advertising budget should include data at least on the global expenditures made by all Crown corporations;

d) functioning as co-ordinators of advertising programmes that service common objectives affecting several government departments and agencies. One aspect of the co-ordinating function would be to watch for duplication of advertising efforts and failure to comply with such accepted

standards as common advertising rates. Another would be to negotiate with the media for government advertising to receive bulk rates and to inform all departments and advertising agencies of these rates;

e) providing expertise to departments whose advertising requirements are either small or which occur only intermittently and hence do not justify the department's employing an official who is especially concerned with advertising matters;

f) initiating advertising programmes which serve overall government objectives and which are not the responsibility of any specific department or agency, or which cut across departmental responsibilities. In the latter case such programmes might be undertaken jointly with the departments concerned;

g) reviewing submissions made by advertising agencies, media and other groups, and to examine the effectiveness of services rendered by advertising agencies, media and other firms engaged in communication work for the government. This review would include assessment of facilities and personnel;

h) maintaining liaison with organizations representing advertising professionals, advertisers and media;

i) participating in the formulation and financing of public service advertising campaigns jointly sponsored by governmental or non-governmental bodies; and

j) offering such other assistance as the advisory committee on advertising and government departments and agencies may require in connection with their responsibilities concerning advertising and related communication matters.

Each department engaged in advertising programmes that involve significant amounts of government expenditures should have at least one advertising professional on its staff. He should not only be a professionally competent and experienced person; he must also occupy a sufficiently senior position to be effective in the departmental structure.

If the committee is to do its work properly, all departments and agencies would have to submit their proposals for advertising in the fall. The committee would probably meet three or four times to consider these proposals and the reports from the secretariat. In the early spring, the departments and agencies responsible for final choice could be informed of the committee's recommendations. Within a certain period they would then have to notify the committee of their decisions. This feed-back from the departments and agencies is necessary to prevent a handful of advertising agencies receiving most of the government's business. If this situation arises, the committee will have to take steps to

assure that the successful group is expanded.

The Task Force's expectation is that the location of the advertising committee's secretariat in the total communications unit of Information Canada will mean that advertising will be viewed as only one of a number of ways to communicate information. This arrangement should also ensure that the government uses advertising only when it is the best available means and that, when it is used, it is tied in with the government's other information work.

The problems that face the Canadian Government in communication are broader than just the selection of advertising agencies. Advertising is only one part of the whole communication process. The process is changing not only in terms of contents, methods, and techniques, but also in terms of the sophistication of the relationship between the people who are sending the messages out and the people who are getting them. What the Canadian Government needs is an approach concerned with communications in all its aspects — research, planning, execution, review.

We recommend that:

1. The government develop advertising policies and systems (consistent with the overall principles of its information policy and as an integral part of its information programmes) to ensure quality and efficiency, merit and fairness.

2. An independent board be established consisting of leading advertisers, representatives of the media and other advertising professionals free from any conflict of interest who should review government needs and the capacity of advertising agencies and recommend to departments and agencies, on the basis of merit, the agency or agencies capable of undertaking their particular government advertising assignment.

3. A unit in the total communications branch of Information Canada should assist the board by employing media and audience research, pre- and post-testing methods, etc., to assess government advertising requirements and in terms of these requirements use review procedures to advise on the capacity of advertising agencies.

4. The advertising group in the Department of Supply and Services should be incorporated into the total communications branch of Information Canada and be strengthened in order to produce improved expenditure statistics

and to obtain the lowest rates for government advertising from all media.

. Departments and agencies that already grant substantial advertising assignments should have advertising experts to help them formulate their requirements.

. Treasury Board should, with the advice of Information Canada, scrutinize proposed budgets for advertising expenditures.

! & ?

XVII Federal Information in Canadian Regional and Federal-provincial Relations

Part I – Regional Information

The Government of Canada must distribute and receive information from one end to the other of a territory that, as every schoolchild knows, is more than 3,200 miles wide – a territory touched here and there by a narrow strip of population immediately north of the most powerful neighbour in the world. Within this strip, geographic and economic differences are compounded by linguistic, cultural and ethnic diversity. Ten provincial governments exercise their constitutional authority. There are no “typical” Canadians. There are only Canadians of a particular language or a particular culture, within the charge of particular administrations.

In this paper, we intend to describe the present government system for bringing information to Canadians in their own regions. Then, in the light of this description, we will

consider how the government might improve the system and, finally we will offer some proposals for the improvement of the distribution and co-ordination of federal information at the regional level.

The Present System

The Federal production of information is divided among the various departments or agencies of government, and therefore it is based in Ottawa. The following table reveals that of 384 public servants officially listed as information officers, 343 work in the federal capital:

Many rank-and-file federal employees deal with information without being officially classified as Information Service Officers by the Public Service Commission. And many other employees in administrative positions are called upon to

Department or organization Staff Information Bulletin, February 1969.

	Total	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Ottawa	Prairies	British Columbia	N.W.T. Foreign Countries
Unemployment Insurance	11	1	1	2	6	1		
Agriculture	20				20			
Archives	1				1			
Consumer and Corporate Affairs	3				3			
Canadian Transport Commission	1				1			
Comptroller of the Treasury	1				1			
D.B.S.	12				12			
Defence Production	3				3			
National Defence	13				11	2		
Transport	9				9			
Public Works	3				3			
Veteran Affairs	4				4			
EMO	1				1			
Energy, Mines and Resources	26				26			
External Affairs	10				9			1
Finance	1				1			
Forestry and Rural Development	44	3	1	3	33	3	1	

	Total	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Ottawa	Prairies	British Columbia	N.W.T. Foreign Countries
Fisheries	16	1			13	1	1	
Indian Affairs and Northern Development	21				21			
Canadian International Development Agency	4				4			
Industry	10				10			
Labour	20				20			
Manpower and Immigration	51	2	3	2	36	2	2	4
National Health and Welfare	15			1	14			
National Museum and National Gallery	10				10			
Post Office	9				8	1		
Public Service	6				6			
Public Printing and Stationery	10				10			
Secretary of State	10				10			
Solicitor General	1				1			
Trade and Commerce	32			1	31			
National Revenue	5			1	4			
Treasury Board	1				1			
Total	384	7	5	10	343	10	4	0 5

handle information in the general performance of their duties. Federal employees, including those in Crown Corporations, are located¹ as follows across Canada and abroad.

In Canada and Abroad

Newfoundland	12,132
Prince Edward Island	2,377
Nova Scotia	20,560
New Brunswick	15,657
Quebec	87,438
Ontario (less than one half in Ottawa)	147,442
Manitoba	28,085
Saskatchewan	13,223
Alberta	23,104
British Columbia	31,528
Yukon and N.W.T.	4,059
Foreign countries	13,323
Total	398,928

The figures show that, unlike the staff of the information services, by far the greater part of federal public servants work outside the national capital region.

The first table indicates that 41 full-time information officers are located outside the federal capital. The extension of the information services outside Ottawa occurs mainly in four institutions: Unemployment Insurance Commission, Rural Development, Fisheries, and Manpower and Immigration. These four bodies deal with services or programmes for the public, as opposed to such strictly administrative bodies as the Treasury Board or the Department of the Solicitor General. The Postmaster General's Department also has several regional information officers (they do not appear in the table because they are listed under the heading of programme management); and, in the Department of National Revenue, some administrative officials perform the rôle of information officers during the rush at income-tax time. Furthermore, it appears that the assignment of regional information officers occurs when departmental activities at any one spot are sufficiently important to call for local coverage. This is the case, for instance, in the Department of Forestry; its laboratories have the benefit of full-time information officers. The Department of National Defence has full-time information officers at several of its bases. In brief, there appear to be two reasons for some degree of decentralization of information services: regional information officers are appointed to contribute to the

setting up of programmes or services; and they are also appointed when the activities of departments and agencies give rise locally to a sizeable quantity of information output.

The Task Force selected two regions for on-the-spot examination of the dissemination and co-ordination of federal information. They were the two provincial capitals of Winnipeg and Quebec. At the time of the 1966 census the population of metropolitan area of Winnipeg was 508,759 people, or half the citizens of Manitoba. The metropolitan area of Quebec contained 413,397 people.

In Manitoba, the Government of Canada had 28,085 federal employees distributed among roughly 50 departmental divisions, agencies or Crown Corporations. Four departments each had their own information officer, classified as such by the Public Service Commission: Rural Development, Unemployment Insurance Commission, and Manpower and Immigration, which had two information officers. In addition, the Postmaster General's Department had a public relations officer; the Department of National Defence had two officers assigned to public relations; and the Department of National Revenue employed one of its staff in a part-time public relations rôle to meet seasonal demand.

Throughout the province of Quebec the Government of Canada had 83,997 employees; more than 8,500 of them were in the metropolitan area of Quebec City. The 83,977 were distributed throughout nearly as many departments, divisions, agencies or Crown Corporations as the federal employees in Manitoba. At the time of our investigation, only one Federal department, Rural Development, had an information officer classified as such according to the Public Service Commission's standards. The Post Office Department had three public relations officers, the Department of National Defence had one officer to deal with public relations and, again, the Department of National Revenue employed one of its staff as a part-time public relations man to meet seasonal demand.

What is the work that this information staff does in the regions? Like its counterpart in Winnipeg, the Forestry Products Research Laboratory in Quebec City has one information officer from the Department of Forestry and Rural Development. He is also charged with distributing information produced at departmental headquarters in Ottawa. This information goes primarily to specialized publics and educational circles. In Winnipeg as in Quebec City, the task of the military officers who perform public relations functions would appear to consist of maintaining the calendar of military personnel located there and, chiefly, answering requests for information from the public.

1. Annual Report of the Public Service Commission, 1967.

th in Winnipeg and in Quebec City, Post Office Department public relations officers, chosen mainly for their experience in the postal field, are there to familiarize the public with rates and postal dues, and generally to encourage the public to conform to the practices of the Department. In the same way, in both Winnipeg and Quebec, a member of the Department of National Revenue acts as public relations officer during the period of filing income returns; he answers requests for information from the public and helps people complete their returns correctly. Locally, but this applies only to Winnipeg, the rôle of the Department of Fisheries information officer is chiefly to assist consumer counsellors to promote fish consumption.

These information officers hold no monopoly on issuing information. Regional administrative officers of the departments involved carry a large share of the responsibility. The information contribution of the regional administrative officers is extremely difficult to evaluate. Most of them seem to be highly aware of the information problem, but often they have neither the time, funds nor ability to take numerous initiatives to inform the public. The information action rates very low on the list of priorities of a regional director. His duties are primarily administrative (budgeting, personnel, programmes, reports) and it is not customary for him, if indeed it exists at all, to take a substantial share in his budget.

Many regional administrators do, however, take initiatives in the information field on their own authority. Some participate in radio or tv broadcasts. Others establish contact with intermediary bodies and generally involve themselves in community activities.

Evaluation of the Present System

For public opinion surveys to determine levels of knowledge about federal programmes in Agriculture and Manpower are particularly relevant: they indicate an inadequate knowledge of certain programmes among many of those surveyed and a disparity in knowledge levels between various regions in the country. For instance, 82 per cent of the farmers interviewed in the Red Deer district had heard of the Farm Credit Corporation, as against only 44 per cent in the Sherbrooke area; similar differences appear between various regions in awareness of the loan programmes offered by the Corporation. Eighty per cent of the farmers questioned in the Cornwall area were aware of the existence of a federal programme for retraining adults, as opposed to only 40 per cent in the Sherbrooke area; again, similar differences in knowl-

edge apply to the terms and conditions of the programme. Finally, 26 per cent of the farmers interviewed were aware of the existence of a federal manpower mobility programme, the percentage moving down from 42 per cent in Red Deer to 12 per cent in Sherbrooke.

Taking the population as a whole, nine persons out of ten interviewed knew of the existence of a manpower retraining programme, although the percentage varies between 94 per cent in Selkirk and 68 per cent in Montreal. Only three out of ten knew that they must approach a Canada Manpower Centre in order to participate in the programme, the percentage varying from 48 per cent in Selkirk to only 14 per cent in Montreal. One quarter of those interviewed had seen the brochure on the adult retraining programme, the percentage varying between 28 per cent in Montreal and only two per cent in Moncton.

The poll on knowledge of the division of responsibilities between the Federal Government and the provinces, and on the feelings of Canadians towards the Federal Government, showed the divergencies between the regions and between the two principal language groups in the country. For example, the Quebecers proved to be critical of the promptness of the Federal Government and the least inclined to communicate with the Federal Government through their Members of Parliament. The Albertans are less likely than most to feel the Federal Government is responsive to their suggestions but they sense the need to work with it. Generally speaking, the attitude of the Prairies towards the Federal Government is a moderately negative one. Ontario takes a more favourable view in many respects. The people of British Columbia appear to have a positive attitude towards the Federal Government. French-Canadians outside the province of Quebec are the least aware of federal publicity, and demonstrate limited knowledge of government affairs.

Our polling of public opinion leaders in Canada provided other lines of thought about regional information. These men and women reproached the government information services for not distinguishing between their varied "customers," or publics. Many urged that the Federal Government regionalize its information services. At the same time, the Federal Government was called upon to improve its own information on the particular needs of the various regions of Canada.

Canadians of various degrees of influence and interest in government information felt that the information services ignore provincial and regional associations; that their news releases should pay greater attention to regional requirements, and should use regional examples and regional photo-

graphs; that the Queen's Printer's bookstores should be expanded into real information centres; that the Dominion Bureau of Statistics should provide more breakdowns of its data on provincial and regional interests; and that the government should consider the direct transmission of official information so that editorial writers would no longer have to see government affairs solely through the eyes of the Ottawa Press Gallery.

From the point of view of regionalization of federal information, our study indicated that the Press Gallery has some limitations. Indeed, according to a study referred to in Paper vi, in 1966, only 19 out of some 115 dailies in Canada had one or more correspondents in Ottawa; most newspapers relied on the Canadian Press (17 reporters, of whom two were French-speaking) for daily coverage from Ottawa. The Southam chain of newspapers had four reporters in the Press Gallery in 1966 and served half a million readers. Among the Southam papers, the only one with its own staff in the Gallery was the *Ottawa Citizen*. The Sifton-Bell group (F.P. Publications) had only one reporter attached to the Gallery, though some of its newspapers also had their own correspondents there. The entire Thomson chain was represented by two journalists. Half the Gallery newspapermen represented Toronto, Montreal or Ottawa newspapers.

If our study on the Press Gallery indicates the bounds of regional representation within the Gallery, our study on the unreached stresses that, in any event, the large news organs by no means reach all the people and clearly do not reach them in uniform fashion.

Our consultations in Winnipeg and in Quebec City confirm another earlier point in this volume: that the news releases received by mail from Ottawa are usually committed to the wastepaper basket.

In Quebec City, few people have the slightest notion of the importance of the federal institutions in the area. Members of the federal public service in Quebec City, are the first to deplore the ineffectiveness of federal institutions there. They are in a position to observe how little is known about the operation of our federal system of government. The federal services in Quebec City daily receive a great deal of mail destined for provincial departments. The reverse is also true. Some newspapermen share the opinion of the federal officials that, in Quebec City, Federal Government information will have to start at the beginning. The *office d'information et de publicité du Québec* shares the monopoly of official information with the corresponding services of France, Great Britain and Sweden. The Federal Government has a social and economic rôle which

is very important in Quebec, but its voice is strictly muted.

In a letter to the Task Force, a federal public servant working in Quebec City voiced remarks on the subject and it may be useful to quote them, even though they go beyond the definition of information in the strict sense. According to our correspondent, federal officials working in Quebec City are themselves very much in the dark, and the Federal Government appears to be somewhat invisible behind the doors of its own offices. He states: "The Federal Government owns many offices and much real estate here in Quebec. Is each a thoughtful, silent witness to a dynamic federal presence? Not likely. The most recent federal space to be occupied is decorated entirely with provincial government posters. The only visual reminders of the federal presence in the two postal stations which I frequent are portraits of the Queen, which are probably as offensive artistically as politically to us Québécois. No Canadian flag. No attractive posters. No displays. Not even a general atmosphere of order, efficiency and good service. . . ."

"The Federal Government owns much waterfront on the St. Lawrence River, an area of striking visual pollution. The *Gare Maritime* could, and should be a show-case for Canada. It is the first point of land touched by hundreds of thousands of newcomers to Canada. It is a huge block passed by millions of tourists each year, and seen daily by commuting Québécois. In architecture, it is Early Concentration Camp. Its ugly wire fences are bordered by wastelands full of uncut grass and straggling weeds. Its entrance is prison-like. Its interior is soulless, ugly, bespeaking an utter indifference towards the people who are herded here. It must take the bloom from the Canadian rose amongst those who arrive with racing emotions to enter the land of promise. In these dreary halls, there is no showplace of Canadian life either in the character of the décor, imaginative reading rooms, attractive displays, Canadian films or music." "When the Federal Government wants to tell what it is doing, it puts an excellent display about the Department of Transport in the Ottawa Airport, or a lively exhibit of Central Mortgage and Housing on Confederation Square. In Quebec, we just disinfect the corridors. We believe in preaching to the converted. . . ."

"In the heart of Quebec, we insist that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police be universally known as the '*Gendarmerie Royale*', choosing the most provocative possible abbreviation instead of the more descriptive and more acceptable "*Gendarmerie Canadienne*." A prominent sign on the *Grande Allée* announces the federal presence by those alien words." "When we contribute to historic preservation in the city, we seem to

out of our way to disassociate ourselves from it. . . .” A recent, prominently displayed, letter to the editor of *Le Soleil* said the Government of Canada had never given an answer to the historic region of Quebec. Who bothered to answer it? The Federal Government has done more than anyone to save the physical aspects of the French-Canadian culture: why are such agencies as the Historic Sites Division born to silence?”

Why can't we Québécois see more of what our taxes are paying for?”

In Winnipeg, a poll by telephone on February 3 and 4, 1969, indicated that only 13 per cent of those called could correctly answer the following question: who owns the Winnipeg International Airport? Rather than the Federal Department of Transport, many people said the municipality of Winnipeg, James or the province of Manitoba. Moreover, by their own admission, information officers stationed in Winnipeg are not in a position to provide regional information in French to the 60,000-odd French-speaking people of the province. In Winnipeg, as well as in Quebec City, one may well question the present policy behind the appointment of regional information officers. Why, for example, has the Department of Fisheries nominated an information officer in Winnipeg, when there is no information officer there for the Department of Agriculture or for the Department of National Health and Welfare? What principle was applied in Quebec City in appointing an information officer to the Forest Products Research Laboratory ahead of any other department? And looking at Canada as a whole, what underlying principle justifies the presence of ten information officers in Ontario (outside Ottawa) as against only five in the province of Quebec.

A final observation follows from our explorations in Winnipeg and in Quebec City. Just as public opinion tends to deplore the absence in Ottawa of an information service to co-ordinate the information activities of individual departments, informed people in Winnipeg and in Quebec City desire a local service that is capable of regionally promoting federal information. The proliferation of departments and agencies may no doubt be justifiable at the administrative level, but it is extremely disconcerting to the citizens and, indeed, often to newspapermen.

We have seen that Canadians of various regions have a varying knowledge of federal institutions, that their satisfaction with federal services varies, that each region has its own way of looking at the rôle of the central government and, finally, that there is a desire to see the Federal Government read its information in such a way as to take into account

the varying regional publics in the country. These findings appear to coincide with a similar recognition within the Federal Government information services themselves. Indeed, in reply to one questionnaire, several of the government information services stated that they would like to have regional representatives. The Department of Agriculture intends to appoint them shortly in four regions, and the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs in five. This recognition is itself a further reason for examining the means of improving, in an orderly and systematic fashion, the dissemination and co-ordination of federal information in the various regions of Canada.

Improvement of the Present System

It is clear that the information services must break out of their isolation in Ottawa and move toward a further decentralization of their operations. However aware regional officials may be of the importance of information, it is necessary to entrust them with responsibilities in this field that are far more precisely defined and to give them the matching financial means. Whenever a department installs a permanent information officer in a region, he should be given a wide area of responsibility; he should be charged with an information responsibility that covers all the activities of his department in that area, and not merely with the operation of a particular programme or particular regional division. Moreover, certain immediate practical improvements might be suggested. In the identification of government services in telephone directories, the various organizations involved might appear not only under the heading “Government of Canada” but also in their own name in alphabetical order. Directories of all the federal services in a region might be distributed to the various government information offices. Liaison machinery might be established between information officers of various departments in any one region.

No real improvement can be made, however, in the dissemination of federal information in the regions merely by a few adjustments. If the Government of Canada is to exercise its right and accomplish its duty of giving and receiving information from across the country, it must approach the problem in its entirety. It is almost by chance, and without any overall policy, that the federal information services have begun to provide themselves with representatives in the regions. There is a clear need for co-ordinating bodies to disseminate federal information in the regions, and it is important for the government to proceed in the most logical, coherent and effective manner possible in terms of a system.

First of all, it will be necessary to create a centre in Ottawa to ensure communication with the regions. At the present time the Federal Government possesses no information organization that is capable of giving advice on the selection of regions, on the establishment and maintenance of a proper balance between them, and on the supervision of the efforts undertaken. This task should fall to Information Canada. It would be its responsibility to pursue the study of regional differences, to draw up directives, to encourage and supervise efforts in each of the designated regions and, finally, to encourage the information services in Ottawa to regionalize their information.

Information Canada must set up regional offices of its own. In broad outline their functions would be as follows:

- a) to provide the regions with a source of information covering the entire field of activity of the Federal Government;
- b) to promote the regional aspects of information produced in central or departmental services;
- c) to supplement the work of the local divisions of those departments and agencies which do not have information services;
- d) to furnish information at the regional level on matters involving the local activities of several departments;
- e) to co-operate, in the regional dissemination of information coming from various government sources, with officials, with charitable organizations, and with various groups of people within the region;
- f) to co-ordinate in every region information emanating from various sources;
- g) to gather, through regional information sources, and transmit to a central information office and to various government agencies concerned, local feed-back on Federal Government information, its successes, its failures; and to advise on methods to improve its effectiveness. These methods might include the use of advertising, exhibitions and improved identification of Federal Government office buildings;
- h) to establish on a permanent basis effective co-operation with provincial and municipal information services;
- i) to provide an opportunity for Ottawa-based information officers to be seconded to regional offices and thereby familiarize themselves with regional needs; and thus to encourage among them all-round capability, increased mobility, and proficiency;
- j) to draw into the ranks of the federal information services capable information officers who are prepared to serve outside Ottawa;

k) to set up in certain regions groups of French-language information officers, facilitate the organization of information in the French-language, and thus offer to Ottawa a pool of French-speaking officers;

l) to ensure, by the most effective means and in co-ordination with interested agencies, the dissemination of federal documentation, either written or audio-visual;

m) to procure for the benefit of the population of a given region information relating to other regions.

The setting up of regional information offices across the country can only be carried out in stages. A start might be made by establishing offices in the main centres of the five large geographic and economic regions in Canada. The two tables which follow indicate that Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver and Winnipeg are obvious choices:

Population figures (1961 census)

1	Montreal	2,436,817
2	Toronto	2,168,496
3	Vancouver	892,286
4	Winnipeg	508,759
5	Hamilton	449,116
6	Quebec	413,397
7	Edmonton	401,299
8	Calgary	330,575
9	Windsor	211,697
10	London	207,396
11	Halifax	198,193

Percentage of federal employees

Annual Public Service Report, 1967

1	Montreal	10.4
2	Toronto	9.1
3	Vancouver	5.3
4	Winnipeg	3.7
5	Halifax	3.6
6	Edmonton	2.7
7	London	2.2
8	Quebec	2.1
9	Calgary	1.8
10	Hamilton	1.1
11	Windsor	0.8

Even though Halifax appears only in eleventh place in the first table, the Halifax region might be the fifth choice since it is an urban centre representing the Atlantic provinces. The establishment of offices in other cities will require closer examination, but should be carried out fairly

vidly. The five original regional offices proposed should set up in close relationship with the Queen's Printer bookshops that already exist in these five cities and are themselves distribution centres for Federal Government information. If the regional information offices cannot be established at the same locations as the bookshops, they could try to at least furnish information and documents relating to general government activities.

Regional offices, directly attached to a central information office, should be headed by a competent director and should be staffed by a limited number of information officers and clerks. In certain cases it would suffice to regroup information officers already employed by the government in Ottawa in the regions. In other cases it might be necessary to use existing regional information officers within their own departmental structures, and to look elsewhere for the staff to make up the regional office.

Priority should also be given to the setting up of a welcome centre in the National Capital, to serve both Canadian and foreign visitors, whether journalists, travelling officials or tourists. This centre could, in addition, undertake responsibilities, similar to those of regional offices with regard to the population of Ottawa and Hull.

The regional offices must be considered as service centres for the public and as tools of liaison with regional media and with intermediary bodies. They would try, for example, to engage the interest of regional media in the adoption of new legislation. They would take steps to maintain permanent contact with intermediary bodies, associations and other organized groups; and thus promote, through reciprocal help, the enlightenment of citizens and communications between the governing and the governed. They would, for instance, refer citizens who are dissatisfied with legislative acts to their Member of Parliament or to the competent government authorities. They would make it their duty to reply to information requests from the public and direct enquiries to the proper quarter in cases where general information is not involved. They would be completely free to suggest the launching of publicity campaigns on matters of particular interest at the regional level.

The links between the regional offices and the central office of information must not be simply theoretical: all regional offices should be in close contact with the central office and with government departments concerned. Within the central office there must be a regional office branch whose function would not be limited merely to administrative supervision. The regional office branch will have

to participate actively in the effective operation of communications between the regional offices, the other organs of the central office, and the various departments. In this way departments will be able to use the network to test at the beginning the impact of certain publicity, and thereafter to entrust its dissemination to the network.

Finally, to make this network as effective as possible, advantage must be taken of all technical resources in the field of telecommunications; regional offices would draw directly on resources in Ottawa to obtain all material, both written and audio-visual. The establishment of a telex circuit would allow rapid communication with regional offices. A similar service could be supplied on request directly to news media in all regions of the country. The purpose of this second circuit would be:

a) to inform the Press Gallery and news media of the daily activities of the government;

b) to ensure the complete, authoritative and rapid spread of official information to news media, intermediate bodies and other redistributors of information, and to provincial and national organizations;

c) to maintain an effective flow of information between government services, in particular between Federal Government headquarters and officials outside the Capital, and between Ottawa and provincial capitals.

On request, and for a modest fee, this service would provide by telex information of the following kinds, in whole or in part: the daily and weekly itinerary of the Governor General, the Prime Minister and of the Leader of the Opposition; the travel plans of Ministers; their meetings with particular groups; the time-tables of the parliamentary sessions, parliamentary committees, the daily and weekly agenda of government commissions, boards, etc.; the itinerary and programme of visits abroad of the Governor General, the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition, Ministers, official representatives of the Government of Canada, senior officials and, if Parliament wishes, of parliamentary delegations; the itinerary and programme of official visitors from abroad; the appointment and promotion of senior officials, of judges, of heads of commissions, of boards, etc.; the opening and closing of public transport services; the time-tables of recreational or cultural services under government auspices; notices of motions, dates and procedures relating to new legislation, to regulations and to treaties; notices of publications; daily bulletins of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics; official texts or official summaries of legislation, principal orders in council, the Speech from the Throne, reports

submitted to federal-provincial conferences, the budget speech, commission reports, etc.; news releases from departments concerning particular policies or major programmes.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Federal information reaches the people in the various regions of the country in an uneven fashion. It does not correspond to the economic and social rôle of the Federal Government throughout the country as a whole. In view of the different knowledge levels of Canadians with regard to the Federal Government and its institutions, the present effort of the information services seems quite underdeveloped. Analysis of the present system has allowed certain practical solutions to emerge. It is clear that in order to improve the dissemination and co-ordination of information in the regions in the most effective and economic way possible, in order for the government to meet the challenge of distributing and receiving information in all parts of the country, new machinery should be set up: regional offices of information linked to Information Canada by the most rapid means of telecommunications.

We recommend that:

1. **The development by the government, with the assistance of Information Canada, of a general regional information policy designed to meet the requirements of the various regions, to keep the Federal Government better informed of such needs at the information level and to make all Canadians generally better aware of the rôle and activities of the Federal Government.**
2. **Information Canada be entrusted with the general responsibility for distributing and co-ordinating federal information on a regional basis.**
3. **The setting up, in stages, of at least five regional information offices responsible to this central organization, which would have a director, staff and the required financial means.**
4. **Departments and agencies retain responsibility for their own particular regional information and for the appointment of their own regional information officer; the director of the regional office will be responsible for the co-ordination in the area of information of these officers and of the heads of the represented federal agencies.**

5. An official telex information service designed to feed information into regional offices and possibly, on request to other public or private organizations be set up.

Part II – Federal-Provincial Relations

The Task Force has reviewed, in Paper III, the distinctive features of Canadian institutions and their relevance to communication in a federal state where power is divided between two levels of government. Activities designed to inform the Canadian people must reflect this pattern as well, and may even find in it a unique source of strength.

Since Confederation, Federal and provincial governments have attempted, in one way or another, to inform their electorates regarding their plans and policies. Traditionally however, neither level has shown much interest in systematically informing the other of its plans nor has either level thought it appropriate to insist that it be considered a privileged public in matters of information. In the view of the Task Force, this has seriously weakened the ability of both levels of government to discharge their own information responsibilities.

Competition for public attention between the Federal and provincial governments may be natural to federalism and a certain element of one-upmanship is bound to be part of the relationship. Is it naive to ask whether this competition is necessarily incompatible with improved co-operation in the field of information? In an age when information of all kinds is increasingly available to the citizens at large, is it not possible for the people of Canada to be properly informed on how their own system of government works? Our national public opinion survey has indicated how few Canadians have such knowledge.

The communication of information between government and citizens may not by itself be enough to ensure the vitality of democratic government. The improved exchange of information between levels of government, however, may make an important contribution to that vitality. It might help to prevent misunderstanding, create an atmosphere of confidence, and thus reduce the unavoidable tendency to engage in controversies.

From the standpoint of the Task Force the basic question is this: how can the existing constitutional structure work to ease the flow of information to the individual in Canada? A simple answer might be that each level should be master in its own house. The problem here is that we all have one federal house, Canada, and we all have a provincial house, too; and, at the present time, some of the official information

that Canadians need is not readily available from either source. The Task Force has not attempted to review fully all the problems that are involved in the matter of government information and federal-provincial relations, but it does offer a bird's-eye view of some of the existing systems, and some suggestions for their improvement.

Internal Communications

Over the past century, Canadian Governments have communicated with one another in several ways. These include:

1. Formal federal-provincial conferences at the Prime Ministerial level. These have been particularly numerous since the Second World War.
2. Federal-provincial conferences at the ministerial level to deal with special areas or problems. Some of these Ministries such as Health and Tourism – convene on an annual basis.
3. Federal-provincial conferences at the official level to consider routine matters that do not involve policy decisions.
4. Correspondence and informal contacts between Prime Ministers or between Ministers; and through;
5. Informal contacts between officials of the two levels to change information and resolve minor points.
6. Public institutions in which the two levels participate.
7. The information media, whereby all citizens – including political officials and public servants – are able in principle to receive details and explanations on the policies and activities of the various governments.

In recent years, federal-provincial conferences have received considerably more publicity than they did earlier. They frequently issue *communiqués*, and some of the meetings have been open to the information media.

Important correspondence between the levels of government is often made public through tabling in Parliament or the provincial legislatures. It is primarily on this *ad hoc* basis that the public learns something of the negotiations and decisions. The Task Force, without commenting on the subject of the more delicate intergovernmental consultations, emphasizes that if the two levels of government seriously want to bring the citizens into the ambit of government knowledge and government decisions, they must find ways to keep the public more systematically and fully informed of their relations and programmes.

Federal-provincial Joint Organizations

For some time, there have been several joint organizations of Federal and provincial governments. Generally, each one

has a quite specific purpose. Two of these, for instance, are the Canadian Resource Ministers Council, and the Council of Ministers of Education. Their history shows that such organizations may have considerable importance, or potential importance, to the processes of government information.

The Canadian Resource Ministers Council was founded in 1962 to enable the provincial Ministers and the federal Minister charged with development of Canada's resources to promote the development of common objectives. The Council holds regular conferences, and the purpose of these meetings is to pool all sources of information on a specific aspect of resource development. The 1966 conference on pollution, for example, was a pioneer effort to warn governments and the public of the dangers that pollution poses to our environment.

The information generated by the Resource Ministers Council is available to the general public from that Council's Montreal office but, frequently, it receives no wide distribution. It is difficult to determine just how valuable the Council's information has been to the citizens at large.

The Council of Ministers of Education is another important intergovernmental organization. It was set up about two years ago, and grew partly out of the Canadian Education Association. Its headquarters are in Toronto, where it operates in conjunction with the CEA.

This Council is the means through which the Government of Canada obtains both representatives to attend international education conferences and some information that is required at the national level concerning education in Canada. Again, however, it is not clear how effective the Council has been in informing the general public of its work. Its chief purpose is to serve as a liaison between the provincial governments and, as required, with the Government of Canada.

Regional Development

In recent years, the joint federal-provincial ventures of the ARDA and FRED programmes have involved a direct experience of intergovernmental co-operation in information matters. These programmes have provided unique opportunities for such co-operation.

There is an obligation to inform taxpayers how their money is spent and who is doing the spending, and these joint programmes must be run on the understanding that each government receive accurate credit for its administra-

tive and financial commitment to a programme. But there are other obligations as well. The local citizens in rural development areas must be informed about the opportunities that are being created. An important aim of the programmes is to encourage people to participate in social and economic changes to improve their region. While this second information obligation may inspire competition between governments it should furnish unprecedented opportunities for governments to work closely together.

The information efforts made so far under ARDA and FRED involve spreading significant information to the people these programmes concern. The officials communicating – no matter which level of government they may represent – require a deep understanding not only of the bureaucratic machinery involved in the programme, but also of the local environment.

The ARDA and FRED programmes differ appreciably among the provinces; there is no national uniformity to the environments in which they function. Therefore, it is probable that if communication is to be effective, it must be sufficiently flexible to accommodate the different needs of the people in the various regions. The Task Force finds it difficult to draw general conclusions on the effectiveness of all joint information programmes, but it is possible that the problems in a particular province may offer some insight.

In Manitoba, both the ARDA and FRED programmes have been well developed. However, there have been certain difficulties with regard to information. Under ARDA requirements, the two levels of government must jointly announce new projects, and there is a mutual insistence that each government approve news releases. Delays have occurred, sometimes lasting several months. Moreover, certain unilateral releases by one government can cause embarrassment to the other.

Under the Interlake FRED agreement, a rural development project, the Province of Manitoba has responsibility for the information programme. The federal-provincial FRED Advisory Board reviews this programme twice a year but, aside from that, there is no joint editing of information releases. From the point of view of timeliness, the arrangement has worked well. It rests upon regular liaison between the personnel of the FRED Information Section in Ottawa and in Winnipeg. The effectiveness of the FRED information liaison seems to stem largely from the presence in Ottawa and Winnipeg of information specialists who have a thorough knowledge of the programme and sympathize with its objectives.

Departmental Relations: Agriculture

Information co-ordination between federal and provincial departments of Agriculture is worked out in principle at annual conferences on several levels. These include Ministers, Deputy Ministers, and Information Directors. Regional information meetings occur annually – one in the East and one in the West – and they have reduced the federal-provincial overlap in publications. In addition, a system has been devised through which the Department of Agriculture considers for publication any provincially produced publication that has proved valuable in three or more provinces.

The Department co-ordinates major policy announcements with the provinces; usually, it informs the provincial Deputy Minister of the announcement's content and scheduled release time. The system has been jointly developed and it appears to work well.

In co-operation with provinces, the Department also plans to organize and administer a record system for the entire agricultural industry. This would require major support from the Information Division.

The federal Department of Agriculture regards agricultural extension work as part of the provincial field of education and, although it does extend co-operation, the carrying out of these programmes is performed by the provincial departments.

In this connection, the key men on the provincial side are the provincial agricultural representatives and, on the federal side, they are the Farm Credit Corporation advisers. They work together fairly well but co-operation depends largely on individual relationships, and there has been little attempt to put the system on a formal basis.

Agriculture's Information Division has developed satisfactory working relationships with the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission and when exhibitions are planned the Division consults the Ontario Department of Agriculture – a prime user of exhibitions – to avoid duplication.

The foregoing has consisted of a few examples of the programmes and problems that have inspired the Federal and provincial governments to some co-operation in the field of information.

Federal Departmental Structures

Earlier in this Report, a Task Force survey observed that occasionally the provincial level of government is closer to its public than the federal. The federal departments are therefore at some initial disadvantage when information is

leased outside Ottawa. The Task Force studies on departmental structures established that the Federal Government's information systems have generally failed to meet the challenge of providing the Canadian public with adequate information on the activities and achievements of the Government of Canada in federal-provincial programmes. The main problems seem to be:

1. The understandable reluctance on the part of some ministers and public servants to emphasize federal participation at the risk of annoying their provincial colleagues.
2. The ineffectiveness of infrequent, piecemeal, individual departmental announcements of federal grants, or of federal participation in federal-provincial programmes.
3. The lack of a federal information facility to follow up joint information announcements at the provincial and municipal levels.
4. The similarity in names between many federal departments and their provincial equivalents. This inevitably creates problems in public understanding of the federal contribution.

Who Should Inform on What?

In national affairs, informed Canadians would naturally turn to the federal government for information and direction. In regional or provincial matters, they would turn to their provincial governments at the provincial capitals. And, for purely local concerns, they would turn for guidance and information to municipal authorities. But the problem, as the Task Force sees it, is that too many citizens are too often uncertain of where to go to get government information. Logically, a level of government should provide the information about the programmes for which it is fully responsible. Indeed, the closer the source of information to the appropriate centres of decision, the better. But, even in well-defined areas of constitutional jurisdiction, the application of this logic is far from simple. Nobody would suggest, for instance, that the DBS should stop gathering and dispensing information on all matters of general interest that come under provincial jurisdiction. Nobody would suggest that Canadian embassies not give information on the provinces to foreign publics, or that Ontario House in London be barred from dispensing federal statistics.

The problem arises in the supplying of information where there are concurrent jurisdictions, or where joint programmes are under way. In these cases, gaps in information can and do occur. Provision should be made to ensure that at least one level of government is responsible for informing the public, or preferably that the two share in this task, and

that the rôles of each are clearly defined. Unless the governments accept joint programmes as an opportunity to inform citizens not only on the programme itself but also on the workings of federalism, unless they reach clear understanding on their respective responsibilities in information, the competition for public attention may develop into exercises in propaganda. The results may be confusion, duplication of effort, and sheer waste.

The effort to inform Canadians on how federalism works will call for adaptation in each situation. What is needed is a means of co-ordinating the information policies of the Federal and provincial governments, as well as those at the local or municipal level. This co-ordination is required in five general areas:

1. Public information for the governments in regard to the decisions and policies of the various levels of governments.
2. Public information for the people of the country in regard to the decisions and policies of the various governments.
3. Information that is generated by both levels of government. This might be collected and collated for use at public information centres.
4. Information gathered by the levels of government — from research, and from appropriate institutions — information that relates to social and economic conditions, and the people's expression of their needs.
5. Public information for use abroad.

Conclusions

The Federal Government should make a systematic and sustained effort to inform the Canadian public on the whole range of federal-provincial relations and activities. It should make its important information announcements available directly to the provincial governments. Similarly, the important releases of provincial administrations should be promptly available to the appropriate levels of the Federal Government.

For federal-provincial joint programmes, there are special government information responsibilities that lie with the level (or levels) of government that is carrying out the administration but financial participation also entails an obligation to inform. Federalism requires that the people be clearly and continuously informed of the co-operation between levels of government to make programmes effective.

Information on joint programmes should clearly define the levels of government furnishing the funds for these

programmes. Joint federal and provincial symbols should be used in advertising, television, films and publications to identify properly the authorities that contribute to various programmes. When joint information efforts are not practical, care should be given to indicate sources of information that exist at other levels.

Recommendations

To reinforce the advantages which a federal system can provide all sections of the community, we recommend that:

- 1. Federal-provincial consultations be undertaken to set up permanent mechanisms to improve communications between levels of government in the field of information; to facilitate the transfer of governmental information from and to the various regions; to co-operate in the most appropriate way, in easing the public's access to all government information; and to make better use abroad of all available information resources.**
- 2. Federal machinery to keep Canadians informed on federal-provincial relations and activities be reinforced on the national and regional levels and greater attention be given to identifying federal participation.**

Part I – Social Surveys

Survey research is a means by which a government can keep well informed on the public impact and effectiveness of its major programmes and policies. Through surveys a government can hear all sections of the public, not just the vocal and the politically sophisticated but the shy and the poorly educated as well. Survey research admittedly involves the public in government only in a passive manner, but the publication of its revelations may increase the people's active involvement in government because it permits informed discussion of current issues. Moreover, the knowledge accumulated through survey research provides social and political scientists with valuable insights into society.

The techniques of public opinion research developed in the United States in the late twenties and, since then, they have been constantly refined. As long ago as 1956, the American scholar Harry Alpert observed that public-opinion research had become a scientific endeavour, a systematic effort to apply the methods and logic of science to a major aspect of human existence. Writing in the *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Alpert said, "Firm, reliable knowledge about man and society, including an understanding of the nature of opinions, attitudes, emotions and connected psychological and sociological processes is not a luxury to be indulged in casually when other more significant things are ended. It is a necessary condition of human society in the complex world we have created". Canadian social scientists agree.

For 25 years, governments of various countries have been using the increasingly sophisticated techniques of public opinion research to gain reliable feed-back from the public. The United Kingdom recognized the importance of surveys to the information process as early as 1942; it established a social survey unit within a central government information authority. In the United States, Europe and Japan, survey research is a tried and tested way to do what Dr. Peter Rossi, the former director of the National Opinion Research Centre at the University of Chicago, calls "social book-keeping."

Surveys of public opinion and attitudes are an increasingly frequent method of government programme evaluation. They range from the swift, Gallup-style polls that the governments of France and Japan like to use, to the complex, long-term studies that the United States commissions from leading universities, and the British Government arranges through its own Government Social Survey. In view of this, the Task Force was concerned to know how extensively the Federal Government of Canada employs surveys to assess the impact and effectiveness of its programmes, and particularly its

information programmes. In this paper, we shall refer to all such surveys as social surveys.

Some Problems of Research

From the beginning, the Task Force could find no adequate and central source of information about the surveys conducted for the Federal Government. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics conducts no social surveys of the kind we are discussing but it is part of a regulatory process that was intended to provide a central source of survey reference. A Treasury Board directive of 1966, MI-11-66, asked all departments that were planning surveys of ten or more respondents to report them to the Dominion Statistician. He, in turn, was to notify Treasury Board. In practice, however, the intended co-ordination of government surveys has failed. In September 1968, the Dominion Statistician was able to inform Treasury Board of only seven surveys reported by six departments in the period March-September 1968. Both Treasury Board and the Bureau acknowledged to the Task Force that this list was not an accurate representation of the true volume of government survey work.

The ineffectiveness of Treasury Board directive MI-11-66 is part of a later discussion in this paper and, at this point, it is enough to note that the directive covers neither continuing surveys nor surveys contracted out to consultants. Almost all the departmental surveys that the Task Force unearthed fell into these two groups.

The Task Force could check the use of surveys only by direct consultation with the departments and, because of its available time and resources, an exhaustive study was not practical. It restricted its enquiries to several key departments and agencies. These included the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, and the Departments of Manpower and Immigration, Regional Development, Health and Welfare, Labour, and Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Some Departmental Doubts, and the DBS

Our investigation showed that, until very recently, government departments have made surprisingly scant use of social surveys. Some government circles do regard survey research techniques with approval but, among others, there are serious doubts about the reliability of surveys that ask questions about attitudes and opinions. Many research officers that the Task Force interviewed knew little about the increasing use of such surveys in the past twenty years by the governments of the United States, United Kingdom and

other countries. One might expect such departments as Health and Welfare, and Indian Affairs and Northern Development, to appreciate the possibilities of social surveys, but they have in fact commissioned little research in this field.

A senior official at the Dominion Bureau of Statistics explained that the Bureau has never conducted surveys of public attitudes and opinions. The Bureau has not categorically refused to enter this field of research (and nothing in the 1948 Statistics Act prohibits it from trying) but seems to have avoided what it regards as a controversial field. The Bureau emphasizes that its main concern is facts. It also suffers from a severe shortage of survey capacity even to meet its basic factual obligations and, until that problem is solved, it would not consider appending opinion questions to factual surveys. Then, it would examine each request for opinion and attitude surveying on its own merits to decide whether the questions were "legitimate and useful." A Bureau spokesman described the criterion for legitimacy and usefulness in this way: "If we were asked to include some attitude questions in a survey, we would ask, can we do it reliably? Are they questions which would generate resentment and affect the factual answers we needed. There are certain attitude and opinion questions which would be most inappropriate for a government organization to ask, involving an individual's privacy and his political views." The attitude behind this statement may explain in part why the government has done so little social survey work; the point is that there are a great many areas of social survey work that involve neither privacy, nor political views.

One of the Bureau's major continuing efforts is the monthly Canadian Labour Force Survey of 30,000 Canadian households. Since the mid-1950s, supplementary questions have been attached to the Labour Force schedule at the request of such Departments as Health and Welfare, Labour, and Manpower and Immigration. The questions have covered such matters as multiple job-holding, child-care arrangements for working mothers, smoking habits and educational attainment, but never the opinions and attitudes of respondents.

By contrast, the United States's Current Population Survey, which resembles the Canadian Labour Force Survey, frequently attaches attitude and opinion questions at the request of federal agencies. The U.S. Bureau of the Census, which conducts the Current Population Survey, also undertakes special social surveys of its own. Recent examples of this work include enquiries into the cause of poverty, the effects of racial discrimination, and the success or failure of such specific programmes as Medicare or projects under

the Office of Economic Opportunity. One recent survey sampled the attitudes of draft-age men towards service in the Armed Forces.

The Bureau of the Census used the Current Population Survey to get a breakdown of voting and registration in the congressional election of November 1966. The breakdown included age, sex, colour, region and residence, educational level and occupation. But the U.S. Bureau agrees with the Dominion Bureau of Statistics that some attitude and opinion questions may be "most inappropriate to ask." It refuses to handle what it considers "politically improper questions, such as the reasons why people voted for a particular candidate, and whether they are in favour of a particular piece of legislation under consideration by Congress." Nor will the U.S. Bureau ask questions that it considers an invasion of privacy.

Another government agency that is roughly comparable to DBS is the Swedish Central Bureau of Statistics. It has its own Survey Research Institute to conduct surveys of public opinion and attitudes. In 1967, the institute surveyed public knowledge and opinion of the national health insurance scheme. It has studied the consumption of alcoholic beverages, including public attitudes to alcohol. For many months before September 1967, when Sweden switched from left-hand to right-hand road travel, the Survey Research Institute sampled opinions and attitudes and public knowledge of the coming change. Every year now, the government surveys the habits and opinions of Swedish radio and television audiences.

Surveys to Test the Effectiveness of Government Information Programmes

The limited check made by the Task Force showed that two Departments of the Canadian Government have conducted surveys to test the effectiveness of specific information programmes. The former Department of Forestry and Rural Development hired private firms to undertake three surveys in connection with ARDA. One measured the impact of an ARDA publication; another assessed national awareness of ARDA and attitudes to ARDA *programmes*; and a third, in 1967, studied media in north-eastern New Brunswick as a followup to the ARDA information programme. The second Department, Agriculture, assigned its own researchers to conduct four surveys on information between 1963 and 1967. In 1963, they sampled reactions to the publication *Canada Agriculture* and, the same year, the Department undertook a study of the effectiveness of exhibits in promoting publications. In 1964, Agriculture's researchers sur-

eyed farmers' reactions to a pamphlet entitled "Agriculture Outlook", and a survey in 1967 measured the impact of agricultural television programmes in Saskatchewan.

Surveys to Test Public Knowledge and Attitudes

Between 1965 and 1968, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation commissioned a study of public attitudes towards housing and towards its own programmes; Manpower and Immigration ordered surveys of the attitudes of Quebecers to French-speaking immigrants, and the attitudes towards Canada of potential immigrants from France; Labour commissioned a study of Canadian attitudes towards the government's rôle in labour relations; Energy, Mines and Resources ordered a survey of public knowledge and opinions of water pollution problems in industrial areas; and an internal task force in the Unemployment Insurance Commission had a survey done of public knowledge of Unemployment Insurance legislation.

Canadian Government Travel Bureau

Most of the surveys that the Travel Bureau commissions to test public awareness of its information programmes occur outside Canada, but it has done some domestic survey work, as well. There were four surveys on the nature and extent of interprovincial travel, and the Bureau will participate in a major Domestic Travel Survey involving a sample of 10,000 Canadians. None of this work, however, involves questions about attitudes and opinions.

The Travel Bureau has conducted a series of research projects on the effectiveness of its advertising abroad, and these surveys do ask questions about attitudes. In recent years, it has pre-tested television commercials in the United States, and measured public recollection of the commercials. Since the United States is the largest potential source of visitors to Canada, the Bureau has naturally concentrated its research there. A survey in 1967 tested the awareness of Canada among Americans both before and after an advertising campaign to promote the 1967 Pan American Games in Winnipeg and Expo 67. In 1968 the Bureau surveyed people in several American cities to determine the effectiveness of colour television commercials promoting tourism in the Atlantic Provinces.

The Travel Bureau has also commissioned several motivation and attitude surveys among potential visitors to Canada from the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Japan. The purpose of these surveys was to

gauge present knowledge of Canada, and to determine an effective strategy for promoting Canadian vacations.

The Travel Bureau sometimes collaborates with other government departments and agencies to do survey work. A report in 1969 on the potential market in France was co-sponsored with Air Canada, and joint projects have also involved the National Parks Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, various provincial governments, the Atlantic Development Board, and some public carriers. Still, despite this evidence of co-operation, the Travel Bureau says that "duplication is a problem". Joint sponsorship of surveys is entirely voluntary.

Surveys to Test the Effectiveness of Government Programmes

There are a few – and very recent – examples of the use of surveys by departments to assess the effectiveness of their programmes. In most cases, the departments have contracted the work out to private consultants. Manpower has been the most active user of such surveys, and the studies it has commissioned closely parallel some of the work done for government departments in the United States.

In the past two years, the Department of Manpower has undertaken four surveys in which the attitudes and opinions of the public have been part of a broad study of the effectiveness of Manpower's programmes. In 1968, it commissioned a pilot study of people who had received mobility grants in 1967. They were asked about their problems in adjusting to a new community and, if they had decided to leave, what they thought had gone wrong. Manpower expects this study to become an annual survey of 10,000 people. Another pilot study, done in 1968, concerned the Occupational Training for Adults programme and this, too, is scheduled to become an annual survey involving 10,000 respondents. Conducted by departmental staff, it includes opinion questions put to drop-outs from courses financed by the Department. The third Manpower social survey of 1968 was a preliminary study of career decisions by high-school students, and it included questions on the problems and needs of students. In January 1969, the Department launched a three-year survey of 10,000 people in an investigation of the economic and social adjustments that immigrants make to life in Canada.

In 1967 and 1968, the Citizenship Branch, Department of the Secretary of State, hired a private consultant to survey the participants in youth travel and exchange programmes that the Branch had subsidized. The idea was to find out

how well the government's involvement and purpose were understood, and the Branch intended to use the results to increase public understanding of the programmes.

In 1968, the Department of Fisheries included a survey of fishermen's attitudes and opinions in a cost-benefit study of the Newfoundland families that had been relocated under the continuing federal-provincial resettlement programme.

The former Department of Forestry and Rural Development made a study in 1967 of the attitudes of Prince Edward Island farm households toward aspects of the rural development programme, and surveyed people's preferences with regard to programme options.

This year the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development plans to survey the attitudes of Eskimo tenants towards federally built housing in Frobisher Bay.

Failures in Co-ordination

The surveys that one department plans or actually conducts may be entirely unknown even to departments that have closely related interests. Sometimes an interdepartmental committee manages to keep the appropriate departments informed of a particular survey, but such consultation does not invariably take place. The Task Force heard numerous complaints about the lack of any real co-ordinating service to prevent duplication of effort, and generally to keep departments aware of what was going on in government research.

It is impossible to establish the extent of the government's survey work without enquiring at each department and each agency. An attempt was made in 1966, by means of Treasury Board directive MI-11-66, to eliminate the "extensive duplication" in survey work observed by the Civil Service Commission's Management Analysis Division. The Division was not the first body to notice the duplication. Four years earlier, the Glassco Commission had reported it and had recommended the establishment of a focal point for the examination of departmental requests to survey the public.

The 1966 directive required all departments planning surveys of more than ten respondents to notify the Dominion Statistician. It was his responsibility to ensure that a proposed survey would not duplicate one that some other department had already started, and to determine if the information sought was not already available at the Dominion Bureau of Statistics or elsewhere. The Dominion Statistician would also consult Bureau experts on whether a department's draft questionnaire was likely to produce the sort of information that was required.

In mid-1966, many departments responded favourably to

Treasury Board's proposal for the system of co-ordination that was later specified in MI-11-66. As events turned out, however, there was not a period when all the departments and agencies honoured the directive in practice and, indeed, they became increasingly negligent. In March 1967, 14 departments reported 21 surveys; the number fell to seven reports from six departments in September 1968. In October 1968, a Treasury Board reminder went out to all the departments.

Senior staff at the Dominion Bureau of Statistics suggest two reasons why MI-11-66 was largely ignored. They believe that, in some cases, the Deputy Minister to whom the directive was addressed simply did not tell his research staff about it. Another, more basic reason was that departments "often don't like the implications of central control." One departmental research officer told the Task Force that, "only outsiders, like task forces, see the need for an over-view." Bureau officers allow that "DBS has never taken a very strong stand on the directive because we are concerned about our relations with the departments."

An equally important reason for the ineffectiveness of the directive, however, was its vague wording, and its failure to provide for the enforcement of the procedures that it requires the departments to follow. An official at DBS said the directive lacks both clarity and directness and that it contains not only various uncertainties but some loopholes as well. The directive never makes it clear that the surveys in question are surveys of the public, and not internal surveys. It fails to mention surveys conducted by provincial government agencies at federal expense, and it fails to mention continuing surveys. A Treasury Board official describes the exclusion of the continuing surveys as "a watering-down of the Glassco Report." In 1967, the Dominion Statistician suggested continuing surveys be included in the directive. Nothing has come of the idea.

There is another significant omission from the directive. It fails to specify surveys contracted out to consultants. Yet almost every departmental survey that the Task Force could discover had been contracted out to university specialists or to private survey organizations. None of these was reported to the Dominion Statistician.

Treasury Board's Management Improvement Branch is aware of the knowledge vacuum concerning current government survey research but, at the same time, there is an untapped source of relevant information within its own Programme Branch. Officials at the Programme Branch handle departmental submissions, and these include submissions for survey contracts. The files of the Programme

ranch could yield enough material to compile a list of current and projected departmental surveys. No one has attempted this compilation. In the opinion of one Programme Branch official, it would take one person roughly two months (and, even then, it would not necessarily include the surveys of Crown Corporations).

If a comprehensive list were compiled, however, and kept up to date, and issued to departments, it could help in the co-ordination of government surveys. Once a department had announced a projected survey, it would be a simple matter to add a group of questions for the benefit of other departments. This would avoid much duplication, provide a cross-fertilization of information, and cut the cost in a field research that is expensive.

It was not possible for the Task Force to make extensive inquiries into provincially-commissioned social surveys, but did learn that both the Quebec and Ontario Governments have conducted them.

The Ontario Housing Corporation has used surveys to test the effectiveness of its information efforts, and to sample the opinions of those whom its housing programmes affect. The Ontario Department of Trade and Development recently commissioned a survey of businessmen's attitudes to the department and its programmes. Another recent study, commissioned by the Ontario Economic Council, surveyed the Ontario business community's awareness of the respective functions of the Federal, provincial and municipal governments.

Quebec's *Office d'information et de publicité* uses private survey organizations to conduct opinion polls on specific projects three or four times a year. The last poll was on the naming of a provincially-financed theatre. The Quebec Public Service Commission put survey research to another and somewhat different use in 1968. It tested public reaction to teachers and Quebec Liquor Board employees who were on strike.

Government agencies in the United States have been commissioning major social surveys since the early days of World War II, when Samuel Stouffer supervised a study of the American soldier. It led to many changes in military personnel policy. After the war, surveys became increasingly acceptable methods to measure public awareness of government services, and public reaction to important policies. In recent years, the U.S. Government has made increasing use of social surveys to evaluate its programmes; and it has made specific provision for this sort of evaluation in such Acts of Congress as the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Demonstration Cities

and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966.

Earlier in this paper, we discussed the work of the U.S. Bureau of the Census. The Bureau's work, however, is only a small part of the social surveys that federal agencies and departments commission in the United States. The statistical system in the U.S. Government is decentralized. Various government agencies with research facilities – the Department of Labor is one – conduct surveys of their own, and others are contracted out on a competitive bidding system to commercial survey organizations or to university survey centres. The major commercial organizations include Gallup, National Analysts, Arthur D. Little and Company and Abt Associates. Among the leading state university centres for survey research are the ones in Buffalo, Berkeley, Chapel Hill, Madison and St. Louis.

The two most important American university centres for survey research, however, are the National Opinion Research Centre at the University of Chicago and the Survey Research Centre at the University of Michigan. Both have a national sampling capacity. The National Opinion Research Centre was founded in 1942 and began its work with a series of wartime surveys for the State Department. The Survey Research Centre was founded in 1946 and did its first survey, a continuing study of consumer finances, for the Federal Reserve Board. Both centres have done a series of major studies for the United States Federal Government in the past twenty-five years. Both insist that the survey research they produce be made public, if not immediately, then within two years following its completion.

The National Opinion Research Centre (NORC) of the University of Chicago has conducted four major surveys for federal agencies in recent years, and it also designed the Bureau of the Census survey of draft-age men and their attitudes to service in the Armed Forces. Between 1960 and 1964 NORC surveyed the occupational goals of 35,000 college students for the Office of Education, the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health. The survey set out to find how scholarships affect the flow of graduates into various professional fields, and its findings were incorporated into the National Manpower Report to the President in 1965. In 1967 NORC made a survey for the United States Internal Revenue Service to determine the effectiveness of various deterrents that the Revenue Service was employing to warn the public against falsifying their income tax returns (the survey found the Revenue Service's deterrents were ineffective). NORC did a household survey for the President's Crime Commission in 1967 to achieve a more accurate assessment of the number of crime victims

in the States than official statistics could provide. The survey indicated that there was three times more crime in the country than the official statistics were reporting. Moreover, the survey's estimate of the average cost of being a victim of crime has helped to inspire certain state legislatures to debate the possibility of reimbursing the victims of some kinds of crime.

The Survey Research Centre at the University of Michigan has been hardly less active than NORC in its work for the U.S. Government. In 1962, it was commissioned by the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission of Congress to do a descriptive survey and this resulted in a published report, "Participation in Outdoor Recreation," which has been widely used in decisions on urban development. The Department of Labour commissioned the Centre to do an assessment study of negro youth in job-training projects, and the report was released in 1968. And working for the Congressional Commission on the Political Activity of Government Personnel, the Centre recently surveyed federal public servants to measure their knowledge of current regulations and gain their opinions about how reasonable the rules were. The Centre is currently doing a longitudinal study for the Office of Economic Opportunity, to enquire into the characteristics of people who rise above poverty. A quarterly survey, commissioned in part by the President's Council of Economic Advisors, investigates consumer demand, and the psychological aspects of purchasing and saving. The Director of the Survey Research Centre, Dr. Angus Campbell, told the Task Force that government's initial interest in survey research was purely economic but that two-thirds of the Centre's government-commissioned surveys are now non-economic.

Surveys are sometimes used in the United States to evaluate a prospective policy. In New Jersey, for example, there is a five-year experiment under way that involves 500 people who are living under a simulated negative income tax, and they are surveyed every three months. The University of Wisconsin Centre for Poverty is doing the study under the joint sponsorship of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Ford Foundation.

Unlike Canada, the United States has had a fairly effective system for co-ordinating Federal Government survey work for a great many years. The 1942 Federal Reports Act requires federal departments and agencies, with a few exceptions, to submit proposed surveys that involve ten or more respondents to the Office of Statistical Standards in the Bureau of the Budget if the purpose of the surveys is major data collection. (This requirement includes surveys

that the various agencies contract out.) The legislation empowers the Budget Bureau Director to eliminate duplication among federal agencies collecting information from the public, to improve methodology and, keeping in mind the interests of national security, to decide whether the studies should be published.

Survey proposals submitted to the Office of Statistical Standards must be accompanied by a full account of the programme, and a statement of justification. The review procedure includes consultation with the sponsoring agency and discussion with other government groups that might be interested in the survey. If two or more agencies want to conduct surveys in the same area, the Budget Bureau Director can order a single agency to collect the information for them. He can also require one agency to reveal the results of a particular study to another. The survey questionnaires that the Office of Statistical Standards has approved carry an official stamp and an expiry date. The date is an important part of the control system; once it is reached, the programme must undergo examination and justification all over again.

In 1967 the Budget Bureau's Office of Statistical Standards reviewed more than 2,600 questionnaires or reports that federal agencies had issued. Few were rejected, and the Assistant Director for Statistical Standards explained this in the following way: "We are frequently reminded of the basic importance of the Reports Act, and of our review procedure under it, when an agency clearance officer is able to kill an ill-advised proposal by telling his colleagues that the Budget Bureau would never approve it."

While the Office of Statistical Standards controls duplication, it is not always successful in eliminating it entirely. The 1967 Bureau of the Budget Task Force on the Storage of and Access to Government Statistics, chaired by Carl Kay-sen,¹ found that insufficient resources are being devoted to the problem, and that the present organizational framework cannot generate improvements in the existing situation fast enough to cope with the growth of the problem.

Use of Survey Research by the Government of the United Kingdom

The Government of the United Kingdom established a survey unit within the first Central Office of Information in 1942, and this unit has been surveying public attitudes and public

1. The "Kaysen Committee Report", commissioned by the Bureau of the Budget, was reprinted in *The American Statistician*, June, 1969.

pinion in Britain ever since. The Government Social Survey is responsible for providing a technical, managerial and advisory service in social survey research on the living circumstances, the behaviour, and the attitudes of the public.

The Survey engages only in work that has some administrative relevance, and its work must be sponsored by another government body. While many of the Survey's assignments come from statistical divisions in the departments, professional groups within the government also use its services frequently. Doctors concerned with the elderly and with standards of nutrition, have commissioned surveys. So have officials in the Ministry of Education, who were interested in the possibilities of raising the school-leaving age; and technical officers of the National Agricultural Advisory Service, who were seeking ways to encourage farmers to exploit new methods.

The resources of the Government Social Survey are limited and, for certain government surveys, it makes contractual arrangements with private companies and individuals. It spends roughly a fifth of its budget on contracts with market research organizations, and it also assigns a limited number of individual contracts to academics. They act as search chiefs of work for which the survey provides all the other resources. About half of all the contractual work with commercial organizations is on a continuing basis. (An example of this is the National Food Survey, which is a large-scale study of British Food expenditure.) The Survey signs the rest of the commercial contracts on an *ad hoc* basis.

The Survey does not undertake samples of opinion and attitudes regarding legislation that is pending or before Parliament. Such surveys are not specifically prohibited, but the unit confines its work to areas where government purpose has been clearly stated, and to long-term departmental research programmes that do not involve the possibility of immediate legislation. Publication of survey findings is normal but it is at the discretion of the sponsoring department.

The Government Social Survey conducts descriptive surveys and analytical surveys in four broad categories: economic, social, operational and opinion. Descriptive surveys provide estimates of the number of people affected by certain circumstances. Analytic surveys show the effects of deliberate changes in economic and social activity. Within the four categories, economic surveys cover the distribution of income and expenditure, and the supply and characteristics of manpower resources; social surveys relate to health and welfare; operational surveys help departments carry out their pro-

gramme responsibilities; and opinion surveys, of course, concern the opinions or attitudes of the group sampled.

In some analytical surveys, opinions or attitudes are part of the whole pattern that is under consideration. The Rent Act Survey, for example, was an analytical sample for social purposes, carried out between 1957 and 1959 to assess the effect of Parliament's decision to change the level of rent control. It showed the government both what objectives the Rent Act had achieved and its failures. In some descriptive as well as its analytical surveys, opinion sampling may form one part of the study. The study in 1960 of further educational facilities for young people who were leaving school between the ages of 15 and 18 was a descriptive survey of this kind. Again, opinion sampling was one part of an analytical study of the staffing of homes for children in 1963.

In some fields of government interest, however, attitude and opinion become the central factors. Such surveys can be either descriptive or analytical. Descriptive opinion surveys in 1960 explored the relations between police and the public, and the housing needs of older people. Analytical opinion surveys in the 1950s attempted to determine the sections of the population that were most likely to participate in civil defence. Analytical opinion surveys covered the timing of public holidays in 1961 and, in 1966, the effects of aircraft noise at the London Airport on the people living nearby. The aircraft noise survey led to a government decision to compensate home-owners where the noise caused unreasonable annoyance and disturbance.

From the Government Social Survey's birth in 1942, until 1967, it was a division of the Central Office of Information. The connection was not a satisfactory one. The grading of the division's staff as Information Officers made it difficult to hire experienced researchers at competitive salaries. Budgeting for the Survey through the COI was a constant problem and, since senior officials of the Central Office of Information had no connection with other government research operations, it was impossible for the Survey to organize its own work properly. The Survey needed systematic contact with the departments so that it might involve itself early in their discussions about their research requirements.

In 1967, the Government Social Survey became a separate department of government. It was now intended that it perform as a central, co-ordinating body for all government survey research; cater to the long-term survey needs of the departments; and provide a technical and managerial advisory service. The new department was completely

separated from the Central Statistical Office, which is a Treasury Office under the Prime Minister.

The new Survey was not meant to centralize all government survey work, but the arrangement did require all departments to consult it before contracting out any research within the Survey's area of competence. (This includes the circumstances, behaviour and attitudes of individuals.) In practice, however, the departments have not always consulted the Survey before undertaking their own research. The Survey estimates that it handles only about half of all government survey research. It has no involvement at all in the grant research programmes that individual departments administer.

When the Survey became a government department, its senior staff recommended the establishment of an inter-departmental committee of survey users. It would meet regularly to discuss priorities in the use of survey facilities. A Programme Committee does meet for this purpose now, but its membership does not embrace all the departments with research requirements. The recommended discussions with departments about their long-term needs have never really occurred on a scale that is wide enough to be fully effective.

Still, it has proved possible for the Survey to design an increasing number of multi-purpose surveys on behalf of several departments. (This has come about not through the action of the Programme Committee however, but through normal interdepartmental consultations.) The Director of the Government Social Survey said in 1969: "Expenditure on surveys meets a wider range of Government purposes than has hitherto been the case."

A government survey unit has some apparent limitations. It is not feasible for such a unit to deal with current controversial political issues, and the Social Survey is careful not to conduct surveys that question the principle underlying a government policy. It maintains its reputation for objectivity and high quality by making its work available to members of all political parties and to social scientists outside government.

Survey Research by the Governments of France, Sweden, India, and Japan

The Secretariat of State for Information, as well as other government departments, make use of public opinion surveys in France. The *Institut français d'opinion publique* and the *Société française d'enquêtes par sondages* handle most of the surveys. They are both private organizations that

accept contracts from a variety of subscribers. Government contracts with the Institute were worth more than 2,000,000 francs in 1968 and accounted for approximately a third of its work. The Institute conducts a fortnightly national survey on political, social and economic questions of the day. Subscribers to the service may include three questions of their own in each survey. The Secretariat of State for Information has asked for public opinion on general matters such as the economic or political situations, and on such specific issues as the monetary crisis in 1968 and the civil disorders of May 1968, and on reactions to certain television programmes as well. The Secretariat of State for Information circulates the results regularly to government members and senior public officials. For surveys in greater depth, the French Government uses both the *Société française d'enquêtes par sondages* and the *Institut français d'opinion publique*. In 1965, the Institute made a detailed survey of public attitudes to the services of the *Ministère des Postes et télécommunications*, and a survey of regional, social and economic characteristics for the *Délégation à l'aménagement des territoires et à l'action régionale*. A more recent survey concerned reform of the Civil Code. The French Government assigns other surveys in depth to the *Centre national de la recherche scientifique* at the University of Paris. In France, the results of government-commissioned surveys are not necessarily published. Subscribers to the *Institut français d'opinion publique* may arrange to have their questions treated as confidential. The survey results that are published often appear in such subscribing newspapers as *France-Soir* and *L'Express*. Sometimes, according to government decision, the results appear in public print a month, or even a year, after the survey.

The Swedish Survey Research Institute is a self-supporting unit within the National Central Bureau of Statistics; it conducts surveys on a cost basis for both the Bureau of Statistics and all government departments and agencies that request nation-wide sampling. It virtually never contracts work out to commercial organizations, but it does frequently consult academic specialists on statistical and sociological methods. It is interesting that, in addition to its other work, the Institute conducts surveys to assess the effectiveness of government information programmes. In 1967, after an extensive publicity campaign, the Institute measured public knowledge of the imminent change to right-hand driving. Another survey measured the impact of advertising by the National Social Insurance Board, and a study in 1965 tested the effect of the different media on retention of knowledge and public awareness. In Sweden,

all government surveys become public documents, unless access is specifically restricted for reasons of national security.

The Federal Government of India conducts attitude and opinion studies through its Programme Evaluation Organization. It "attaches great importance to the collection of views and opinions of people affected by the various programmes of development." Since 1961, India has sampled public opinion on such matters as irrigation projects, the extension of primary education into rural areas, the operation of consumer co-operatives, and the development of a landloom programme.

In Japan, the agency that is responsible for opinion surveys to test the effectiveness of government programmes is the Public Information Bureau, in the Prime Minister's Office. The Bureau has contractual arrangements with a private company known as the *Chuo Chosa Sha* (Central Survey Company). Legally the *Chuo Chosa Sha* is an independent body, but in fact it is an arm of one of the two major news services in Japan, the *Jiji Press*. The Public Information Bureau plans its own surveys and also handles survey requests from other government departments. The bureau sends its own staff members around the country to collect information for the preparation of detailed questionnaires. It sends the questionnaires to *Chuo Chosa Sha* which conducts the survey and reports the results to the Bureau. Such surveys have included studies of living standards, and public attitudes to the police, to traffic accident policy, working hours and tourist policy. The results are published in the Bureau's name. The *Chuo Chosa Sha* does not work exclusively for the Public Information Bureau. It accepts contracts from private organizations and, under its own name, publishes monthly surveys of the level of public support for political parties, and for the cabinet.

Canadian Government Backwardness in Social Survey Research

Not all the surveys conducted by other governments are of equal relevance to Canada, but the Swedish surveys of the impact of government information programmes are particularly interesting. So is the use of surveys in programme evaluation by the British Government Social Survey, by the Indian Government, and by assorted organizations in the United States. Many Canadian government officials are unfamiliar with the extent and the acceptability of survey research abroad, but in the Canadian academic community there is considerable interest, and considerable concern. A

small group of private survey companies has existed in Canada for some years, but the first Canadian university centre with a potential capacity for national sampling was established at York University in 1968. A second centre is expected to open at the University of Montreal. The Task Force interviewed social scientists at both these universities, at Carleton University, the University of Toronto, McMaster University and Queen's University. Their consensus was that Canada must overcome a time-lag of more than twenty years in the continually developing field of survey research.

Canadian social scientists recognize both the possibilities and the limitations of survey research. Political science professor John Meisel of Queen's University told the Task Force that social surveys "cannot but ignore human needs which may be extremely important but of which the respondent is unaware. . . . Surveys are not likely to make a system more responsive to human needs in the broad sense of picking up those needs which have been chronically neglected because of the particular perspective of the politically dominant groups of a given era." The Director of the York University Survey Research Centre, Michael Lanphier, says that surveys provide "a good reactive mechanism" to a set of problems that can be defined clearly. Surveys, however, are not nearly so effective when they deal with hypothetical issues.

Sociologist John Porter of Carleton University warned against government use of surveys as a form of public referendum, which would side-step the customary processes of parliamentary democracy. Porter is nevertheless a strong advocate of social survey research. He explains its long neglect in Canada as "a reflection of the poor development of the social sciences in this country." He says, "We're missing out in terms of knowledge of Canadian society" and, in an article in the Spring 1969 edition of *Cultural Affairs*, he wrote, "Of all modern nations Canada is perhaps the most difficult in which to search for a distinct national character. . . . One can only plead again the almost total absence of data with which to provide profiles of major or minor value patterns."

Porter would particularly like to see Canadian government surveys in such matters as health and welfare, ethnic relations, and housing needs.

Several Canadian social scientists noted the difficulty that people outside government experience in learning about current survey research projects. (Actually, as we have seen, it is not easy inside government either.) For one thing, government research projects that have been authorized for publication are not always listed in the Queen's Printer

catalogue. Nor are government research reports advertised in academic journals and, in this connection, sociologist Raymond Breton of the University of Toronto maintains "there is a major problem of diffusing information and data collected to the relevant publics".

The Cost of Survey Research

Research facilities vary among government departments: some are able to conduct survey research entirely or, at least partly, with their own staff. In 1968, researchers at the Department of Manpower and Immigration conducted a pilot survey of 2,700 participants in the Occupational Training programme. The total internal cost was approximately \$3,100. One way the Department kept its expenses low was to use a mail survey rather than interviews. (The quality of response, however, is usually higher in direct interview surveys than in those conducted by mail.) Manpower contracted out part of another pilot study in 1968 to a private company. The survey involved 2,800 people who had received mobility grants. The Department's own research staff drew the sample, designed the questionnaire and handled most of the analysis. The survey company traced the respondents (all of them mobile workers), administered the questionnaire by a combination of personal interviews and mailing, and presented the data in rough form to the Department, for a fee of \$40,000.

Sometimes departments can cut survey expenses by buying into an existing survey. The Canadian Government Travel Bureau has occasionally used a private survey company's national sample of 8,000 respondents at an approximate cost of \$14,000. The Bureau plans to participate in a major Domestic Travel Survey, with a probable sample of 30,000 and an estimated cost of \$600,000. The Federal Government and some provincial governments are expected to share the cost.

It is difficult to determine an average cost for survey work. Surveys with a comparable sample size may vary considerably in the accessibility of respondents, the complexity of the questionnaire, and the detail required in the analysis. In the United States however, university survey centres quote as a basic example a simple survey that involves hour-long interviews with 1,500 easily-accessible respondents chosen by random sample. The total cost — and it includes drawing the sample, designing the questionnaire, and doing the field work, coding and analysis — is about \$70,000. A substantial part of this pays the expenses of a team of interviewers. If the survey requires the drawing

of a special sample and interviewing people who are hard to locate, the cost may rise by 50 per cent.

The Government Social Survey in the United Kingdom employs 100 people. The 1968-69 budget was approximately \$2,250,000; 62 per cent of this was for operating costs, 33 per cent for staff salaries, and five per cent for administrative expenses. In France, the government's subscription to the fortnightly national survey of *l'Institut français d'opinion publique* costs 2,000 francs per question.

Conclusions

Some Canadian Government departments have recognized the usefulness of survey research but, generally, Canada lags needlessly behind other countries in the governmental use of social surveys. The Canadian Government surveys that do take place are unco-ordinated, wasteful and, by comparison with other countries, under-exploited. The relative neglect of survey research in Canada has been detrimental to our understanding of Canadian society. The government needs systematic and co-ordinated survey research to assess the impact and effectiveness of its programmes and policies, both in the information field and in many of its other areas of effort.

Surveys are one way to inspire broad interest in participation in the decisions of government. They are useful to federal, provincial and municipal levels of government. But the Federal Government's survey capability is extremely limited and, in addition, there is very little survey capability outside government. Until York University established its Survey Research Centre in 1968, there was no university survey centre of substance in the country. It is important that, both inside and outside the public service, Canada develop survey expertise to meet the needs of government at every level.

At the same time however, government should be aware not only of the benefits of survey research but also of its limitations as well. Surveys are ill-suited to deal with hypothetical issues, and they may well fail to discover extremely important social needs that the respondent public does not even recognize in itself. The tool of survey research can be misused; it can be wielded as a referendum to side-step the usual democratic process. It is important to ensure that government survey work is above political suspicion.

The most basic need in Canada is for government-commissioned survey research to evaluate the major government programmes including information programmes that are already under way. It is possible as well, however, that survey

might also be useful in the evaluation of prospective policies (as in the United States) and in the testing of alternative policies (as in the United Kingdom).

The base of all government survey research is the willing co-operation of the public. It is performed in their interest. It is vital that they share its revelations. The government, except in rare cases where there are overriding considerations of national security, should publish its survey research in full. American, British and Swedish government research is all conducted on this principle.

Knowledge and awareness of the possibilities of social survey research vary widely among Canadian government departments. The Canadian Government Travel Bureau has been remarkable for its use of survey research to evaluate its information programmes, and Manpower has initiated some major studies in important programme areas. They are exceptional. A consistent policy of publishing and circulating departmental research reports would be one simple way to improve the awareness of government to social survey research. Another would be to initiate an effective system of survey co-ordination.

We have noted the failure of Treasury Board directive T-11-66 to achieve, under the Dominion Statistician, a useful co-ordination of departmental survey work. If the present arrangement is to continue, the directive requires rewriting. It should cover continuing surveys and those commissioned by departmental grants, and the new directive should take account of the other omissions and ambiguities in which the Treasury Board Management Improvement Branch has remarked. The directive should be given teeth to ensure the compliance of individual departments. The 27-year-old United States Federal Reports Act shows that a government can impose fairly efficient co-ordination on its survey work and that it can do it without unduly infringing on departmental authority.

The governments of the United States and the United Kingdom feel that some surveys – such as those that evaluate prospective policies – are best conducted for government by private consultants. An argument can also be made, however, for the establishment of a government social survey unit to set standards of research and to handle a large part of the survey research requirements of the departments and agencies. If such a unit had powers and responsibilities to advise and co-ordinate as well, it would be in a strong position to bring about unprecedented efficiency in Canadian government survey work.

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics is the only government agency that has the potential resources for social survey

research. At the present time, however, the Bureau suffers from so severe a shortage of survey capacity that it cannot meet the factual requirements that it feels are its prime responsibility. Moreover, the Bureau apparently has a basic reluctance to carry out surveys of attitude and opinion. The reluctance stems, not from any restrictions in the Statistics Act, but apparently from the Bureau's own reservations about the validity of such surveys.

A new government unit for social surveys could be associated with the Dominion Bureau of Statistics without necessarily being a part of it; or, it could be a separate agency. The experience of the British Government Social Survey indicates that a unit of 50 research officers and 50 support staff would cost roughly \$2,250,000 a year in Canada, exclusive of the cost of individual studies (they would be borne by the sponsoring departments). The British example also suggests that attaching a survey unit to a central information authority is inadvisable. While social surveys are an important tool for measuring the effectiveness of government information programmes, they are applicable over a much broader range of government programmes as well.

In Canada, the Federal Government should conduct its social surveys with a full awareness and deliberate consciousness of federal and provincial jurisdiction. When the surveys involve mixed jurisdiction, consultation with provincial authorities should be automatic. A federal social survey unit might also sell its services, on a cost basis, to provincial and municipal governments. We have noted that a basic survey, involving hour-long interviews with 1,500 easily accessible people costs about \$70,000. At such costs, there is an obvious need to avoid duplication of survey effort, and any voluntary, inter-governmental co-ordination in this field cannot help but benefit taxpayers.

The Task Force does not argue for the channelling of all government survey work through a central unit. It is important that some government surveys be contracted out to private survey companies and to university survey centres. It is also important, however, that a government survey unit at least be empowered to perform the sort of co-ordinating function that is done by the British Government Social Survey.

No matter who actually conducts government surveys, their results should become part of a data bank that is accessible to all government departments, provincial governments and private researchers. The public service should adopt standard coding conventions for this repository data bank, and make them public. The bank – stocked with

survey research material from the government survey unit, and from developing research centres in the country – would ultimately become an invaluable source of knowledge about Canada.

Aside from their great value to students of Canadian society, social surveys are a channel for the current interest in participatory democracy. It is not that being asked a question by a survey interviewer constitutes participation. It is rather that the more concerned any government becomes with the need for social and economic change, the more important it is for it to know the attitudes and opinions of the people whose co-operation and participation may be essential to making the change successful. There is a fairly wide-spread suspicion that surveys are a way to side-step the political process, that they give bureaucrats more knowledge than politicians. In Britain and the United States, however, and in other countries where government makes considerable use of social survey research, it has never been exploited as an alternative to any important element of democratic government. On the contrary, the more accurate the description and analysis of society, the better-informed the debate. The more systematic the evaluation of past policy, the more relevant the administrator's advice to the politicians on new policy. The techniques of survey research are rooted in principles that involve personal involvement, consultation and accurate representation of what the people are thinking, and these are all basic to participatory democracy.

Part II – Communications Research

In the past 40 years social scientists have developed research tools that can greatly assist government to improve its communication with the public. There is survey research which provides government with reliable public feed-back on the effectiveness of its programmes and policies. There are the techniques of communications research, which can help identify audiences and improve channels of communication. In recent years, scientists have used a combination of sociological and mathematical methods to construct models for the diffusion of information. And there is straight media research, which is a subdivision of communications research.

The mass media are the public's most important source of government news² but the Federal Government has largely

2. York University's study, "Attitudes toward Federal Information," reports that 70 per cent of Canadians receive some information about government from television, 62 per cent receive some from newspapers and magazines, and 58 per cent receive some from radio.

ignored media research. What little media research the government does undertake is usually contracted out to private consultants, and the result is that the government is not building up a body of expert knowledge in the field.

The only government agency that has an Audience Research Department is the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. It had a permanent staff of 40 and an operating budget of about \$1,000,000 in 1968-69. The CBC conducts its audience research in Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto, and designs it specifically for the information of its own management and programme directors. Its research findings have generally not been put to any wider use.

Most media research in North America has been carried out by people who want to sell or buy time or space for commercial purposes. Media analyses, including the CBC's is primarily mechanistic. It deals with quantitative data from readers and media audience surveys – with numbers – and such research does not make it possible to judge the quality or effectiveness of the various media. There has been very little inter-media research to discover how much information people absorb from the various media, or to determine whether the information needs of various social groups are being satisfied. Nor has there been much effort to establish the needs and the interests that lead to the choice by specific social groups, of certain combinations of broadcasts, magazines and newspaper articles. Indeed, communication research now appears to be more "media-oriented" and less "people-oriented" than it was in the 1940s when Paul Lazarsfeld and his co-workers at the Bureau of Applied Social Science Research at Columbia University studied the rôle of personal and impersonal communication processes in people's lives.³ In recent years, research has largely concentrated on television which, according to the A.C. Nielsen Company estimates, is watched by the average man in Canada for about 23 hours a week, and by housewives for almost 30.

The CBC Audience Research Department follows the general trend of media research in that it concentrates almost exclusively on the Corporation's television programming. The CBC describes its radio audience as "tiny and stable," and considers the cost of listener research too high to justify a regular study. It depends for knowledge of its radio audience on the studies of audience size and composition that it gets from the BBM Bureau of Measurement and the Nielsen Coverage Service. On occasion, the CBC has inserted into the BBM questionnaire some questions concerning

3. Lazarsfeld, Paul F. and Frank Stanton, eds. *Communications Research*, 1948/49. (Harper and Bros: New York, 1949.)

specific radio programmes.

In television, the CBC has retained a private research company for the past three years to survey an English-language network audience panel. A parallel operation for French-language network programmes began in March 1968. The audience panels are selected from the general public to represent a cross-section of adults and teenagers in each network's potential audience. Surveys are conducted by mail. The panel members – 2,500 English and 1,800 French – provide daily records of the amount of their viewing and they also offer their opinions about the network programmes that they have watched that day. The opinions may vary from a simple indication of how much viewers enjoyed what they saw to more comprehensive accounts, in response to detailed questioning, of their reactions to parts of a programme, to individual performers, or to other aspects of content and format. To minimize "conditioning," groups of panelists are regularly dropped and replaced but the panels themselves continue from the beginning of September through to the spring of the following year.

The results of these surveys go to CBC management and programme department heads, and the CBC sales staff also uses the information in its dealings with sponsors. The sales department may get further benefit from some future surveys to measure the degree of viewer involvement which, in the case of some programmes, may be out of all proportion to the total number of viewers.

The CBC Audience Research Department also undertakes some special studies. These frequently use ex-panel members as part of the sample, and the interviews may be conducted with one person, by phone or by mail. One study in 1968 concerned public reactions to certain features of television advertising. It revealed almost negligible criticism of commercials for women's under-garments, toilet paper, and a number of other products that the CBC had previously assumed to be too "personal" for on-air advertising. This survey led the Corporation to revise its list of "unacceptable", and it plans a further study in 1969. It is perhaps of more immediate interest to the Task Force, however, that the CBC surveyed viewer reactions to its translation procedures during the "National Debate" between party political leaders in June 1968. The study sampled French-language viewers who had a working knowledge of English to see if they resented the practice of using simultaneous translation to "dub" English speakers into French. Also in 1968, the CBC surveyed teenagers and young adults in Quebec to learn about their listening and viewing habits and preferences; and, in addition, their attitudes and opinions

on education, work, religion, the family, and a number of other social issues. The CBC believed that an understanding of how the young felt about such matters was relevant to programme planning.

The CBC conducts no research for other government agencies or departments, and the departments that advertise on the CBC rarely ask the advice of its Audience Research Department. (A recent exception to this rule occurred when the Bank of Canada sought advice on how to promote Canada Savings Bonds.)

The CBC avoids studies on the social effects of broadcasting on the grounds that such research "is an area best left to private research." By contrast, the Swedish broadcasting corporation, *Sveriges Radio*, has conducted studies on children's response to television violence.

The CBC does not publish its audience research studies, and there is no regular distribution of its data to government departments or to interested members of the public. This is understandable in the case of some of the CBC's research; it is conducted to improve the Corporation's competitive position in relation to private broadcasters. But some of its other studies are of general interest, and some of the data may be ready for further analysis. In Sweden, it has been noted that the research data of *Sveriges Radio* is not fully analysed, and that it might well be used to construct general descriptions of the viewing habits of whole groups within the population.

Occasionally the CBC does distribute a research report outside the Corporation, but it regards its audience research to be for the information of its management and its programme directors; it judges most of its studies to be "not sufficiently interesting" to people outside the Corporation to justify their wider distribution.

The Media Research Industry

As we've mentioned, in North America it is the people who are interested in buying or selling advertising time or space who are responsible for most media analyses. In Canada, both private broadcasters and the CBC Audience Research Department subscribe to the two major commercial rating services. The CBC, for instance, is a member of the co-operative BBM Bureau of Measurement, and it also buys the syndicated services of the A. C. Nielsen Co. (Canada).

The BBM Bureau of Measurement measures radio and television audiences, as the Audit Bureau of Circulation measures readership of publications. BBM conducts four surveys a year, three of them in major market areas. The

fourth covers a national sample (excluding the Yukon and Northwest Territories). With a 50 per cent response rate, BBM processed 47,000 individual replies in 1968, and it plans a larger sample in the fall of 1969. BBM can provide circulation and coverage data for all radio and television stations.

The A. C. Nielsen Co. of Canada offers a variety of services to its subscribers. The National Television Index reports the audiences tuned to every telecast from each of the three networks: CBC English, CBC French and CTV. Its sample represents 65 per cent of households who have television sets in all Canadian counties and census divisions (excluding the Yukon and Northwest Territories). The Nielsen National Broadcast Index provides data on television viewing within the major centres in the country, and includes reach and frequency studies according to sex and age group. The National Coverage Index includes all the county and census divisions, and reports the household circulation of individual radio and television stations. The Nielsen Company also offers clients an analysis service that is tailored to their specific needs.

In the television advertising field, the "day-after-recall" system measures the impact of a new commercial the day after it has received its first exposure on television. A variety of similar surveys are also in use, and there are a number of techniques to pre-test television commercials as well.

Academic Research and Experimental Projects

By comparison with the United States, Canada has conducted little communications research, but the number of Canadian studies is at least increasing. In the past three years, the Canada Council has made substantial grants to experimental multi-media projects and, in addition, to academic researchers in the communications field, in such disciplines as psychology, linguistics, political science and mathematics. The involvement of several academic disciplines in communications research reflects developments that have occurred in the United States over the past 30 years.

In the arts, there has been a recent and rapid growth of interest in the multi-media experiments of artists' co-operatives in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal. The Canada Council has given support to some of these projects, and no government that is interested in communications research can afford to ignore them. Vancouver's "Inter-media", the first organized artists' co-operative in Canada, received \$40,000 from the Canada Council in 1967-68, and another \$40,000 in 1968-69. The purpose of the grants was to provide technical facilities for artists to experiment in film,

plastics, electronics, and a variety of other fields. The Council also gave \$15,000 to "Inter-systems", a Toronto co-operative, in 1969-70; and \$19,500 to "*Fusion des arts*", a Montreal co-operative, in 1968-69.

Four conferences on communications research have taken place in Canada in the past two years. One was organized by the National Film Board in April 1969, and no less than seventy representatives of Canadian universities went to Montreal to attend it. It led to the establishment of a continuing committee on communications research under the chairmanship of Dallas Smythe of the University of Saskatchewan.

Degrees in Communications are now granted by Simon Fraser University, the University of Saskatchewan, Windsor University, the University of Montreal and Loyola College. McGill and Guelph are among universities which offer courses in communications. Multi-media courses are available at the University of Montreal, McGill, Sir George Williams, Loyola College and the University of Toronto.

In the United States, the development of communications research in the universities began at the end of World War II. Today, the biggest research centres are at the Universities of Illinois, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Stanford and there are a number of smaller centres. Communications research has taken a variety of forms in the universities. Message analysis and content analysis⁴ are now widely-used tools of research and, among the more interesting fields of investigation, there are the "gatekeeper"⁵ studies. These concern the difference between public beliefs and what media practitioners think the public believes. From the Task Force's point of view, the studies of mass media audiences are also particularly interesting. These involve media preferences among various groups that have been defined according to age, sex, education and other social characteristics. A number of these studies should be of undoubted interest to government.

Communications research in the United States has long involved not only the social sciences but the natural sciences and mathematics as well. The increasing involvement of mathematics in communications research began in the 1940

4. See for example Pool, I. *Trends in Content Analysis*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, 1959.

5. See for example Tannenbaum, P., "Communication and Science Information", *Science*, 140, pp. 579-83, 1963.

6. See Westley, B. and W. Severin, "Some correlates of media credibility", *Journalism Quart.* 41, pp. 32-35, 1964. Also Carter, R. and B. Greenberg, "Newspapers or television: which do you believe?" *Journalism Quart.* 42, pp. 29-34, 1965.

when Norbert Wiener introduced the term "cybernetics" to put forward the theory that all living organisms and human organizations are alike in certain fundamental characteristics, and that they are held together by their possession of means for the acquisition, use, retention and transmission of information. "Communication is the cement that makes organizations. Communication alone enables a group to think together, to see together and to act together. All sociology requires the understanding of communication."⁷

In Sweden, theories of social psychology have been used to analyse the public's reaction to media content, and researchers have investigated changes of attitude that result from exposure to information carried by the media⁸. One recent project studied the relationship between changes of attitude and changes in overt behaviour, and other studies have concentrated on the attention-getting quality of advertisements, and the differences among various media in persuasive impact or credibility.

Media researchers have come to recognize that an individual's contacts and his relations with other people modify his direct reactions to media content. There is a time aspect in mass communication, and the effects of mass communication cannot be separated from the complex interactions that go on among the media and other forms of information dispersal and social influence. The sociological themes that underly this recognition have strong connections with research into diffusion processes and, in the increasingly accepted study of diffusion processes sociology has been allied with mathematics.

A shortage of people who are qualified in both mathematics and the social sciences has somewhat hampered research in this complex field but in the last two decades, there has been a rapid growth of interest in the study of assorted social phenomena by means of what are known as stochastic processes. Apart from its application to the study of communications, the theory of stochastic processes has been used to establish principles for the design of recruitment and promotion policies, and to measure labour turnover⁹.

Stochastic theory, in some of its applications, is a mathematical recognition of the unpredictable character of much human behaviour. The freedom of action of individuals means that the diffusion of information in social

groups involves chance encounters, and it is this inherent uncertainty that compels scientists to formulate their models in stochastic terms. Mathematical models may be deterministic or stochastic. A model is stochastic if its equations include random variables and, in the social sciences, the unpredictable nature of much human activity means there is an element of uncertainty in any prediction. Social scientists judge the adequacy of a model by its success in predicting the effects of changes in the social system that it describes, and by whether or not it can account for changes that have occurred in the past. To some extent, the model gives the social scientist a substitute for the natural scientist's laboratory. It is an abstraction of the real world in which relations between mathematical entities replace the relevant relations between real elements.

It is sometimes argued that the essential differences between the natural and social sciences are bound to make the extension of stochastic theory into the social sciences a failure. According to this argument, it may be reasonable to use stochastic models for molecular or even animal behaviour but it is absurd to treat humans as being subject to "laws" because, after all, people do have freedom of choice. This objection, however, rests on a misunderstanding of the rôle of probability theory in building models. It is precisely because man is a free agent that his behaviour is unpredictable, and therefore must be described in terms of probabilities. The alternative is to adopt a deterministic point of view; and it is this, not the stochastic approach, which is open to the charge of treating man as an automaton.

Since 1948, researchers in the United States, Europe and Japan have developed a number of stochastic models for the diffusion of information. Among the pioneers in the field were A. Rapoport and his co-workers, L. I. Rebhun, R. Solomonoff, and H. G. Landau. They developed their theory originally for the study of neurophysical problems, but it soon became apparent to them that other aspects of the physical and biological universe might throw light on the process of diffusing information in a social group. Their work has attracted the attention of other scholars like Goffman and Newill who have extended the theory to apply to retrieval systems of information¹⁰.

⁷ Wiener, Norbert. *Cybernetics*, 2nd ed., New York: John Wiley, 1961.

⁸ Lundberg and Hultén, *Individen och massmedia* (The Individual and the Mass Media). Stockholm: 1968.

⁹ See Bartholomew, D., *Stochastic Models for Social Processes*. London: John Wiley, 1967.

¹⁰ See Goffman, W. and V. A. Newill, "Generalization of Epidemic Theory, An application to the Transmission of ideas". *Nature*, Oct. 17, 1964, 204, pp. 225-228. Also Goffman, W. and V. A. Newill, "Communication and Epidemic Processes", *Proc. Roy. Soc. Series A*, 298, pp. 316-334. A comprehensive account of the theory of epidemics appears in Bailey, N.T.J. *The Mathematical Theory of Epidemics*, London: Griffin, 1967

Sociologists and others who have a concern for individual freedom have often expressed their fear that mathematical methods may lead to a dangerous manipulation of social systems. Such misgivings, however, are not peculiar to sociology; they arise whenever new knowledge places power in the hands of its discoverers. New knowledge, like power itself, may always be used for good or ill.

It is noteworthy that agencies of the United States Government have commissioned much of the important research in the diffusion of information. Goffman and Newill at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, received United States Government grants for their work on communication and epidemic processes. Other government sponsored projects included experiments in the early 1950s in the diffusion of news, conducted by S. C. Dodd at the Washington Public Opinion Laboratory in Seattle; and David Bartholomew's initial work on models for the diffusion of news and rumours. The John Hopkins Centre for Research in Scientific Communication is supported almost entirely by the National Science Foundation while it is engaged in its current, long-term study of the diffusion of information among scientists in nine specific disciplines.

Conclusions

Despite the great importance of the mass media in communicating news and advertisements about government activity to the Canadian public, the government has so far engaged in a minimal amount of media research and, with the exception of the CBC's Audience Research Department, no government agency or department has its own research facilities in this field. The few studies that are conducted are contracted out and, consequently, the government is not developing a body of expertise of its own. This situation requires correction.

Not all the communication research that we have described has an immediate practical application. Nonetheless, there is a need for government to sponsor such frontier studies, as the United States Government has done, with the intention of ultimately increasing the effectiveness of information services.

In connection with the obviously practical sort of inter-media research, which is currently dominated by commercial interests, the Federal Government should become active. The CBC Audience Research facilities are designed to serve the Corporation's own management, and for no wider application but, if a government unit for media research were to be established, the CBC might well be asked to

contribute its findings to the new unit.

The media research unit need not conduct all the studies required by government departments and agencies but – as in the case of the social survey unit discussed earlier in this chapter – it should have a co-ordinating function, and departmental research needs should be channelled through it. The media research unit should be located within a total communication unit, and its findings used as an integral part of communication planning and review.

The considerations in this paper, concerning the use of social surveys and the development of communications research, have led the Task Force to recommend that:

- 1. A social survey unit be established in association with the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, but not as part of the Bureau and that this unit be situated within the Ministry to which DBS will report.**
- 2. The value of research into all aspects of the communication process be officially recognized by government and that experts in this field be given a significant rôle to play in servicing a total communications unit in Information Canada.**
- 3. In establishing such new research units the government be conscious of the value to be gained by ensuring a sound balance and liaison between the public and private sectors.**

The current revolution in information technology presents the Federal Government with a variety of ways to increase awareness of the government's rôles and activities and, at the same time, to improve its own awareness of what the public needs. The possible uses of the new technology, however, cannot be properly studied without an examination of the implications of technological development that may affect the public on a national and sometimes an international scale. The revolution, then, will carry the government onward into the new information technology not only as a user of this technology but also as a regulating authority.

For these reasons, this final paper in our report is a consideration not only of the extraordinary development of telecommunications and computerized information systems in North America; but also of the mounting concern for government regulation and co-ordination of information systems, and the parallel fears about the potential invasion of the privacy of individuals. We looked, as well, at the rapid but random growth of government information systems in Canada; at plans for developing the facilities of the national libraries; and projected information networks involving both public and private resources. We heard opinions on the need for long-term planning, for the co-ordination of mostly department projects and, perhaps most important, for the development of overall government policies in the field of information technology.

The field is immense, and the Task Force is indebted to various experts, both inside and outside government, who contributed their knowledge and advice during the preparation of this paper. We consulted officials at the Treasury Board, the Department of Supply and Services, the National Library, and the National Science Library. We are particularly grateful for the assistance of Dr. T. J. Vander Noot, Associate Director-General, Operations and Systems Development Branch, Dominion Bureau of Statistics; A. Bruce Donaldson, Director, Government Telecommunications Agency, Department of Communications; B. A. Walker, Director-Designate, Research and Development Branch, Department of Communications; Dr. Peter Benedict, former advisor on satellites to the Canadian Radio-Television Commission; J. P. Tyas, Scientific Consultant, Office of Science and Technology, Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce, and head of the recent study group on scientific and technical information in Canada. Consultants outside the government included Lister Sinclair, Executive Producer, Department of Science and Arts, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; the *Bureau d'informatique et de recherche opérationnelle* (BIRO) in Quebec City; and Dr. Arthur Porter,

former professor of industrial engineering, University of Toronto.

Some of the possibilities for government use of the new technology are prohibitively expensive, impractical or undesirable for other reasons. Some are so new they appear far-fetched. Others are old or underused. Among the newer possibilities, a computerized information system, linked perhaps to the regional offices or citizens' advisory bureaux that we have already proposed, could provide the public with fast and easy access to information on a comprehensive range of government programmes. Computerized public opinion polls might bring government instant popular reaction to its policies. Coaxial cable television, which will bring an increasing number of channels into the homes of Canadians, could provide government with a means of reaching specialized audiences in particular locations. And broadcasting using a communications satellite will extend English and French television to the remotest areas of Canada in 1972.

Among the older techniques of information technology considered in this paper are some, such as teletype communications systems, that government has so far largely neglected to exploit. Teletype systems could be used to link members of the public in the various regions to a national referral centre. The Task Force has recommended the establishment of an official telex information system to feed government information into regional offices and possibly, on request, to public and private organizations.

In considering such matters, however, and despite the great assistance we received from the experts we have listed, we do not pretend that this paper is anything like the final and comprehensive word on government and the new technology of information. The problems are extraordinarily complex; they change by the day, if not by the minute. In the words of Dr. Vander Noot, of DBS: "We are no longer in a period when things come by evolutionary means. All things on the horizon are revolutionary. We can't predict what the future will hold. Things change so fast all we can do is adopt the most open-ended solutions to information problems."

Our hope is that the pages that follow will merely point out the main factors that might well concern the government during its consideration of the immense challenges that the new technology of information is already posing.

Telecommunications: Future Possibilities

Some of the anticipated technological developments in communications are still several years distant. Electronic video-

recorders, for example, are still too expensive for the home market, though Ampex International predicts they will be widely available by 1972. Individual computer consoles will take longer to develop. Philco-Ford predicts simple home computers will be in use in 1977; and the Xerox Corporation believes home computer terminals capable of handling financial transactions will be in operation in 1985.

Other significant developments, however, are almost upon us and TELESAT, the world's first domestic communication satellite system, is one of them. It will be launched late in 1971 to begin operations early in 1972, at a cost of \$65-75 million. The satellite will have six transponders, each able to transmit a single broadband television channel, or the equivalent of 600 telephone circuits. By means of ground relay systems, TELESAT makes possible television coverage, in French and English, to Canadians in the far north and the remotest areas of other under-developed parts of the country. On April 14, 1969, the Honourable Eric Kierans, Minister of Communications, told the House of Commons that TELESAT will "bring these areas into the mainstream of Canadian life by high-quality telecommunications," including telephone and telex. Eventually, it may also be used to transmit educational television and computerized data. TELESAT will provide an alternative and supplementary service to the existing 50,000-mile Canadian microwave network.

Mr. Kierans told the House that experts in the United States claim that, in the near future, satellite systems of more sophisticated design than TELESAT will enable widely scattered institutions to use community antenna television to tie into a central information computer complex. Such systems might allow nation-wide newspaper distribution through television print-out, and a continent-wide system of facsimile transmission. They might also be used to serve medical training and diagnostic centres, national credit-card checking, national air-traffic control, and a variety of other needs. No one, the Minister said, could predict whether any or all of such possibilities would come to pass.

One possible development in satellite communications, one that is both technically and financially feasible, is direct broadcasting from satellites. This would have special meaning for any government that is concerned about our overcrowded airwaves. The Communications Department says direct broadcasting has obvious application in a huge country that currently depends heavily on an extremely expensive system of transmitters and relay stations. One satellite, with sufficient power, could transmit television to the entire

country – and thereby render obsolete the CBC's extensive system for ground transmission.

But direct satellite broadcasting runs into formidable international complications; the synchronous satellite which would cover Canada could also cover most of the United States, Latin America and part of west Africa. Another satellite, owned by any one European country could cover Europe, Africa and half of Asia. The United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space is grappling with the problem. The Communications Department, however, does not anticipate that a solution will have been reached by 1973 and, by that time, Canada will probably be ready to begin planning for such a satellite. Nonetheless, the Department – along with the Secretary of State, the CBC, and the CRTC – expects to begin feasibility studies within two years.

Satellites, like coaxial cable television and computerized information systems, offer enormous possibilities to governments concerned with communicating with both the population as a whole and with particular regions of the country.

Not all the technological possibilities that are opening up to government are necessarily desirable, but they are worth contemplating. Coaxial cable television, for example, which will eventually bring 50 or more channels into a home, would make it possible to reserve one channel for transmitting government information. A government television – and radio – channel was suggested to the Task Force by the *Bureau d'informatique et de recherche opérationnelle*; and, at some time in the future, the merits of this idea will probably have to be explored. The computerized public opinion poll will be another possibility. It could bring the government or parliament instant public reaction to policies or suggested programmes. But what effect might such referenda have upon our present system of representative democracy?

Another way to improve communications between citizens and their government might be the installation of an inter-city "hot-line" telephone to give the public direct access to government departments and particular officials. Cost would not be exorbitant. The extension of the present government inter-city direct dialing system to all the major urban centres of Canada would probably cost the government an average of about \$1.75 for each six-minute call. (This estimate is based on the assumption that the bulk of the calls would come from Ontario and Quebec.) But it is possible such direct contact between government and public would be enormously time-consuming and frustrating. Would it be more practical to have calls handled by officials in the

regional information offices that the Task Force believes should be established? Or by the citizens' advisory bureaux which we would also like to see reinforced or set up? Some people might prefer to have an official put through their requests. For others, those who are willing to handle the machinery themselves, direct telephones could be available. Or an official might suggest that a particular request might be dealt with better by telex than by telephone. An official of the Communications Department has estimated that 50-word telexes would cost approximately 60 cents to send, and that a member of the public might be given the choice between telex or telephone, and charged accordingly. (A six-minute telephone call, it will be remembered, would cost about \$1.75, on an extended direct-dial system.) The interesting point is that, at the government end of the two-way process, some of these methods might be cheaper than having a letter dictated and typed. In 1961 the Glassco Commission estimated that dictation and typing (but not mailing) cost \$1.75 per letter. If an increase in cost of five per cent per annum occurred between 1961 and 1969, each letter that the government sends today would cost \$2.56, exclusive of mailing charges.

Officials in the Communications Department believe that it should soon be possible to have certain questions punched on to computer cards in regional government offices, and fed into a central information system. The 1969 *Report on Scientific and Technical Information in Canada*, commissioned by the Science Council of Canada, foresaw the installation of private terminals in homes, offices and medical centres. An essential characteristic of such terminals is that they are stationary. Within 20 years, however, portable voice-communication systems may be in wide use; and, at some distant and indefinite date, there may be personal, portable communications devices, with audio-visual reception and transmission, and keyboards for typing. At this point, we have moved well into the realm of "gee whiz" technology; enormous expense will probably prohibit widespread use of such devices. At this moment, however, some "gee whiz" systems are actually under development for limited use within about ten years. Project Mallard, a United States military research programme – which has received some financial support from Canada and other countries – expects to have a highly sophisticated communications network in operation by the 1980s. The system would integrate separate communication systems, including land-lines, high-frequency radio and satellites, and extend communication down to the individual soldier. He would be equipped with a portable terminal.

Government's Need for Careful Choice

The cost of some technological developments will effectively prohibit their use. Another important consideration, according to a Communications Department official, is that "there is more technology available than there are requirements for it to serve." Government has some careful choices to make. It must bear in mind that some of the most advanced technology may cost more to exploit than the results are worth. Is it necessary, for instance, for the government to maintain a large number of regional offices – equipped with computer terminals and telecommunication facilities – which citizens can visit in person? A few centres that are easily reached by telephone might be cheaper, more practical and more economic. And yet, in appraising costs, it is worth remembering that some expenses may be justified by the need to promote contact between the citizen and his government in an increasingly complex and impersonal age. Many problems are now too involved for the public to grasp easily, and the techniques for defining and coping with them are too esoteric. Technological systems tend to deal with the mass rather than the individual, and they may therefore promote an increased rather than reduced alienation of the individual from his government.¹ Government should exploit those developments in the techniques of modern communication that would give the citizen the best possible chance to make contact with the administrators. Governments, like cities and universities, are struggling with problems of bigness. They are trying to bring their operations down to the people, where they actually live and work.

Some technological systems may indeed alienate the individual from society but there are also signs that the era of mass communications – the mirror image of our society of mass production and consumption – may be coming to an end, or at least changing. Television networks, for instance, may end up as the dinosaurs of the age of media. The coaxial cables referred to earlier use Ultra High Frequency bands, and will be capable of bringing 50 or more television channels into the home, that will fragment one form of mass communications into distinct group segments. In another field, computer information systems may eventually hold so vast a store of information that individuals will be able to make a controlled selection from it to suit their particular needs. Government is obliged to investigate all possibilities to meet the needs of citizens through the organization of information

1. See Michael, Donald C. "Some Long-Range Implications of Computer Technology for Human Behaviour in Organizations," *American Behavioural Scientist*. Vol. 9, April 1966.

in a way that is speedy, convenient and, in the long run, perhaps less expensive than it is now. The use of computers is a special case. Private industry and, to a lesser degree, the government are already using them to some extent for purposes of public information. The Canadian Government Travel Bureau has a partly computerized system for answering queries from the public, and the Department of Consumer Affairs is considering installing one.

Outside government, various information systems are being developed to serve the needs of particular users. In 1968 the McGill Financial Research Institute was launched, with a multi-million-dollar data bank designed to furnish the 50 companies and unions who are members of the Institute with general data on the Canadian economy, and financial information on 2,400 Canadian and United States companies. Once the system is in full operation, members' offices will be linked by teletype to the Institute. The Canadian Association of Real Estate Boards is setting up a "dial-at-home by computer" system. An extension of the present Multiple Listing Service, the system allows customers to phone a central office for a list of available properties. It is already in operation in the United States. The Consumers' Association of Canada recently proposed a bilingual information system for Canadian families, to provide details about products, available jobs, voluntary agency services, and particular government programmes affecting the family.

If such systems can be developed for the use of private industry and associations, why should the public not get similar service from the government? Information on a wide variety of government policies affecting the public, such as Manpower and Regional Development programmes, might be stored in a data bank at the referral centre that the Task Force has proposed. The five regional offices could be linked to the referral centre by telex.

Computerized Information Systems

Since 1951, when the first computer became available on a commercial basis, information systems have mushroomed. There are systems to facilitate the storage of administrative records and accounts, and to provide ready access to information previously held in subject-matter files. There are general library-oriented systems for reference purposes. There are specialized systems, for research and development, that tell who is doing what, where, and in some cases, how. And there are statistical information systems for the development, collection, analysis and dissemination of data. The potential capacity of these systems, and the speed at which they can

operate, have swept many academics and administrators off their feet. Aaron Drutz of System Development Corporation told the 1967 Conference on Government Information Systems, sponsored by the Economic Council of Canada, that storage elements and capacity have been revolutionized, and that computing speeds have risen from a few operations a second through thousands to tens of thousands. "We are now on the verge of nanosecond (billionths of a second) speeds. The compactness of molelectronic elements and the transmission speed of laser devices will bring computers close to speed-of-light computations."

One DBS computer expert, who believes firmly in the future of automated information – and the services and benefits that may eventually derive from it – states nevertheless that there have been "far too many naïve and simplistic estimates of the future." These have led to the erroneous idea that the millenium is around the corner. But for the foreseeable future, the advances and improvements in techniques will be both small and expensive, with latent problems. A few of today's working systems are solid advances over what was possible even a year or two ago, but "when they are compared with the dream of storing all human knowledge so that it is instantly retrievable, we must recognize that today's advances are small and only a few steps toward the goal."

Dr. Vander Noot points out that a computer programme requires that all conditions and eventualities be allowed for. "Failing to predict all contingencies, or allowing a misspelling or a grammatical error to exist, will probably cause the programme to fail. The difficulties and problems of programming and system analysis make grandiose dreams somewhat suspect."

The development of computerized information systems has benefited government as well as a host of private organizations. In modern government, both administration and the effective planning of programmes often require the collection and processing of a vast amount of information. Information systems are used for routine administrative procedures as well as for the analysis of economic and social issues, problems and policies. And equally important perhaps, democratic governments have an obligation to publish the information they collect and store, and to make it available to a wide variety of users, outside as well as inside the government.

The development and use of computerized information systems has been wide-spread in western Europe as well as in North America, but it is in the United States that the most dramatic advances have occurred. In the United States,

these developments have been accompanied by a growing awareness of their potential impact on society.

The United States government has been a major user of information systems. Some of the largest systems, such as the National Crime Information Centre and the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, are subsidized by grants from the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance (OLEA) within the Department of Justice. The Department of the Interior's Water Resources Information Centre contains all the water research projects funded by the Federal Government, and lists all available research material on the economic, legal, social, engineering, recreational, biological, geographical and ecological aspects of water. The Federal Office of Education operates the Educational Research Information Centre (ERIC). It provides researchers with an information storage and retrieval mechanism which instantly makes available – in easily accessible indexed form – all the collected research and related data relevant to particular educational problems. The Department of Housing and Urban Development has an information system of similar scope.

Each United States department and agency has developed its own information system to suit its own special needs and, in recent years, the administration has become increasingly concerned over the sprouting of highly independent services with disparate computer systems. It is estimated, for example, that there are more than 500 services, governmental and private, processing scientific and technical, economic and social data. Efforts at co-ordination have been made through the President's Office of Science and Technology and the Federal Council for Science and Technology. In 1962 the Council formed an inter-agency Committee on Science and Technology (COSATI) to initiate, support and review the development of central services, and to provide a forum for various viewpoints during the integration of different agency systems. COSATI is assisted by a parallel group of university and other private users, the Committee on Scientific and Technical Communication (SATCOM).

The task has proved very difficult, and the systems are not all as efficient as they sound on paper. Officials of the Canadian Treasury Board and Dominion Bureau of Statistics who have observed American government information systems describe the problem of co-ordination as monstrous. They say that no real solution is in sight.

In the past four years there have been at least three proposals for the establishment of a National Data Centre by the United States government. One was made in 1965

by the Social Science Research Council of the United States. It followed a three-year study which found that neither federal agencies nor outside researchers were able to utilize public data efficiently; the problem was excessive decentralization in the maintenance of data files. The SSRC's recommendation prompted the Bureau of the Budget to commission a consultant to report on the usefulness of a national data centre. The consultant called for the immediate creation of such a body, and a Presidential Task Force, headed by Carl Kaysen, was appointed to consider appropriate "measures which should be taken to improve the storage of and the access to" federal statistics.

The Kaysen report was presented in 1966. It found that "the degree of decentralization in the system and its predominant orientation toward publication as a means of making information available, correspond to a now-obsolete technology of handling and storing information,"² "Our present organization and mode of operation does not take advantage of modern information-processing technology, and is not capable of meeting the variety and scale of present-day information needs." The report predicted that the system's deficiencies – and the gap between what it could provide and what other arrangements would make technically possible – would grow rapidly in the near future.

The Kaysen Task Force recommended the creation of a National Data Centre. It would be responsible for assembling in a single facility all large-scale, systematic bodies of demographic, economic and social data generated by the data-collection or administrative processes of the Federal Government. It would also be responsible for integrating this data to the maximum feasible extent and, within the laws governing disclosure, for providing ready access to the information. The Centre that the Kaysen Task Force envisaged would co-operate with state and local government agencies to assist in providing uniform data bases and to integrate their data stock with the National Data Centre.

No action has ever been taken on the Kaysen Task Force's proposal. One reason for the inaction was the serious technological and design problem in collating all the information already collected by different agencies using different systems. But another reason, a major one, was the outcry in the press, and the concern expressed in two well-

2. Report of the Task Force on the Storage and Access to Government Statistics, reprinted by *The American Statistician* June 1969.

publicized Congressional sub-committees³ about the possible threats to the privacy and the freedom of the individual that a National Data Centre might present. In 1966, while the Kaysen Task Force was still working, the Special House Sub-committee on the Computer and Invasion of Privacy raised the spectre of the creation of a vast file of individual *dossiers* incorporating police and FBI information, Armed Service and government personnel records and other information about individuals. The sub-committee also raised doubts about the technical security of data stored in machine-readable form, and accessible through machine operations.

Such a file was never the intended purpose of the National Data Centre. The Kaysen Task Force maintained that enforcement of uniform standards of disclosure would ensure the preservation of confidentiality without the loss of analytically useful information, and that Congress should define these standards. It also said that Congress could distinguish between general economic and social data, collected mostly on a sample basis, and the "sort of personal history information on named individuals" which is inappropriate to a statistical centre. Nevertheless, the fact that the Kaysen Report has never been acted upon appears to be at least partly due to what the *Harvard Law Review* termed "its surface treatment" of the privacy issue⁴.

Confusion developed among the public and Congress over the functions of criminal data banks, private credit data banks, and government statistical data banks. Reflection on the power of a computer system inevitably excites fear for the safety and integrity of the individual. In many minds the computer is the ultimate threat. Arthur R. Miller, for example, writing in *Atlantic*, November 1967, saw a National Data Centre as "an individualized computer-based federal snooping system . . . With its insatiable appetite for information, its inability to forget anything that has been put into it, a central computer might become the heart of a government surveillance system that would lay bare our finances, our associations, or our mental and physical health to government inquisitors or even to casual observers." Miller went on to urge the limiting of access to any central data centre, the need to protect information in transmission against electronic eavesdropping. To protect the individual against

the risk of official's errors in reporting, recording and indexing, Miller suggested the individual should have regular access to his central file.

Some of Miller's fears may have been exaggerated even though he foresaw a data centre very different from the one the Kaysen Committee envisaged. The *Harvard Law Review's* editorial board also expressed a number of misgivings in a consideration of "Privacy and Efficient Government: Proposals for a National Data Centre." It pointed out that a fully informed data centre – drawing on information currently held by federal agencies and capable of producing individual *dossiers* – would "know" a great deal about the personal characteristics and activities of anyone who had ever worked for the government, received any of various special benefits, served in the armed forces, or had been the subject of any civil or criminal investigation. The American government derives considerable additional information from the census, itemized tax returns, passport applications, and customs and naturalization documents. A wealth of information is currently collected by agencies of state and local governments, including public hospitals, schools and universities, welfare agencies, police departments, licensing bureaux and courts. Finally, other types of information are gathered by private institutions, such as banks and credit-rating agencies, accountants and stock brokers.

According to the *Harvard Law Review*, the Government could move beyond the existing sources of data to create new sources, and "The capacity of a data centre thus to gather together disparate bits of information about an individual might constitute a fundamental violation of expectations (of privacy) dependent upon the separation of those bits of information. Individual data may take on vastly increased significance when juxtaposed with other data. Much of a personality, a style of life, a network of human associations could be revealed when the separate knowledge of some twenty data-collecting federal agencies is combined. Moreover, a computer's memory is perfect – and since it does not forget, it may not forgive."⁵ Finally, constitutionally protected elements of privacy could be affected; a centre capable of individualized output would seem to conflict directly with the privilege against self-incrimination.

The *Harvard Law Review* suggested that, if a data centre were set up, Congress should lean towards over-protecting the individual in the enabling legislation. The *Review* suggested a number of necessary safeguards: the exclusion from the data centre of *dossier* files, such as military, civil service,

3. Hearings on the Computer and Invasion of Privacy before a sub-committee of the House Committee on Government Operations; 1966; and Hearings on Computer Privacy before the Sub-committee on Administrative Practice and Procedure of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 1967.

4. *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 82, December 1968.

5. Loc. cit.

medical or police records; the "scrambling" of identification at the input stage; a legal and technological ban on any individualized output; a regulation ensuring that personal data not essential to government operations should not be collected except on a strictly voluntary basis. In conclusion, *The Review* said that "a federal data centre seems an inevitable response to the needs of effective government in an increasingly complex society." The proper response to present fears is not to sacrifice the computer's positive achievements, but rather to develop techniques, both legal and technological, to prevent potential abuse.

In view of the American experience, there is a need for the Canadian Government to consider the social policy within which computer-information systems should develop. Can these systems be misused in ways that harm the individual? What are the uses to which computer data banks may safely be put? How can we balance mechanical efficiency and human legal rights? Government must be sensitive to the problems which computer-information systems create. It must be ready to assume responsibility for regulating and controlling the systems to protect the public interest and, above all, to protect such basic human rights as the right to be different and the right to be oneself. To discuss such important issues, the Department of Communications is planning to sponsor a conference on computers and the privacy of the individual.

The Federal Government must also cope with the rapid growth of different, costly and sometimes overlapping information systems within government. A study of 19 government departments and agencies conducted for the Task Force⁶ reported that data has been stored "in almost every possible form allowed by modern technology, from the printed word to electronic memories." The study also said that the availability of data is by no means proportional either to actual volume or to the means of storage. Proliferation of government information has not been accompanied by improved accessibility. "Action appears to be called for in order to achieve both planned expansion and uniformity of methods of storage."

The *Bureau d'informatique et de recherche opérationnelle* recommended the establishment of a central data bank, accessible in both French and English. According to officials of the now defunct Special Planning Secretariat of the Privy Council, and its short-lived Interdepartmental Committee on Social and Economic Research, the lack of such a data bank

6. Report prepared by the *Bureau d'informatique et de recherche opérationnelle*.

and central clearing house contributes to the wasteful duplication of research by royal commissions, study groups and individuals under contract to departments. There is a problem not only of duplicate research but also of the time that people waste in the pursuit of specialized information. According to J. P. Tyas, chairman of the study group commissioned by the Science Council of Canada to report on scientific and technical information in Canada, "the cost to government is enormous." No precise estimate has been made of the time spent looking for government information specifically but, in the scientific and technical information field, in which the government is involved, Tyas estimates that up to 20 per cent of a scientist's, a manager's or a teacher's time may be spent searching for information. And he may never locate it.

Some Canadian Government information systems have been developed for internal use. These include the Food and Drug Administration's system for listing drug products on the Canadian market; and the automatic information-retrieval system developed by the Department of National Defence and the former Department of Defence Production for scientific and technical information in fields related to national defence. Other systems are designed for use both inside and outside government. The Canadian Geological Survey has been working for the past two years on establishing the Canadian Index to Geo-Science Data, which was expected to be operating in the fall of 1969. Some 9,000 or 10,000 maps and reports have now been indexed, and the development-costs of the system — about \$50,000 — have been shared by the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, Imperial Oil, and the Universities of Calgary and Saskatchewan. Cost of operation will be shared by the Federal and provincial governments, universities, and mining and petroleum industries that use the system. A bilingual index is planned.

The Department of Justice has invested \$30,000 in an experimental system established by Queen's University and the University of Montreal. It is hoped that, eventually, this system will enable legislators, lawyers and the general public to go to the department's regional offices and receive, almost instantaneously, in either French or English, an up to date version of any consolidated statute on the statute books of Canada.⁷

One of the most important government statistical information systems under development is the long-term DBS project,

7. System announced by Hon. John Turner, MP, Minister of Justice, House of Commons, November 20, 1968.

the Canadian Socio-Economic Information Management System (CANSIM). When fully developed, the system will provide machine-readable data from a large base, possibly encompassing the total output of published statistics from DBS and other data sources. As a national data base, CANSIM would increase the potential productivity of all economic statisticians and economists, both public and private, and it would benefit those working on sales forecasting and market analysis as much as those engaged in cyclical questions of national scope. DBS says CANSIM should contribute towards improved timeliness, efficiency and lower costs in publishing information, and that it should also make available much information that is not being published now. When queried about whether this national data base might become a threat to the privacy of the individual, CANSIM's designer said no such threat was possible. "There is no conceivable way through CANSIM that the individual could be damaged. The data is not stored that way."

The first stage of CANSIM is now in operation. It provides for storage and maintenance of the data base in direct-access memory, and efficient and frequent handling of a large number of series. It also provides information and carries out the housekeeping tasks required for the operation and administration of a service to users. CANSIM's main government users include the Economic Council of Canada, the Bank of Canada, the Department of Finance and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics itself. The Universities of Toronto, McGill, Laval and Wisconsin have limited access to CANSIM. These Universities all use the special KARDOUT routine which creates a Data Bank master file on magnetic tape. The tape can be sent out and read by most kinds of computers.

Another current project, probably the most costly in government, is the massive Canada Geographic Information System. It involves the computerized mapping of Canadian natural resources and, over the past six years, its estimated development cost has been about \$15,000,000. The CGIS, which is still in the testing stage, will be used mainly by Federal and provincial governments as a planning tool, to determine the physical characteristics of land, present land usage, and the potential for development. There are no plans at present to make it a bilingual system, and its output will be almost entirely diagrammatic. At an additional cost of ten to 15 per cent, a dictionary of key terms might be compiled to allow for the production in French of output legends. A senior official in the Information Systems Branch of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion is seriously concerned about the design of the system, which was developed by experts outside the government, and which the

new department inherited in 1968 from the former Department of Forestry and Rural Development. The official feels the system should be under review. He told the Task Force, "It's been going on like this for six years and nobody in the Federal Government has been giving it any direction." He has approached Treasury Board to set up a study group, but without result.

The same official is concerned that CGIS will overlap a new system being planned by the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources for mapping water resources, and work currently under way at the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. So far, there has been no co-ordination among CGIS and these other efforts. As departmental information systems develop, the problem of overlapping projects may become increasingly troublesome.

At a conference on government information systems in 1967, Arthur Smith, the Chairman of the Economic Council of Canada, raised the question of whether government is making the best possible use of computers. The question has never been answered satisfactorily. Indeed, there is no government body that is capable of providing an answer.

In the past two years, Treasury Board's Management Improvement Branch tried unsuccessfully to establish a research group to study the rapid and unco-ordinated growth of information systems. Until the recent Treasury Board reorganization, when the Management Improvement Branch disappeared as a unit, a single research officer was charged with studying the various departmental submissions for computer resources. This officer is no longer working on the study, and the Management Improvement Branch's concern with information systems will probably reside in future with the Planning Branch. At the time of writing, there is no indication that a study of proposed information systems will be established. A senior Treasury Board official told the Task Force that 15 or 20 departmental proposals are currently before Treasury Board, and that there is an urgent need for a study. "But we have no resources, and we would need a small information system established within Treasury Board itself to cope with the information such a study would collect."

In this official's opinion, the first requirement is a preliminary study of departmental proposals, involving a research staff of perhaps 12 people. For longer-range planning, a larger staff would be required, together with a data base within Treasury Board itself, to analyse and review departmental proposals. But even if such an organization were set up, the Treasury Board official was pessimistic about the government's ability to get departments to co-operate in

developing generalized information systems. No satisfactory solution has been found to similar problems in the United States because each department feels that the most effective way to meet its needs is a system that is specifically designed to do so.

A DBS computer expert says that, while no one can deny that a generalized system is less efficient than a specific one, "government has to invest in some increased inefficiencies in departments in order to increase the overall efficiency which is possible under a generalized system." It is better for government to spend \$500,000 on a general system than it is for five departments to spend \$100,000 each. The Canadian Geographic Information System shows that departmental expenditures may be well in excess of these figures. And systems development involves high computer rental charges. (These are considered later in this paper).

The DBS official told the Task Force that "it is absolutely mandatory for the government to establish a system of priorities." He suggested the establishment of a group composed of all the senior data processors in government to advise Treasury Board on the order of priorities for the various information systems proposed. Treasury Board, in turn, would require its own review team.

The importance of establishing an expert advisory group and a Treasury Board investigative body is apparent in light of recent ambitious proposals for co-ordinated information systems, with data banks and clearing-houses. In 1968 the Canadian Council of Resource Ministers advocated a national system for the automatic retrieval of information about renewable natural resources. And in 1969, the Tyas Report, prepared for the Science Council of Canada, recommended a nation-wide scientific and technical information network. In making its proposal, the Tyas group said that "new technology alone is not a solution." It must be supported by national policies to cover the purchase, handling, copying and distribution of resources and the training of people to use scientific and technical information. "A sprouting of diverse, unco-ordinated systems will increase the cost unnecessarily; guidance must be applied in the national interest."⁸

Tyas envisaged a network of regional information centres, connected initially by telephone and teletype facilities to major libraries and data banks, all of them served by a central clearing-house and a referral centre, accessible in both English and French. "The government would be com-

8. *Scientific and Technical Information in Canada*, Part I. Prepared for the Science Council of Canada. Queen's Printer, Ottawa 1969, p. 8.

mitted to no more than \$50 million in operating costs annually and an additional capital investment of \$25 million. This is a fraction of the suggested amounts – \$300 to \$400 million – likely to be spent for conventional facilities over a similar period."⁹

Tyas said that an integrated, automated, scientific and technical information system – evolving from the old and the new methods of information storage, retrieval and communication – could supply more effective services than existing systems do. "Costs appear much lower than for mere expansion of present methods. Canada can move knowledge around the country at a fraction of the cost of duplicating and sorting books and other materials in existing and proposed libraries."¹⁰ The study group's estimates indicated that a broadly based national system could meet the essential information requirements of scientists, doctors, engineers and industrial technologists "for a few hundred dollars a year per user."

Creating a new information system does not involve discarding everything developed so far. Rather, a new network should use existing elements wherever possible; it should discard only what is obsolete or unworkable. For some time to come, libraries will remain the basis of our national information network. There should be no disruption in the present service but the new technology, and particularly computers, can improve present library services substantially, and make them better known to potential users. Tyas found that some of the National Library's resources were "virtually unknown and little consulted" and that only a fraction of the National Science Library's intended users "are even aware of its existence."

The National Library and the National Science Library are already using the new technology. The Science Library has access to the National Research Council's data-processing facilities. In the past year it has installed a computerized system, still in the process of development, called Selective Dissemination of Information (SDI) to alert scientists to recent papers published in their particular fields. The service is available to government and industry on a national scale, at a basic charge of \$100 for up to 60 search terms. The National Science Library has also computerized a bibliography of the holdings of scientific titles in major Canadian libraries, and a list of key technical translations in a variety of languages.

Early in 1970 the National Library expects to receive the report of a study, conducted with the assistance of Treasury

9. Ibid. p. 10.

10. Ibid. p. 8.

Board computer experts, on the feasibility of computerizing the National Library's resources, and putting Canadian Libraries "on line" to a National Library data bank. In particular, the Library hopes to computerize the National Union Catalogue, which is a record of the estimated 14 million titles in 320 major Canadian libraries. At present the National Library is barely able to handle its cataloguing load by conventional means. Every day it receives 4,000 index cards or items of indexing information; clerical staff handle and sort these manually. No estimate of the cost of computerizing the National Union Catalogue is yet available. It will undoubtedly be high. The Library of Congress, which has abandoned a scheme to automate its Union Catalogue, is currently planning to computerize its central bibliographic system. The index cards are already suitably prepared for computerizing, but it will still cost \$1.51 to put each card into the new automated system. For Canada's National Library, the necessary editorial work on the cards has still to be done, and the cost per card will be considerably higher. At the National Library, the National Bibliography of Canadian titles is prepared manually each month, and the index is processed by IBM. The cost of this particular computer service in 1968-69 was \$35,000.

The National Library is connected to 60 major Canadian libraries by two telex systems which are in operation 24 hours a day, seven days a week. One system handles incoming information and requests, many of them concerned with inter-library loans. The other system carries outgoing information from the National Library. In the year 1968-69, when 38,000 messages were relayed by the two systems, telex rental and service charges amounted to \$10,336, excluding the telex operator's salary. The National Library also uses a TWX system which connects it to 80 major United States libraries, including the Library of Congress. Rental and service charges for 1968-1969 amounted to \$1,783.

One of the major costs of the present library system is the inter-library loan service but, due to the near impossibility of assessing overhead costs the National Library has no precise estimate. The National Library referred the Task Force to a recent study conducted by Carleton University's librarian, who estimated that a completed transaction, including shipping and packaging, costs approximately \$8. Obviously, cheaper ways of circulating reference material must be found.

The need was recognized in a study conducted in 1967-68 by Dr. Kaye Lamb, former National Librarian and Jack E. Brown, National Science Library Librarian. The study concerned the place of federal departmental libraries within

Canada's national library system. Their report favoured non-duplication of holdings and the use of Telex, Xerox and other means of rapid communication to circulate material. When such methods are used, few books need ever actually leave the library building.

The National Science Library already employs one method of rapid communication. It recently installed a Xerox Telecopier to transmit publications, page by page, to any part of Canada. The machine, which can transmit rush orders in seconds, is rented for \$75 a month, and orders are charged on the basis of 25 cents per page.

In the immediate future, major improvement in the speed of delivery can be achieved simply by using available telephone and teletype services; and by replacing second-class mail service with the use of photocopying and first-class air mail. Teletype service charges are reasonable. Photocopy is also relatively inexpensive. Departments using photocopiers, bought or rented through the Department of Supply and Services, pay approximately 1½ cents per copy made. (This, however, is an in-house charge. The National Library charges members of the public ten cents a page for photocopying services.)

Scientists believe that micro-photography will be used extensively in future, and that facsimile reproduction will be carried by cathode-ray tube and by closed-circuit television. Automatic reader-printer equipment will enable the user to scan film containing greatly reduced images of the information he needs, and to make legible photocopies of selected material. Such reader-printer equipment is already in limited use in the United States. But, ultimately, cost will determine whether librarians will ever be able to fill a telephoned request with a sheaf of micro-image cards that reproduce books and documents. Microform storage on film has been used for a number of years, particularly for old and rare documents. The microfilm centre within the Department of Supply and Services, operating on a competitive bidding basis, charges departments between \$10 and \$20 per 1,000 feet. Charges for the electronic transmission of such copies could be prohibitive, and Tyas suggested the transmission of micro-image cards by first-class air mail.

Some Reservations About the New Technology

Some experts are particularly sceptical about the cost of high-speed searches and retrievals from massive data bases; computer reproduction of documents stored on magnetic tape; cathode-ray tube consoles and microfilms; all combined with transmission over long distance by telephone or tele-

ype. The cost of long-distance electronic communication is ar too high for the transmission of any great volume of material. To take an extreme example: a moderate-sized ext book contains approximately a million characters. An ordinary telephone line transmits approximately 100 characters per second, and would take roughly three hours to transmit a facsimile of the master copy of a book. Obviously, the quantity of the data to be transmitted would have to be reduced. Perhaps the systems of the future will permit catalogue browsing, and selection of books at remote terminals. Then, the remotely selected book might be mailed from the library.

Cathode-ray tube consoles are another favourite future device. Here again, as everywhere, cost is a factor. If the image on a cathode-ray tube is constantly refreshed by the computer, the remote unit can be relatively small and simple, costing for perhaps as little as \$15 or \$20 per month. This, however, also requires a physical link with a greater information-carrying capacity than normal telephone lines can provide. The alternative is to refresh the image on the cathode-ray tube from a small "slave" computer attached to the tube. This technique requires little more communication capacity than an ordinary telephone line, but the remote computer raises the cost of the unit to some several hundred dollars per month. Under either system, the costs appear to be considerably higher than would be currently practical.

A third area of hardware difficulty is the size of computer memories. A single reel of magnetic tape can store about 100 million characters or 20 average text books. In computer terms, however, retrieval from the tape is quite slow. In human terms, a delay of five or ten minutes is not particularly significant but, while one book on a reel is being read the other 19 books stored on the reel are inaccessible. Moreover, the tape drive itself cannot be used for anything else while that book is being read. Core memories, which are the fastest of the currently available memories, can be read by several different users at the same time but they tend to be rather restricted in size. A very large core memory, in current equipment, would approximate a million characters. Once again, some compromise would be needed. Perhaps a significant portion of a library catalogue could be stored in core memory, and actual documents on tape.

The software problems that impede the development of an information utility make the hardware problems seem almost simple. Aaron Drutz of System Development Corporation told the 1967 Canadian Conference on Government Information Systems that "we haven't found how to use the power of the equipment available to us today; we are behind

the power curve." Cataloguing, always a problem in any library, will become even more complex. The automated library, in all probability, will be larger than the special purpose libraries of today. Since the storage medium of an automated library is not directly legible, a single clerical-type error in a coding form might cause the library to "lose" whole books, or perhaps even entire shelves of books. Automating a library, particularly a large one, increases the cataloguer's language problem. There is a familiar joke that librarians can distinguish between a venetian blind and a blind Venetian but computers cannot, and the joke is very pertinent here. The problem of cataloguing, when context is not available for clarification, is only beginning to be understood. Work has been done on such techniques as Key Word in Context and subject concordances, but this is apparently only a first step in the search for a solution. Meanwhile, changes in vocabulary continue to plague the cataloguer, and the automated library is not going to help solve this problem. One government specialist recalls that, when he was studying economics, regression studies were in vogue. Regression studies are still being done today, but now they are called either linkage studies or model building. If a linkage study bibliography is requested, will it include model building and regression studies?

Another major problem lies in the cost of mistakes. A researcher may make what appears to him to be a simple retrieval request but, due to some unknown parameter or coding error, the request can turn into a massive retrieval operation that results in tens of thousands of pages of printed output. What happens to the researcher who makes what he thinks is a \$2 request and receives a bill for \$15,000?

The shortage of experienced and skilled personnel is yet another area of serious concern. Data processors are in short supply; so are librarians who are trained in the more esoteric fields of mechanized documentation and information science. In the long run, the use of automated library techniques may achieve some important savings in labour but, during the initial periods of design and implementation, the demands on skilled personnel will be very great. The shortage is particularly acute at the highest level, in the very design of information systems. A senior government official told the Task Force that there are only about six top-ranking specialists in Canada who are competent to build an efficient information system at reasonable cost. Yet there are now between 15 and 20 departmental proposals for information systems before Treasury Board. Obviously, the six top specialists cannot handle all these proposals; and, just as obviously, some system of priorities should be established.

The enormous costs involved in computer operations make the need particularly imperative. Treasury Board has stated that the average monthly rate for leasing what it termed "major" computer installations is about \$30,000. The Department of Supply and Services rents a Univac 1108 for internal use at \$70,000 a month. The Central Data Processing Service Bureau, which handles business for 40 departments, rents an IBM 360 model 65 for \$100,000 a month. Depending on the optional "extra" capabilities of this particular IBM machine, monthly rental can vary from \$50,000 to \$125,000. Rental charges do not include software or programming costs, and some indication of those was given to the 1967 Conference on Government Information Systems. Aaron Drutz of System Development Corporation told the Conference that a "software" specialist costs \$30,000 a year, in salary and overhead expenses. "If we have only a modest system of perhaps 50,000 instructions to build this might cost (initially) about \$300,000, plus computer costs. This is figured on the basis of about 5,000 designed, coded and checked-out original instructions per man-year."

Government Priorities

An order of priorities for the establishment of computerized information systems should be accompanied by policies for the purchase and handling of computer services, and for the promotion of generalized information systems within government. The government should also ensure that its information systems are accessible in either official language. (It was noted earlier in this paper that the Department of Justice is planning a bilingual system, and the Geological Survey information system will have a bilingual index.) J. P. Tyas, whose study group on scientific and technical information recently recommended a nation-wide computerized information network, believes that Canadians should be able to request information in either French or English. He believes, however, the government should also study the necessity of translating all English-language material into French. The scientific and technical information system envisaged by the Tyas group would tell an inquirer whether a particular document exists in French. But Tyas also points out that, in the scientific and technical information fields, an estimated seven per cent of all world documents are prepared in French, while approximately 70 per cent are produced in English. A further seven per cent of documents published in other languages are published simultaneously in English.

Scientific and technical information, however, is a specialized field. Information concerning Federal Government services and programmes should be available in both official languages and, if such information is to be stored in future in a central government data bank, it should be equally accessible in both.

Quite apart from the need for government to develop policies concerning its own computerized information systems, one departmental computer expert believed that government should regulate the growth, use and control of information systems developed within Canada as a whole. He told the Task Force that such regulation is needed to protect Canadians from possible invasions of their privacy. Government has recently shown an awareness of the problem of preserving personal privacy in a technological age and we have already referred to the Communications Department sponsoring a conference on the computer and personal privacy. The Commons Standing Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs, whose report was expected in October 1969, has also been studying the matter, particularly in connection with the ways in which wire-tapping and other methods of electronic surveillance may infringe upon privacy. This is another important area where technological development has created the need for government regulation. On the one hand there is the matter of an individual's office, or home, or person, being electronically "bugged". On the other hand – as the Congressional Subcommittee on the Computer and the Invasion of Privacy heard in 1966 – information in transit to or from a central data bank can also be subjected to electronic eavesdropping. As government becomes increasingly involved in the development of information systems, such matters will deserve very careful study.

In another field of technological development, the Department of Communications intends to study present and future telecommunications needs; and to recommend a national policy on telecommunication, and accompanying legislation for both satellite and terrestrial systems. We have mentioned the need for international regulation of synchronous satellites that have inter-continental direct broadcast potential. Equally necessary are national regulations governing the use and ownership of all communication satellite systems. The Federal Government took the first steps in satellite regulation when it drafted legislation establishing the Telesat Canada Corporation – to be jointly owned by government, private carriers in the communications industry, and by public shareholders. Its chief users will be the Trans-Canada Telephone System, Canadian National-Canadian Pacific Telecommunications, Bell Canada and the Canadian

Broadcasting Corporation.

Another area in which the need for government regulation has recently been recognized is the development of cable television. Through the Canadian Radio-Television Commission, the government is currently involved in questions of programming, signal source and service area, rates charged to the public, and ownership. The difficult problem of royalties for programmes which cable operators take for nothing but retransmit for profit has not yet been tackled.

The cable television industry has been growing at the rate of 25 per cent per year. In large sections of Canada, its penetration rate is higher than anywhere else in the world. According to CRTC Chairman Pierre Juneau, "The technical evolution of the medium is unprecedented in any previous media, as are the possibilities the future is opening up before us." Juneau went on, "It is clear that no traditional approach to policy and regulation would be satisfactory. And it is equally clear that we cannot turn to other countries' experience for guidance. In cable television we are pioneers, and we must set our own course."¹¹

There are no United States precedents to follow. So uncertain has the U.S. Federal Communications Commission been over how to regulate cable's challenge to conventional television that it has asked interested parties to submit opinions. The whole question of retransmission royalties has still to be tackled by Congress. Meanwhile, with the prospect of as many as 50 television channels being brought into the home by cable in the near future, the American Civil Liberties Union has asked the Federal Communications Commission to declare cable television a public utility, with channels kept available at reasonable rates for public use.

The proposal of the American Civil Liberties Union may be of interest to Canada, as the government seeks to regulate the mushrooming cable television industry. Cable television, like communications satellites and computerized information systems, requires the most careful study and regulation.

As a potential user of new information technology, and at a time when developments occur so fast that experts cannot predict the future with any accuracy, the government must adopt the most open-ended solutions to information problems. It should choose those developments that provide individual citizens with the greatest opportunity to make their needs heard, and to initiate contact with the administration; and which also offer government the fastest, easiest and most economical ways of communicating information about its policies and activities both to the general public and to particular

groups. One way that commended itself to the Task Force was the establishment of regional offices, linked to a national referral centre and possibly to a government information data bank by telephone and telex. Telephone and telex may not qualify as "new" technology but the government has failed to exploit them fully in establishing channels of communication with the public. Our studies indicate that these "old" facilities could be put to wider use at a fraction of the cost involved in some of the new technology.

Conclusions

The Task Force is aware that in several federal departments and agencies studies are already under way on the possible uses of recently developed mechanical and electronic processes for dealing with types of government information. It was not possible, however, in a few months to compile adequate data and analyses on specific federal needs and to form a sufficiently precise and comprehensive picture of the present situation upon which to base detailed recommendations on so complex and rapidly changing a subject as the relationship between information and the new technology. Our studies have shown that the Federal Government already has in its possession sophisticated equipment and has developed some expertise in the use of computerized systems in carrying out government functions. But, in general, the Federal Government has devoted no systematic attention to expanding these uses wherever they might efficiently and economically be employed.

It will be very difficult to make the most advantageous use of the new systems in carrying out the government's information responsibilities before an inventory on federal resources in this field, including the hardware owned, rented or ordered, the competence of personnel presently available in the Public Service of Canada to use such hardware, and of the accumulated knowledge of the subject within the administration has been undertaken and completed.

We recommend that:

1. A major examination be undertaken using the best consultants available in the public and private sectors to report on the most efficient and effective measures of employing the rapidly changing electronic technology in all fields of information; on priorities to be established for its co-ordinated application over the next five, ten and 15 years; on its projected costs and benefits.

¹¹ Mr. Pierre Juneau speaking in Quebec City, May 14, 1969.

2. In the interim a small unit within Information Canada be established to advise the government on present and future uses of advanced technology in the field of information and to provide similar advice on request to departments and agencies.

Recommendations made by the Task Force may be found following Papers VI, VIII, IX, X, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, and XIX in Volume II of this Report. In Volume I, the complete set of recommendations appears on pages 63-71.

Bibliography

- Alpert, Harry.
"Public Opinion Research as Science,"
Public Opinion Quarterly. xx, iii, 1956.
- Arday, John.
"DeGaulle's blue pencil," *New society*.
février 24, 1966.
- Armand, Louis et Michel Drancourt.
Le Pari européen. Fayard, 1968.
- Ashby, W. Ross.
An Introduction to Cybernetics.
John Wiley, New York, 1956.
- Association of National Advertisers.
*Management and advertising problems
in advertiser-agency relationships*.
New York, 1965.
- Backstrom, Charles H. and
Gerald D. Hursh. *Survey research*.
Northwestern University Press,
Evanston, 1963.
- Baily, N. T. J.
*The Mathematical Theory of
Epidemics*.
London: Griffen, 1967.
- Baldwins, Hanson W.
"Managed news: our peacetime
censorship,"
Atlantic monthly. ccxi, 1963.
- Bartholomew, D. W.
Stochastic Models for Social Processes.
London: John Wiley, 1967.
- Baudot, J.
"Informatique et information,"
Interprétation.
Montréal, II, IV, octobre-décembre
1968.
- (The) Belgian Information and
Documentation Institute. Brussels,
1967.
- Bellamy, Donald.
*Study of the Information Service of
Toronto's Social Planning Council*.
1968.
- Bergeron, Gérard.
Le fonctionnement de l'État.
Librairie Armand Colin, Paris, 1965.
- Bird, J.
"Parliament, press at odds over image,"
Financial Post. LIX, February 6, 1965.
- Black, Hawley L.
*French and English Canadian Political
Journalists: A Comparative Study*.
September, 1967.
- Blain, M.
"La liberté de presse," *Cité libre*.
xv, août/septembre 1964.
- Boss, G. W.
"Why Canadians are badly informed,"
Saturday Night. LXXV, April 30, 1960.
- Breed, Warren.
"Social Control in the Newsroom.
A Functional Analysis," *Social Forces*.
xxxiii, May 1955.
- British Government Information
Services*, COI R.5256/65, London.
- Bromhead, P.
"Parliament and the Press,"
Parliamentary affairs. xvi, Summer
1963.
- Bruce, H.
"If you think the politicians are
confused, read the puzzled papers,"
Maclean's magazine. LXXVI, March 23,
1963.
- Burton, Paul.
"Corporate Public Relations,"
Harvard Business Review.
July-August, 1967.
- Butler, D. E.
"Why American political reporting is
better than England's,"
Harper. ccxxvi, May 1963.
- Carter, R. and B. Greenberg.
"Newspapers or Television, which do
you believe?"
Journalism Quarterly. XLII, 1964.
- Carter, R. E.
"Newspaper 'Gatekeepers' and the
Sources of News,"
Public Opinion Quarterly. xxii. 1958.
- Cater, Douglas.
The Fourth Branch of Government.
Random House, 1959.
- Cater, Douglas.
"Government by publicity," *Reporter*.
xx, March 19, 1959. April 2, 1959.
April 30, 1959.
- Central Office of Information,
Functions and Organization*.
coi, 1966, London.
- Chaffee Jr., Zachariah.
*Government and Mass Communica-
tions*. University of Chicago Press,
1947.
- Champoux, Roger.
La Presse. June 28, 1969.
- Chapman, Brian.
*British Government Observed: Some
European Reflections*.
London: Allen and Unwin, 1963.
- Charlesworth, Hector.
More Candid Chronicles. The
MacMillan Company of Canada,
Toronto, 1928.
- Clark, T. F.
"Do we need government information
services?" *Public administration*.
xxxv, Winter 1957.
- Claude, Roger.
Le Journal et l'actualité.
Marabout, 1967.
- Clokier, H. McD.
Canadian Government and Politics.
Longmans, Green & Company,
Toronto, 1950.

- Colley, Russell H.
Defining advertising goals for measured advertising results. Association of National Advertisers, New York, 1962.
- Columbia Journalism Review.*
Summer and Fall editions, 1967.
- Conference on Government Information Systems.* Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1967.
- Corry, J. A., and J. E. Hodgetts.
Democratic Government and Politics. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1946.
- Creighton, Donald.
Dominion of the North. The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, Toronto, 1957.
- Creighton, Donald.
The Story of Canada. The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, Toronto, 1965.
- Cutlip, Scott M., and Alan H. Center.
The Effect of Public Relations. Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood, N.J., 1965.
- Dahl, Robert A.
"Atomic energy and the democratic process," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.* ccxc, November, 1953.
- Dauzat, Albert.
La philosophie du langage. Flammarion, 1912.
- Dawson, R. MacGregor.
The Government of Canada. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1947.
- Denoyer, Pierre.
La presse et les moyens de communication avec les masses. Paris, Université, Institut d'Études politiques, 1961-1962.
- Deutsch, Karl W.
Models of Political Communication and Control. The Free Press, New York, 1963.
- Deutsch, Karl W.
Nationalism and Social Communications. M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, John Wiley, New York, 1953.
- Deutsch, Karl W.
The Nerves of Government. The Free Press, New York, and Collier-Macmillan Limited, London, 1966.
- Dion, Léon.
"The concept of political leadership," *Revue canadienne de science politique.* I, i, mars 1968.
- Dion, Léon.
"Participating in the political process," *Queen's Quarterly.* LXXV, iii.
- Dion, Léon.
"A la recherche d'une méthode d'analyse des partis et des groupes d'intérêt," *Revue canadienne de science politique.* II, i, mars 1969.
- Dion, Léon.
"Méthode d'analyse pour l'étude de la dynamique et de l'évolution des sociétés," *Recherches sociographiques.* x, i, 1969.
- Easton, David.
A Systems Analysis of Political Life. 1965.
- Eayrs, James.
Toronto Star. July 8, 1969.
- Eggleston, W.
"Leaves from a Pressman's Log," *Queen's Quarterly.* VLIII, iv, Winter 1957.
- Essai diagnostique et prospectif sur les systèmes fédéraux d'information.
Étude préparée pour le Groupe de travail par le Bureau d'information et de recherche opérationnelle, Québec, février 1969.
- Europe (L') gaulliste et la presse française.* Éditions Galic, Paris, 1962.
- Evans, Sir Harold.
Speech on the Report of the Proceedings of the 54th Annual Conference of the Commonwealth Press Union. London, June 1964.
- Fenau, Robert.
"Fonction internationale de la langue française," *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de langue et de littérature françaises.* XLIII, ii, Bruxelles, 1965.
- Ferguson, George v.
Information: Keystone of Freedom. Vancouver, University of British Columbia, 1949.
- Festinger, Leon and Daniel Katz. ed.
Research Methods in the Behavioural Sciences. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1953.
- Firestone, O. J.
Broadcast Advertising in Canada, Past and Future Growth. University of Ottawa Press, 1966.
- Firestone, O. J.
The Economic Implications of Advertising. Methuen Publications, Toronto, 1968.
- Fisher, D.
"Trouble with Canada is that it's trying to keep too many secrets that shouldn't be kept," *Maclean's Magazine.* LXXX, February 1967.

- Fisher, D. M.
"Commons comment," *Canadian forum*. XXXVIII, August 1958.
- Fortier, D'Iberville.
L'Information gouvernementale.
Cours polycopié,
Université d'Ottawa, 1967-68.
- Francis-Williams, Lord.
"The government information services," *Public administration*. XLIII, Autumn 1965.
- Frankel, Max.
New York Times. July 1969.
- Fraser, B.
"Parliament and the press; the steady deterioration of an old friendship," *Maclean's magazine*. LXXVII, March 21, 1964.
- Fraser, B.
"What the man said isn't always what the Press Gallery says he said," *Maclean's magazine*. LXX, October 17, 1964.
- Friedman, L. M.
"Disclosure of information: a coin with two sides," *Public Administration Review*. XVII, Winter 1957.
- Goffman, W. and V. A. Newill.
"Communication and Epidemic Processes," *Proc. Roy. Series A*. 298.
- Goffman, W. and V. A. Newill.
"Generalization of Epidemic Theory, an Application to the Transmission of Ideas," *Nature*. CCIV, October 17, 1966.
- Gordon, D. R.
"Moulding the Canadian mind without really trying," *Saturday Night*. LXXIX, January 1964.
- Government of Canada.
Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, *Reports*.
Ottawa, 1965. 1967. 1968.
- Government of Canada.
Royal Commission on Government Organization, *Report*.
Ottawa, 1962-63.
- Government of Canada.
Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, *Report*. Ottawa, 1951.
- Government of Canada.
Royal Commission on Security, *Report*. (Abridged). 1969.
- Government of Canada.
Scientific and Technical Information in Canada, Part I.
Prepared for the Science Council of Canada, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1969.
- Gwyn, Richard.
Smallwood, the Unlikely Revolutionary. Toronto, 1968.
- Hachten, W. A.
"The press as reporter and critic of government; how the press itself can utilize the machinery of government to bring about the continuing adjustments necessary to maintain its freedom and vigor," *Journalism Quarterly*. XL, Winter 1963.
- Hamelin, Jean.
"Aperçu du journalisme québécois d'expression française," *Recherches sociographiques*. VII, iii, septembre/décembre 1966.
- Harvard Law Review*. LXXXII, December 1968.
- Hearings on the Computer and the Invasion of Privacy before a Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations. 1966.
- Hearings on Computer Privacy before the Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. 1967.
- Hiebert, R. E. and Spitzer, C. E., editors.
The Voice of Government.
New York: John Wiley, 1968.
- Hill, Lord of Luton.
Both Sides of the Hill: Memoirs of Charles Hill. Heinemann, 1964.
- "How the news is managed by officials in Washington," *U.S. News*. LIV, April 15, 1963.
- Huston, Luther A.
Editor and Publisher.
February 15, 1969.
Information and the Public Interest. HMSO Cmnd., 4089.
- Jehlik and Losey.
"Rural Social Organization in Henry County Indians," *Station Bulletin*. DLXVIII, Purdue University, 1951.
- Juneau, Pierre.
Speech concerning cable television in Quebec City. May 14, 1969.
- "Jurimétrie," *la Revue du Barreau du Québec*. Mars 1969.
- Katz, Etihu, and Paul F. Lazarsfeld.
Personal Influence.
The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications.
The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955.
- Kayser, Jacques.
Mort d'une liberté. Plon, 1955.
- Kessel, J. H.
"Mr. Kennedy and the manufacture of news," *Parliamentary affairs*. xvi, Summer 1963.
- Kierans, Hon. Eric.
Speech to House of Commons, *Hansard*. April 14, 1969.
- Klein, Rudolph.
"Politicians and the press," *Observer*. April 7, 1968.

Knight, K. W.

"Administrative Secrecy and Ministerial Responsibility," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*. xxxii, i, February 1966.

Lalonde, Marc.

"Réformes visant à assurer une plus grande protection des droits de la presse," *Cité libre*. juillet, août 1966.

Lapointe, P. M.

"Les journalistes, ennemis du bien commun?" Éditorial. *Magazine Maclean*. iv, 1 décembre 1964.

Larson, A.

"United States information service," Address, April 4, 1957, *Vital speeches*. xxiii, June 1, 1957.

Lazarsfeld, P. B.

Berelson and H. Gaudet. *The People's Choice*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1948.

Lazarsfeld, Paul and Frank Stanton, ed.

Communications Research, 1948-49. Harper and Bros., New York, 1949.

Leake, C. D.

"What we don't know hurts us," *Saturday Review*. xli, January 4, 1958.

Lépine, Normand.

Le Devoir. March 17, 1969.

Lower, Arthur.

Colony to Nation. Longmans, Green & Co., Toronto, 1946.

Lundberg and Hultén.

Individen och massmedia (The Individual and the Mass Media). Stockholm, 1968.

Manning, Robert J.

"Foreign policy and the people's right to know," *Bulletin*. U.S. Dept. of State, L, June 1, 1964.

Marks, L. H. and J. Chancellor.

"How the U.S. tells its story to the world," *U.S. News*. LXII, February 20, 1967.

McGaffin, William and Erwin Knoll.

Anything but the truth; the credibility gap—how the news is managed in Washington. New York, Putnam, 1968.

McInnis, Edgar.

Canada, A Political and Social History. Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York, 1947.

McLuhan, Marshall.

La Galaxie de Gutenberg. Les Éditions HMH (Montréal), Traduit par Jean Paré.

McLuhan, Marshall.

Pour comprendre les média. HMH 1968, traduction Jean Paré.

McNaught, K.

"Case for a nationalized national newspaper," *Saturday Night*. LXXXIII, June 1968.

Michael, Donald C.

"Some Long-Range Implications of Computer Technology for Human Behaviour in Organizations," *American Behavioural Scientist*. ix, April 1966.

Miller, Arthur R.

Atlantic. November 1967.

Moles, A. et al.

Communications et langages. Paris, 1963.

Moss, Louis.

Survey Research and Government. Government Social Survey Department, United Kingdom, Toronto, 1968.

Mowat, Farley.

The Rock Within the Sea. McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1968.

Nimmo, Dan D.

Newsgathering in Washington; a study in political communication. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1964.

Nowak, Carlman and Warneryd.

Masskommunikation och åsiktsförändringar (Mass Communication and Opinion Change). Stockholm.

Ogilvy-Webb, Marjorie.

A study of the Information Services. The Government Explains. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1965.

L'Opinion publique.

Chronique sociale de France, (53^e Semaine sociale), Nice, 1966.

"Outcry on censorship in France," *Times*. July 9, 1965.

Paquet, J. C.

"Le 'Soleil' et la liberté de la presse," *Cité libre*. xv, janvier 1964.

Parker, R. S.

"Official Neutrality and the Right of Public Comment," *Public administration*. (Sydney) xx, iv, December 1961 and xxiii, iii, September 1964.

Pellerin, Jean. "Un ministère de l'information—pourquoi pas,"

Cité libre. LXXXVII, juin 1966.

- Perroux, François.
"L'information, facteur de progrès économique dans les sociétés du xxème siècle," *Diogenes*. XXI, 1958.
- Pickersgill, J. W.
The Mackenzie King Record.
Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1960.
- Pollard, J. S.
"The Kennedy administration and the press," *Journalism Quarterly*.
XLI, Winter 1964.
- Pool, I.
Trends in Content Analysis.
University of Illinois Press,
Urbana, Illinois, 1959.
- Popovici, Adam.
Le Devoir. March, 1969.
- Porter, John.
"Postscripts: Canadian National Character,"
Cultural Affairs. vi, Spring 1969.
- Remont, J.
"Publicité de Documents Officiels,"
Canadian Public Administration.
IX, iv, 1968.
- Rince, Vincent.
Le Devoir. March 18, 1969.
- Publicity of official documents in Sweden," *Public law*. Spring 1948.
- Report of the Fulton Committee on the Civil Service (British) (Cmnd. 3638),
I, Ch. 8, Sections 277-280, 1966-68.
- Report of the Task Force on the Storage of and Access to Government Statistics," *The American Statistician*.
June 1969.
- Reston, James.
The artillery of the press; its influence on American foreign policy. Harper, New York, 1967.
- Reston, James.
"The Press, The President and Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*.
XLIV, iv, July 1968.
- "(The) Right to Know," *Canadian Commentator*. I, February 1957.
- Rivers, W. L.
The opinion makers.
Saunders, Toronto, 1965.
- Roberts, S. L.
"The Fulton Report on the British Civil Service,"
The Civil Service Review.
XLII, i, Ottawa, March 1969.
- Robinson, Edward J.
Communication and Public Relations.
Charles E. Merrill Books Inc.,
Columbus (Ohio), 1966.
- Rosten, Leo.
The Washington Correspondents.
New York, Harcourt Brace, 1937.
- Rourke, Francis E.
Secrecy and publicity dilemmas of democracy. The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1961.
- Rowat, Donald C.
"How much administrative secrecy,"
Canadian journal of economics and political science. XXXI, November 1968.
- Rowat, D. C.
"The Problem of Administrative Secrecy," *International Review of Administrative Science*. II, 1966.
- Scanlon, T. J.
Promoting the government of Canada; a study of the information, explanation and promotional activities of Federal Government departments. M.A. Thesis. Queen's University, Kingston, 1964.
- Schwartz, Mildred.
The Political Outlook of Canadian Voters in the November 1965 Election, a paper presented to the 39th annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association. Ottawa, 1967.
- (Les) services gouvernementaux de presse et d'information dans les états-membres de la communauté européenne. Bruxelles: Service de Presse et d'information des Communautés Européennes, 1967.
- Shils, Edward A.
The Torment of Secrecy: The Background and Consequence of American Security Policies. Glencoe, 1956.
- Sylvester, A.
"Government has the right to lie,"
Saturday Evening Post.
CCXL, November 18, 1967.
- Talents, Sir Stephen.
The Projection of England.
London, Faber and Faber, 1932.
- Tannenbaum, P.
"Communication of science information," *Science*. CXL, 1963.
- Terrou, Fernand.
L'information. Presses Universitaires de France, 1962.
- Town, Harold.
"Harold Town on McLuhan,"
Toronto Life. June 1967.
- Trudeau, Rt. Hon. Pierre Elliott.
Speech to the House of Commons, *Hansard*. May 1, 1969.
- Turner, Hon. John.
Speech to the House of Commons, *Hansard*. November 29, 1968.

- Underhill, F. H.
 "If our policies are dull—
 blame our dull press," *Maclean's*
magazine. LXXIII, February 27, 1960.
- U.S.I.A.
The Agency in Brief. 1967.
- U.S.I.A.
Reports to congress of the United
States Advisory Commission on
Information.
- U.S. Office of Statistical Standards.
 Executive Office of the President/
 Bureau of the Budget.
Statistical services of the United
States Government (Revised edition).
 Washington, 1968.
- Van Bol, J. M.
 "L'information officielle dans
 quelques pays d'Europe,"
Revue nouvelle. XVII, avril 1961.
- Van Schendel, M.
 "Notre presse est libre et inefficace,"
Cité libre. XIV, octobre 1963.
- Verba, Sidney.
Small groups and political behaviour.
 Princeton, University Press, 1961.
- Verdier, H.
Les relations publiques, information
et action. Éditions de l'entreprise
 moderne, Paris, 1959.
- Vickers, Elizabeth.
 "Groups Advisory to Government,"
 a paper prepared for the
 Canadian Association for Adult
 Education.
- Wayland, Sloan, R. and Henry Lennard.
 "Current Conceptual Trends in Small
 Groups Study . . . Sociology,"
Autonomous Groups. VIII, ii, 1952-53.
- Westley, B. and W. Severin.
 "Some Correlates of Media
 Credibility,"
Journalism Quarterly. XLI, 1963.
- White, D. M.
 "The Gatekeeper: a case study in
 the selection of news,"
Journalism Quarterly. XXVII, 1950.
- Wiener, Norbert.
Cybernetics. 2nd ed., New York:
 John Wiley, 1961.
- Wigg, George.
 "Politicians and the press,"
Listener. LXXVIII, September 1967.
- Wiggins, James R.
Freedom or Secrecy? New York,
 Oxford University Press, 1964.
- William, Francis.
La transmission des informations.
 Unesco, Paris, 1953.
- Williams, Lord Francis.
 "The Government Information
 Services," *Public Administration*.
 London, XLIII, Autumn 1965.
- Woodward, Julian L. and Elmo Roper.
 "Political activity of American
 citizens," *The American Political*
Science Review. XLIV, 1950.
- "(The) Working Press," Special to the
New York Times. G. P. Putnams and
 Sons, New York, 1966.

